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A SERIES OF STANDARD WORKS

IN

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

VOL. II.

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The promise of our Lord implies the universal and continual *superintendence* and *perfection* of the Paraclete, but not that he should be perpetually guiding us into new truths. The inspiration accorded to the Apostles and the elder Prophets not continual or universal. The length of the intervals between the Revelations made to them immaterial. Intervals of the same kind and of very considerable length, occurred in the history of the Jewish Church. The Bath-Col a Rabbinical Fable. Yet God still dwelt in his Temple (Matt. xxiii. 21.) though he had ceased, in a perceptible and miraculous manner, to declare his will from thence,—and, therefore, the Comforter may still be present with the Church, though no case has latterly arisen to demand a new Revelation. - - 294

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A knowledge of Divine Things being given to the Church,—the *manner* in which this knowledge is communicated is a matter of indifference. All Revelations made to a few that the many might, through their means, be benefited. Immediate Inspiration not accorded to the majority of Christians in the Apostolic Age. This dispensation not unequal nor disadvantageous to the majority. The abode of the Paraclete among men would have been sufficiently proved by a succession of one or more inspired individuals by whose instruction the Holy Ghost should govern the Church. No difference whether this instruction were oral or epistolary. Nor whether their authors were absent or dead. Therefore, so long as the writings of a deceased Apostle govern the Church, the Holy Ghost who dictated those writings, continues to govern it by them. The Scriptures not only dictated by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but preserved to our time and offered to our notice by his Providence. This particular exertion of his Providence how distinguished from his general care. By the peculiar dispensation in question, the rites which our Saviour appointed before the Paraclete's coming, and the dispensations of the Spirit's mercy and power which we share with other ages and nations, have become more blessed and valuable to the Chistian than to the rest of the world. But it is through Scripture only that the character of these dispensations is thus altered. And by Scripture alone that the Holy Ghost now guides us into truth, or shows us things to come, or pleads the cause of Christ against his enemies. It is, then, as Dispenser of Supernatural Truth and Teacher of the Doctrine of Redemption, that the Holy Ghost sustains his character of Comforter. And this truth he now conveys to us through the Holy Scripture. - - - - - 295

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PAROCHIAL LECTURES

ON

THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

BY

STEPHEN H. TYNG, D. D.

RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Editor of the Christian Library, in pursuance of his plan of furnishing occasionally original productions of American writers for the Library, applied to the author of the following Lectures for some assistance towards that object. These Lectures were prepared and delivered in the regular discharge of pastoral duty, to the congregation of St. Paul's church, in the autumn of 1831. The author had no thought of their publication; and though it has been often suggested to him, he has heretofore declined it altogether. The opinion of others has been, that they could be made useful in a larger distribution, and he has yielded now to this opinion. There is but little room for originality in such Lectures as these. All authors within the writer's reach have been consulted, and very freely used. From Bishop Reynolds, Bishop Hopkins, Dr. J. Edwards, Dr. Dwight and the Rev. C. Simeon, many of the thoughts here presented have been obtained. The latter writer especially, in his university sermons, which have never been republished in this country, so accorded with the views of the author of these Lectures, in his statements upon subjects on which they treated in common, that he has not hesitated to embody large portions of his excellent argument in these discourses. These Lectures exhibit, however, the author's plan of preaching, and the truth as he receives it from the Scriptures. If they can be made useful to others, the object of their publication will be fully answered. At any rate, in reference to a large portion of the clergy and members of the Protestant Episcopal church, it may be said, "So we preach, and so they believed." S. H. T.

Philadelphia, October 9, 1832.

LECTURE I.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE DIVINE LAW.

> Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law.—PSALM CXIX. 18.

No subject connected with religion is probably estimated by Christians, and enforced from the pulpit, in such inadequate proportion to its real importance, as the divine law. By some it is considered a subject in which all are sufficiently instructed. By others, it is spoken of as a matter which belongs not to gospel preaching; and most men pass over the study of its principles and requisitions with carelessness and unconcern.

The view which the Psalmist entertained of this matter, is well displayed in the devout solicitude with which he speaks of the law in almost every verse of the Psalm from which our text is taken. The extent to which he regarded the spirituality of its precepts, the fervour with which he desired that they might be engraven upon his heart, the sorrow which he experienced in witnessing its violation, the ardour with which he longed to understand its perfections, all unite to show that he considered a knowledge and reverence for the holy law of God of vital importance to the redeemed and enlightened soul. In this Psalm he employs several different words to designate the law. They all have reference to that connected system of divine revelations which are found in the Scriptures; and whether the *national* law of the Jews, consisting of ceremonies and judgments proper for their circumstances be considered, or the great *moral* law of God, which has an universal obligation in heaven and on earth, there are contained in each, wondrous things, the understanding of which will well repay the labour of study, and reasonably forms the subject of prayer.

A proper knowledge of the divine law lies at the foundation of all true religion. It opens the only way for understanding and receiving the gospel of Jesus Christ. No man can gain a true knowledge, or an adequate appreciation of the unsearchable riches of redeeming grace, who does not make use of the law, as his schoolmaster to bring him unto Christ. It is therefore of incalculable importance, that we attain right views of the matter before us, and learn to exercise right affections in reference to its demands.

"Open *thou* mine eyes," is the prayer of David. There is, in our natural ignorance and sinfulness, a thick veil drawn over our understandings, which utterly prohibits the admission of the truth of God. We confine our views of his precepts entirely to the letter of them, and deny the extent of their demands upon the inner man. We look upon the institutions and ceremonies appointed by him, according to the flesh, and see nothing in them but unmeaning and unnecessary rites. This veil, God's Holy Spirit alone can remove. He must deliver us from the blindness of our minds, and show us the unsearchable wisdom, knowledge, and love, which are to be unfolded in all the revelations and dispensations of God. To him, therefore, must our prayer be made, for illumination in his ways, and for a proper knowledge of his holy will. "Open thou mine eyes;" take away the veil that covers my heart, that I may look deeply into thy sacred revelations; and passing beyond the letter of thy word, may see the spiritual instructions which are every where contained. In the Sabbath, let me see an eternal rest; in unleavened bread, the simplicity of the gospel truth; in every victim bound for the altar, let me behold the obedience required from me? and in every thing, let me find Christ revealed to my soul, and accepted anew, for my soul's comfort. The prayer of David extended thus, to all the wonderful things which were covered either under the letter of moral precepts, or under the types of legal ceremonies. My present subject leads me to dismiss the view of the ceremonial law, interesting as its consideration would be, and to confine my remarks altogether to the moral law of God, all the commandments of which are holy, just and good, more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb, by which the servant of God is warned, and in keeping of which there is great reward.

To the understanding of this law I turn the petition of my text; and to display the importance of understanding it, I shall attempt to show some of the wonderful things which are contained in it.

I have said that a correct understanding of the moral law of God forms the foundation of all true religion. It will be now my object to show, that upon a proper knowledge of this law rest *all just views of religious truth; all proper feelings of the religious character, and all scriptural and well-founded hopes of religious blessings.*

That which is called the ceremonial and judicial law of the Old Testament, was peculiarly the national law of the Israelites. It was communicated through the mediation of Moses to them, as a distinct people on the earth; and was intended, in all its precepts and requirements, to lead their minds to believe on him, who was afterwards to come as the Saviour of the world; and by showing them in experience, the utter impossibility of attaining an acceptable righteousness by their own obedience, to shut them up to the acceptance of the free and everlasting righteousness which should be offered them in Jesus Christ. The moral law, which was embodied in this national law of the Israelites, was not more obligatory upon them than upon all other men; nay, upon all other accountable creatures.

The moral law is a simple revelation of the will, and a perfect transcript of the character of God. It is the law by which angels are governed in heaven. It is the law by which man was to be governed and justified in Paradise. Supreme love to God, and universal benevolence to his creatures, is the fulfilling of this law. This law was violated by man; and its character and operation, as a covenant of life, was thus destroyed for man forever. From that moment, righteousness was never to be obtained by man's personal obedience to the law. But the law itself, as the divine rule, and the revelation of the divine will to man, was unaffected. Its claims are still the same, though the possibility of perfect personal obedience has been destroyed by sin. Its authority and demands upon men are entirely unchanged. What this law demanded of Adam, it demands of every human being. But what it promised Adam, because it was possible for him to attain it, it promises no longer, from the utter impossibility that its demands should ever be personally fulfilled by any sinner. To this holy and perfect law, our attention is now directed; and from a proper understanding of it, are to be derived,

I. *All just views of religious truth.*

1. Upon our knowledge of the divine law depend all just views of the *perfections of God.* Here alone can we gain an adequate conception of the *holiness* of his character. We know nothing of God, but what he has revealed of himself; and in his own revelations we behold his real character displayed. Whatever be the character of the law which God has given for the government of his rational creation, must be the character of the Deity himself. It is a perfect transcript of his mind and will. If then we view this law as extending to every action and word and thought of our being; if we believe it to require in us still, all that purity of mind and character in which our race was originally formed, to demand that we preserve to our latest hour God's perfect image upon our souls; if we acknowledge that it allows not the slightest possible defect or deviation, even through ignorance or inadvertency; if we see that it promises us nothing, but as the result of a spotless adherence to its utmost demands from first to last, we shall of course look upon the Being from whom it has proceeded, as one infinitely holy; one who cannot regard iniquity but with abhorrence; and shall derive from this proper view of the law, so far as our powers enable us to do it, an adequate conception of the *holiness* of God. But if we suppose the divine law to require any thing less than perfect obedience, to admit any thing short of absolute perfection, we must necessarily conceive of the giver of the law as a Being less abhorrent of sin. Our views of the holiness of his character will be lowered in proportion as we lower our views of his demands. If we believe that he will give us liberty to depart with impunity from that high standard which he proposed for man in paradise, and has established for angels in heaven around his throne, we lay a stain of imperfection upon his character, and lose the just view which we should entertain of his abiding holiness. Our reverence for him is diminished; our fear of his inspection is destroyed; and all dread of his judgment passes away.

In like manner, upon our view of the divine law, depends all adequate conceptions of the *justice* of God. If we believe that the sanctions with which he enforces his law, are strong and awful; if we believe that these sanctions involve nothing less than the everlasting happiness or misery of every child of man; if we are convinced that one single defect, of whatever kind, will forfeit all title to happiness, and involve the soul in irremediable guilt and misery; if we are satisfied that these sanctions can never be set aside, can never be mitigated, can never cease to operate throughout eternity, we shall of course derive from this just view of the law, a high and honourable idea of that *justice* of God which will never relax the smallest iota of his demands, either in reference to the obedience of man, or to the execution of the threatenings denounced against him. But if we contract our view of the law, and entertain the idea that God will overlook some of our imperfections and wanderings, or that he will punish them only for a time, and that, too, only in a way which feeble man will be able to endure, we, of necessity, proportionably lower our ideas of divine justice, accommodate our views of the character of God to the standard of human deficiency, and make him altogether such an one as ourselves.

It is equally true, that without a proper knowledge of the law, we have no correct apprehension of the divine *mercy* and *love.* When we acknowledge that we have contracted guiltiness, great beyond all measure and conception, and we feel ourselves exposed to judgments commensurate with our deviations from God's perfect law; when we see that our sins are more in number than the sands upon the sea-shore, and that every one of those sins is deserving of the eternal wrath and vengeance of God, we shall stand amazed at the mercy of that offended Being, who, instead of executing his threatened vengeance, has himself provided a remedy for the whole world; a remedy suited to our wants, and adequate to our necessities; a remedy by which he may restore us to his favour, not only without compromising the honour of his other perfections, but to the everlasting advancement and glory of them all. Yes, truly, with such correct views of the unchanging law of God, we shall magnify his mercy, that can pardon so much guilt, relieve from so much misery, and exalt to his eternal glory, such unworthy and polluted creatures. But should we imagine our offences to have been comparatively few, and our desert of vengeance to be comparatively light; should we suppose our wanderings and deficiences to admit of any possible excuse, who does not see that we reduce to nothing, that mercy of God which has been so little needed, and which has accomplished for us a deliverance so inconsiderable and unimportant? A ruined sinner, ransomed from eternal hell, like a brand plucked out of the fire, will have abundant cause to magnify the love of God forever. A man to whom much is forgiven, will have reason to love much; while he who thinks that he needs but little to be forgiven, will of necessity love but little.

Thus all our views of the attributes of God depend upon our sentiments in reference to his law. Neither his holiness, nor his justice, nor his love, can be in any degree appreciated, unless, like the Psalmist, we learn these *wondrous things* out of the law. In proportion as the law is magnified, are our conceptions of the divine perfections exalted. And in the degree to which the law is superficially considered, are our views of the character of Jehovah lowered and rendered ineffectual. What reason have we, then, from this view of the subject, to adopt with earnestness the prayer of the Psalmist in the text! But the importance of this petition will yet more evidently appear, while I proceed to observe,

2. That upon our clear knowledge of the law depend all *just views of the character and offices of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Our sole necessity for a Saviour arises from the relation in which we stand to the divine law. It is because we have transgressed this law, are condemned by its sentence, and are utterly incapable either of atoning for our past sins, or of restoring ourselves to the Divine Image, that we need the intervention of some Redeemer, who shall be able to save unto the uttermost.

Our view of the demands of the law will regulate our whole conception of the value of the atonement of Christ. If we are convinced that our sins are infinitely numerous, and that our guilt is inconceivably great; if we believe that every deviation from God's perfect law has brought upon us a curse, an everlasting curse, under the wrath of Almighty God; if we see that the demands of law and justice could never be satisfied with any thing but the full punishment of the offender, either in his own person or in the person of an adequate surety; that the death which the law denounces must be borne before satisfaction can be made; then do we attain a correct and satisfying apprehension of the atonement of Jesus. In exact proportion as our views of our own guilt and misery are magnified and extended, do we exalt the value of the Saviour, who, by the sacrifice of himself, has restored us to the lost favour of God. And just in the degree to which we lower our views of our own necessities and of the divine demands, do we depreciate the value and destroy the character of the atonement of the gospel. It is only by a correct knowledge of what the law demands, that we can gain an adequate idea of what Christ has done.

Our view of the law will control our understanding of the gospel system of justification. Conceive of the law as never to be satisfied without a perfect obedience to its commands, as requiring every soul to possess, either in himself or in his surety, a righteousness commensurate with its highest demands; as altogether refusing to relax its requisitions, unless in every point and tittle they have been fulfilled; and then you will proportionably exalt the Redeemer, who has wrought out, in his personal substituted obedience, a spotless righteousness for all who shall believe in him; and has opened through the offering of this righteousness, first to God in man's behalf, and then to man for his acceptance, a way of salvation for every human sinner. But reduce your views of these demands of the law, lower the righteousness which it will accept to any inferior standard, say your own sincere but imperfect obedience, and in this false view of the law you undermine the whole system of gospel grace; you reduce to nothing your need of the righteousness of Christ; cancel altogether all the obligations under which you are placed to him; and make him to have lived, obeyed, and died in vain.

But look still more extensively at the offices of the Son of God. Consider him as the great Prophet who is to instruct us; and what comparative need is there for his instructions, if so partial and defective a knowledge of his religion as we are able of ourselves to obtain, will suffice our purpose? Why should we ask for his teaching, if there be competency in any inferior guide? Why seek for light from heaven, if our darkness be not too deep for any earthly glimmering to penetrate? Consider him as the great High Priest of our profession, who is to atone for us; and what need have we of his infinite sacrifice, if our own repentance and reformation can be accepted by God, and restore us to his favour? To what purpose was all this waste, if a smaller offering will make up our deficiencies? Consider him as the King of Zion, who is to rule over us; and why do we require such holy and powerful government and protection, if our weakness and rebellion and danger be so unimportant? What need of infinite authority, if so little is to be effected in our behalf, either in a way of deliverance from sin, or in a way of spiritual renovation? The less that is required of man himself, the less must of necessity be required of his surety. And consequently, as we reduce our views of the demands of the law, and the necessities of the sinner, we bring down the whole work of Christ, whether in us, or for us, in the very same proportion. They that are whole need not a physician, but they who are sick. If we be not, and feel not ourselves to be totally lost and ruined, then surely in vain, so far as we are concerned, is the purpose of the Father, and the substitution of the Son, for the redemption of the world. Upon our accurate convictions of what the law actually demands, and of what the law actually threatens, depend all our views of the character and offices of Christ, in the salvation of man, as displayed in the gospel.

3. I proceed to apply the same course of reasoning to the *operations of the Holy Ghost.*

Our correct sentiments in regard to them, rest entirely upon our proper knowledge of the divine law. The Spirit of God is sent upon us from on high to form our natures and characters anew; and to impress again upon our souls that image of God which sin has destroyed. But the less we suppose to be required of us, the less there is for him to do within us.

His office is to create our souls anew in holiness. But if the first creation of them be not destroyed entirely, where is the necessity for a new creation? If the difficulty be partial, the remedy may be partial too. He is to raise us up from the dead, and to quicken us, by his power, into life. But if we are not actually dead in sin, why should we require the exercise of a life-giving power. He is to bring us back to God, to give us a new heart, to sanctify us from our pollutions, and to deliver us from our darkness. But if we do not feel ourselves to be entirely depraved, involved in the deepest darkness and ignorance, and altogether gone out of the way of life and peace, how shall we be led to seek and supplicate his creative power upon our souls? If we believe our dangers and our wants to be extreme, we shall rejoice in the provision of a remedy suited to extremities. But such a remedy will never be sought without this conviction be first impressed upon our minds. It is entirely from this want of a just view of the actual condition of man, under a violated law, that so many deny the necessity of the influences of the Holy Ghost; either for the illumination of their minds, or for the sanctification of their souls. To this single source must be traced the whole denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of all the doctrines which are dependant upon it; the doctrine of atonement, of imputed righteousness, and of divine regeneration. Men do not feel their need of a *divine* Saviour, of an *Immanuel*, to make up the breach between them and God. They do not feel their want of an *Almighty* Agent, to work in them the work of God; and thus they bring down their systems and principles of theology to the low and miserable standard of the Pelagian, Arian and Socinian heresies. This ignorance of the law of God is the Pandora's box from whence all these evils spring. Let a man obtain a thorough insight into the spirituality of the divine law, and see how solemnly and fatally its demands and sanctions shut up his soul under sin, and he will find that these meagre systems will never supply *his* wants, nor afford any remedy in the least degree adequate to *his* necessities. He will see that if any one less than God himself, undertake to effect his soul's salvation, he must assuredly perish; that if he is to depend upon any power inferior to Jehovah, if he has none but the most exalted creature to rely upon, he would be glad to take his portion under rocks and mountains, if they could hide him from the unquenchable wrath of God.

I have thus made clear my first head of discourse: that upon our correct knowledge of the divine law depend all just views of religious truth. In the next discourse I shall proceed to consider all *proper religious feelings* and all *scriptural hopes* of salvation, as resting upon the same foundation.

In this partial accomplishment of my design, I feel that there is seen sufficient reason for the prayer of our text. Wondrous things the divine law reveals, when it shows us the depth of our own depravity, the extent of our actual dangers as sinners against God, and our need of Christ and his great salvation. Let this prayer be made your own. It will be a blessing to you to know your wants, to see how much there is to be done for your souls destroyed by sin. God alone can draw aside the veil, and enable you to behold this view of your own characters. So far, then, from opposing this revelation, unite, I beseech you, with earnestness of desire to him, that he would give you understanding of the truth; that he would make you to feel its power, and lead you in the deep conviction of your wants, to cry aloud to God for the pardon and salvation which Jesus has purchased, and you so evidently need, under the deep conviction, that unless he save you, you must perish.

LECTURE II.

Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of the law.—Psalm cxix. 18.

As a proper introduction to this course of sermons upon the Divine Law, I have attempted to show you the vast importance of an accurate knowledge of this law. In my last discourse I opened this subject by asserting that upon a proper knowledge of the operation and demands of the law of God, depended *all our just views of religious truth—all our proper feelings of religious character, and all our scriptural and well-founded hopes of religious blessings.*

The proof of the first of these assertions occupied our attention when I addressed you before; and it was my object to show, that without an accurate knowledge and view of the divine law, we could form no just conceptions of the perfections of God, of the offices of Christ, or of the operations of the Holy Ghost. In this view of the subject, there was seen abundant reason for the petition of the text. But what we then considered, forms only a part of the wondrous things which we may here behold, and we shall find still more reason to desire that our eyes may be opened with spiritual understanding upon this all-important subject, when we have finished our meditations upon the other two points before us.

II. A proper knowledge of the law lies at the foundation of all true religion, practical as well as doctrinal, and while all just views of religious truth rest upon this, *all proper feelings in religion,* the whole state of the affections acceptable in the sight of God, are dependant upon it also.

1. All the affections and feelings which now belong to man, in connexion with his Creator, are those which arise from the fact of his natural sinfulness and guilt. Mere natural religion, of which men sometimes speak, the religion of man's own reason, brings no offerings unto God, but those of Cain, which, like his, must be inevitably rejected. Man has no way of his own by which he can find an acceptable approach to his offended Maker. His native situation is one of utter ruin and danger; the wrath of God abideth on him, and he is living upon the despised forbearance of his Judge, a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction. Of the extent of this natural guilt and danger, however, he is ignorant, and must be ignorant, until he be made acquainted with what God requires of him. By the law is the knowledge of sin; and the *conviction* which the sinner has of his guilt, will depend entirely upon the view which he takes of the divine law. If he has been accustomed to see it as a spotless and inflexible system, to hear it say to him, of the utmost conceivable devotion to God, and obedience to his will, "Do this, do it always, do it perfectly, do it forever, or thou must die;" when his eyes are opened, to behold his own deficiencies, he will see himself to be counted altogether guilty, and to have his mouth entirely stopped before God; he will see in the demands of the holy law, such an extent of violated and neglected claims upon his soul, that there is left for him no feeling upon which he can rest the shadow of hope, nor any circumstance which he can plead in extenuation of a single deficiency; he is condemned; he is only condemned; he is condemned eternally. This the law shows him, when he beholds its searching application to his own character.

But if he has been satisfied with more general and indefinite views of the claims of the law, the same indistinctness is transferred to his conviction of his personal guilt. What he sees not to be guilty in fact, he will not see to be guilty in himself. His heart will plead a thousand excuses from temptation and imbecility and inadvertence; and while he acknowledges that in many things he has certainly done wrong, he cannot see that even his holy things have been guilt, and every recess of his heart filled with odious and abominable wickedness. Upon a proper knowledge of the divine law depends all true conviction of sin.

2. Again, without an accurate knowledge of the law, there can be no true *humility.* In the connexion between man and his Creator, this grace is of the highest importance. But what is humility? It is not merely a sense of our weakness as creatures, nor is it a mere general acknowledgment that we are sinners. Not a human being, probably, would deny either of these facts. But it is a deep and abiding consciousness of our guilty and undone state. It is a consciousness that darkness itself is not more opposite to light, than we are to the pure and holy law of God. It is such a sense of our utter alienation from God, and of our voluntary enmity against him; of the fact, that every imagination of the thoughts of our heart is only evil continually, as makes us really abhor and loath ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes, before a God who searcheth the heart, who has surrounded us with his mercies, and will bring every secret thing into judgment, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. This is that broken and contrite spirit which God will not despise. But how rarely is this seen! How seldom do we find persons penetrated with this deep sense of sin, smiting upon their breasts, and crying aloud for mercy, as sinners deserving God's infinite wrath and indignation! Suppose you saw a man under this proper consciousness of sin, crying out, "I am damned, I am damned already,"—groaning under the most distressing apprehensions of the anger of God; which of you, even if you did not deride his fears, would not be ready to suppose that he carried matters quite to an excess, and that unless he had been guilty of some transgressions far beyond the common walk of men, there could be no reason for such excessive griefs and sorrows? Such penitents are few, and such comforters, miserable as they are, would be found in every class of life.

But why is all this? Would it be a false view of the sinner's character that would lead to such distress? No. This false estimation of his sorrow arises from universal ignorance of the divine law. Men do not try either themselves or others by this high standard. Being insensible of their departures from God, they see no cause for such humiliation on account of these departures. The idea of humility, as the scriptures present the term, never enters into the natural mind. The unconverted man does not know the meaning of the word. Copious as were the languages of Greece and Rome, they had not a word which can convey the idea of humility, as expressed in the language of the Bible. The word which expressed their notion of humility, spoke of it just as every natural man thinks of it, as associated with meanness and dishonour, rather than as a high and exalted virtue. Though all now profess to admire humility as a grace, there is not in the universe a man in his natural and unconverted state, that either possesses it, or approves of it according to its real import. It is one of the wondrous things to be beheld from a proper knowledge of the law, and God alone can open our eyes to see and desire it.

3. The same assertion may be made of true *gratitude* to God. Gratitude is nothing but a thankful sense of mercies which have been received, and it will depend in its degree entirely upon the amount of benefits which the individual supposes to have been conferred upon him. The Christian who sees himself in the light of God's revelations, will view himself as a poor bondslave, ransomed from sin and Satan, death and hell, and ransomed, too, by the precious blood of his Incarnate God. He will be, in his own apprehension, altogether "a brand plucked out of the burning." An apostate fiend, redeemed from the very fires of hell, would not, in his estimation, be a greater monument of grace than he. Having this view of himself, his whole soul blesses his redeeming God, and he calls upon all that is within him to praise his holy name. But, alas! how rarely do we see this transport! How few, even truly redeemed, appear duly sensible of the weight of obligations which has been laid upon them? A proper and reasonable sense of man's unworthiness and God's abundant love, would be generally esteemed extravagant and absurd. To the generality of men, some faint acknowledgments are quite sufficient to express their sense of redeeming love; and stronger language, and stronger emotions, than they indulge, are considered fanatical and false. But oh! how different is this state of mind from the feelings of the holy beings around the throne of God. Angels and saints are penetrated with the devoutest admiration of the stupendous mystery of grace displayed in man's redemption. The one, adoring its transcendant excellency; the other, giving praise to God, as experiencing themselves its richest benefits.

They are all prostrating themselves before the throne of the Lamb. Why is it that men are so cold and insensible? Is it not simply because they see not the depths from whence they have been redeemed? Because they have no clear view of the condemnation under which the law had sealed them, for repeated violation? Did they see in the mirror of God's holy law, the depth of misery from which they have been delivered, they would have far other thoughts and feelings in regard to that heavenly Saviour who came down into the abyss of their ruin, to save them with an everlasting salvation; and from this knowledge of the claims of the law, holy and ardent gratitude would arise to him who was content to bear its demands himself, that they might be released from the necessity of bearing them forever. But having reduced almost to nothing, in this ignorance of the law, their obligations to him, it is not a matter for surprise that their gratitude for his goodness should be proportionably weak and vapid.

4. Without having our eyes opened to behold the true character of the divine law, there will be no holy *zeal* for God. Who among the redeemed on earth, feels this in any measure correspondent with what the Scripture demands? We are represented as bought with a price; and are therefore called upon to glorify God in our bodies and spirits, which are his. Were we truly sensible of our obligations to God, no service under heaven would appear too great as a return to him. All that we could do for such a Lord, would be nothing in our eyes; and all that we could suffer for him would be accounted light and vain. Our time, our talents, our property, our influence, our whole life, would appear of no value, but as they could be made subservient to advance the divine glory. But how little of this spirit is seen! and how little is it approved among men even when it is seen! How infinitely below this is the standard of those who value themselves upon their morality of conduct! And this deficiency must be traced to the cause we have repeatedly noticed. Humility, gratitude, and zeal for God, all rise or fall, according to our views of the law. According as these are deep, or superficial, will the others evince themselves to accord, or disagree, with the standard which is proposed to us in the gospel.

We can never have an entire devotedness of heart to God, as his redeemed people, until we apprehend the extent of our redemption. With defective views of this, we shall be contented with a low standard of obedience, and never aspire after a perfect conformity to the divine image of God. To walk altogether as Christ walked, will appear to us as bondage. To tread in the steps of the holy apostles, will be regarded as being righteous overmuch. To glory in the cross for Christ's sake, and to rejoice that we are counted worthy to suffer shame, and even death for him, will be thought a state of mind, desirable only for apostles, and missionaries, and martyrs. But no state of mind inferior to this will prove us to be really sincere in the service of the Lord. No partial devotion will be an acceptable sacrifice unto the Lord. If we would be Christ's indeed, we must live not unto ourselves, but unto him who died for us and rose again; purifying ourselves even as he is pure, and being perfect even as our Father who is in heaven is perfect. This is the result of the constraining love of Christ. The grace of Christ alone can effect it in us. Without this grace we must remain destitute of this spirit forever. Without a vital union to Christ we have not, and we cannot have, these high attainments of the gospel; and our ignorance of the divine law will keep us separated from Christ forever. Upon a proper knowledge of the law, therefore, all religious feelings, the whole right state of the affections, depend. And this fact brings home to us, with great seriousness and value, the petition of our text: Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law.

III. Our third general object is to show that a proper understanding of the divine law is the foundation of all *scriptural hopes of religious blessings*, as well as of all just views and proper feelings in religion.

It is made the subject of repeated prayer by the apostles, that the Christians, to whom they wrote and ministered, might have the eyes of their understanding enlightened, that they might be able to comprehend for themselves the nature and worth of gospel hopes and privileges, and be able to give to others a reason for the hope which was in them. Clear views of religious truth are indispensable to the enjoyment of a rational and consoling hope of life eternal; and while Satan is deluding the vast multitudes of the unconverted with false and unfounded hopes, the nature and the fact of these deceits are only to be ascertained by an examination of the ground upon which the professed hope is resting.

All false hopes of life arise from an ignorance of the divine law. When a sinner is found claiming, as it were, from the reasonableness and justice of God's dealings, eternal life, because he has done no harm, has injured or defrauded no man,—what but ignorance of the law has veiled his mind with an expectation so deceitful? While he sees not that his very best deeds stand in need of mercy as much as his vilest sins; that the smallest defect entails upon him an eternal curse as truly as the most enormous transgressions; that his prayers, by themselves, will condemn him as certainly as his oaths, upon what but total misapprehension of the nature of the divine claims and requisitions, does his false confidence of security depend?

If another man speaks of his hope as founded upon the unbounded mercy of God, which is over all his works, the same ignorance of the law lies at the foundation of this delusion. When a judge is seated upon the bench, could the plea of guilt, on the part of the criminal, be in any degree affected by an assertion of previous dependence upon the mercy that should be found on trial? The hour of trial is the time of law, and not the time for mercy. In the present life, there is abundant mercy offered to the sinner; but in God's own way. When the time of final retribution arrives, all claim upon mercy has passed by; and the principles of just and equal law must govern every determination. The man still sinning, and trusting in divine mercy for final and future pardon, is destroyed by his ignorance of the law. Its claims must be satisfied. It allows not, it cannot allow, the name of mercy. Without the shedding of blood, it offers no remission; and until its full penalty has been sustained, it is utterly vain to think of charming its demands to rest. The mercy of God is shown in his gracious method of making satisfaction to the law for the sinner's soul. It can never be exhibited in setting aside the demands of the law while they remain unsatisfied.

From the same ignorance of the law springs that indefinite kind of hope which great numbers express in the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ. They can give no reason for trusting in him. They have no clear idea of what he has done, that should lead them to this confidence. They furnish no evidence in the holy devotion of their lives, that they have been truly brought by the Holy Spirit to believe in him; nor have they probably any distinct emotion in their hearts connected with that faith of which they speak. But they say they believe in Jesus Christ, and that all their hope is in him. At the same time, they do not, and will not accept salvation, upon the terms on which it is offered in the gospel. They will not agree to renounce their good works, as they are called, as a partial ground of dependance; and to enter the kingdom of heaven at the same gate with publicans and harlots. This is too humiliating. Their proud hearts must have something in which they can boast themselves. And if they cannot make their own lives the sole ground of their justification, they will rely upon them in part. Or if they are to be brought to rest only upon the merit of Christ, they will make their own goodness a reason for believing in him. They will not suffer themselves to be stript of all self-preference. They will not glory solely in the cross of Christ. The condemning character of the law they have never experienced nor seen. They have not the least idea of the way in which it lays guilt and death upon their souls; nor though they assert the possession of a hope in Jesus Christ, do they know or trouble themselves to think what he has done, or how he has done any thing for them.

All these false hopes, and all other hopes of the same kind, rise up and are entertained in the unconverted mind, because the eyes have never been opened to see wondrous things in the divine law. Man cannot live without some hope; and Satan, perfectly aware of this, presents these refuges of lies; and keeping his mind in ignorance, deceives him into the embracing and confiding in these unfounded expectations. The fact that ignorance is the source of these false hopes, will open to us, in part, the importance of that knowledge of the law which lies at the foundation of all true and scriptural hope. Hope is founded entirely upon faith. It is a kind of personal application of the subject of faith. Now the faith which alone justifies the soul, is that which brings us simply to the Lord Jesus Christ as the great end and fulfilment of the law for the believing sinner. If we attempt in any measure or degree to blend with the work of Christ's redemption any thing of our own, we make utterly void all that he has done and suffered for us. From that moment Christ has become of no effect to us. As far as we are concerned, he has died in vain.

Faith looks to Christ as the sole answer to the demands of the law. A due attention to the law presents two distinct claims, which it makes upon every sinner. Death, as the punishment of past guilt; and spotless, eternal obedience, as the title to future reward. Somewhere, either in the sinner, or according to the covenant of grace in the substitute for the sinner, these must be found, or else the law still stands as a flaming and impassable sword, at the gate of life. Now, while these can never be found in the sinner himself, faith discerns them both, in their utmost possible value, in the sinner's surety. As the punishment which the law demands for past guilt, there is seen the sufferings and death of an immaculate Redeemer, upon whom has been laid the believer's load; and from his satisfaction, faith offers to hope a full and unqualified pardon for past transgressions. As the obedience without blemish, which the law requires for justification, there is beheld the perfect, voluntary, unrequired obedience which the Son of God rendered to its precepts; a righteousness which magnified the law and made it honourable; and in the personal imputation of this righteousness to the believer freely, through the grace of God, faith presents to hope an undisputed and interminable title to that life eternal which the soul desires. Here then is a scriptural and well-founded hope. It is a reasonable, religious, and holy hope. It is a sure, immovable, and satisfying hope. But upon what does it rest, save upon a knowledge of what Christ has actually done? And whence does a knowledge of what Christ has done arise, but from a proper view of what the law of God required should be done? Thus it is that true hope rests upon a knowledge of the law; and until we have obtained this knowledge, nothing under heaven can lead us to a simple and living faith in Jesus, or give us the hope which springs from such a faith.

Under these three heads of *just views*, *proper feelings* and *scriptural hopes* in religion, I think I have shown the importance of a proper knowledge of the divine law, and of the petition which our text contains. O that I might impress upon your minds the vast importance of this subject! Its ignorance is the root of all the superficial views and statements in religion with which the Christian world is filled. The salvation of your souls depends upon the acceptance or rejection of the truths which are thus displayed. Let the earnest petition of the text be adopted by every hearer. God's Holy Spirit must deliver you from darkness, in this all-involving concern. The day-spring from on high must guide your feet into the way of peace. If you find yourselves in total ignorance, as many of you must, in this matter, or if you find yourselves, though having partial knowledge to have but indistinct conceptions of the truths which have been set before you, make the prayer of David the prayer of your hearts. Seek wisdom from above, and seek it with all your hearts, that you may walk no more in the blindness of your minds, having your understandings darkened through the ignorance that is in them. You must know the extent of your disease before you will be adequately convinced of the importance of the remedy, or see the adaptation of the remedy to your wants. Give yourselves, then, to the understanding of this vital portion of religious truth; that, by the Spirit of God opening your eyes, and elevating your affections, and guiding your hearts, you may be led to the attainment and possession of a hope which maketh not ashamed; a hope in Jesus, which shall lead you, though you see him not, yet believing in him, to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

LECTURE III.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE LAW.

We know that the law is spiritual.—ROMANS VII. 14.

I have spoken of the importance of a proper understanding of the divine law, upon two previous occasions. The character of that law, of which we are to acquire a knowledge, comes now before us as our present subject. In considering the nature of the law, the first and most important attribute of it is the one declared in our text—its *spirituality*.

The apostle speaks in this text exclusively of the moral law, to which our attention has been, and is still turned. The judicial law of the Israelites was merely the common law of that nation. It never had, nor was it ever designed to have, the least authority over the inhabitants of any other land. This law could not, in any sense, be said to be a spiritual law. Like all other statute books, its requisitions and prohibitions took cognizance only of the outward acts of its subjects, and recompensed obedience or disobedience respectively, with temporal impunity and protection, and with temporal suffering and death. This law cannot be said to be abrogated in regard to other nations, for it never had authority beyond the bounds of the posterity of Jacob.

The ceremonial law, or the precepts which enjoined the ceremonies and observances of Jewish religion, can with no more propriety be called spiritual. St. Paul styles it a law of *carnal* commandments; and speaks of it expressly as consisting of *carnal* ordinances. It was a system of shadows, under which were meant to be represented the great truths and realities of the religion of Jesus; and in itself, it made nothing perfect. This law, like the judicial law of the Israelites, was entirely partial in its application. It was never imposed upon the Gentiles, except as they became proselytes to the religion of the Jews; and, therefore, in regard to them, it can with no more propriety than the last, be said to be abrogated.

The *great moral law* of Jehovah was embodied in the institutes to which the Israelites were required to submit. But it is entirely separable from that which was merely local and temporary in its authority and its claims. Of this, the Psalmist says, the law of God is perfect, converting the soul; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. It is to this, and this only, that the apostle refers in our text, as a spiritual law. This, he says, was ordained to life; or first designed to confer life upon man, as the result of his obedience; and it was only by its transgression that it was found to be unto death. This law was perfectly holy. All its commandments were holy, just, and good. And the very holiness of the law made sin appear exceeding sinful.

Let us understand, then, distinctly, what is to be meant by the moral law, of which the declaration of our text is made. It is that law which is embodied in the ten commandments given to Moses on Mount Sinai, by the ministration of angels. It was written then by the finger of God, and communicated with a pomp and majesty which became its character. The ceremonial and national law was revealed afterwards, and in private. The same law is reduced by Jesus Christ to two simple commandments, embracing supreme love to the Creator, and universal benevolence to his creatures; and still more narrowed down in terms by St. Paul, who says, that love is the fulfilling of the law. To this great law every angelic being is subjected. This law was originally written upon the heart of man in paradise; but being obliterated in consequence of the fall, by the love of sin, and forgetfulness of God, it needed to be republished. In fallen and degraded man, there remained no good thing; not even the remembrance of what his Creator had originally required of him. In order, then, to display the real character of God; to show how much transgression abounded; to exhibit the universal necessity for the promised seed, whom God had taught men to expect, as a blessing to all nations; the divine law was anew proclaimed to the Israelites. This moral law was announced before any private and peculiar institutions were imposed, because this was the foundation of all other commands. In the acknowledgment of subjection to this, the Israelites confessed the right of God to impose upon them any precepts, which in his infinite wisdom should seem advisable. It showed them on what terms life was to have been obtained by man in a state of purity; the only terms upon which the law could offer life. It showed them also the utter impossibility of attaining this object by the law, in a state of transgression; and thus revealing on the one hand the demand, and on the other the impossibility of complying with it; it shut them up to the faith which should be afterwards revealed.

Of this law our text speaks; a law of total submission to the will of the Creator; as obligatory upon Gentiles as upon Jews; as binding in heaven as upon earth. Of this it is said, we *know* that the law is spiritual. This attribute of the law is a fundamental truth, and one as evident as the same attribute of God. None can deny it, without denying the whole character of God, of which the law is a transcript. And with the same authority and truth with which we can say, we *know* that God is a Spirit, may we also say, we *know* that the law is *spiritual*.

I am now brought, therefore, to the point at which I desired to arrive, *the spirituality of the law*.

I. My first object will be to explain the meaning of the expression—the law is *spiritual*.

1. In its *origin*, it flowed from no human or subordinate source, but from God, who is himself a spirit; whom no eye hath seen, nor can see. This law is a copy of the character and will of the Deity. The same inspiration which says,

love is the fulfilling of the law, says, God is love; so that a perfect conformity to the law would be an entire imitation of the moral character of God. It was first established when the first creature was formed, for then the will of the Creator was first declared. In heaven, it is binding upon the spirits exclusively; and the love which moves in the breasts of innumerable holy beings around the throne of God, is the fulfilling of this law. There its origin and its whole operation are equally spiritual; and it is admired and reverenced there as the mirror in which the infinitely glorious perfections of the Deity are beheld.

In reference to man, the origin of the law is spiritual. It was communicated by the Holy Ghost. It was written by the Spirit of God, upon the heart of man, in the hour of his creation. When Adam opened his eyes first upon the beauties with which God had been pleased to surround him, this spiritual law upon his heart led him to lift up his immediate offering of pure and perfect love to his great Creator, and to scatter from his spotless soul the fragrance of the offering upon every created being. It was spiritually republished in the soul of every child of God, after the apostacy, in the hour in which that soul was brought back to God in a spirit of new obedience. It was spiritually proclaimed through the mediation of Moses, and other men of God, who spake its requisitions, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It has still the same spiritual origin when the renewed heart is led to perceive and admire its perfections, and the inner man converted unto God, is made to delight in its commands. It is one of those important things which the natural man perceiveth not, nor is able to know, but by the Spirit of God. In its origin, in heaven, with the first created being; on earth, in the heart of Adam; in the revelations of the scriptures, and in the soul of every ransomed sinner, we know that the law is spiritual, and by the Spirit alone to be revealed to man.

2. The law is *spiritual* in its *requisitions*. It was probably chiefly under this aspect that the apostle made the declaration of the text. The law is regarded by some, merely according to the letter of its precepts. The ten commandments, for instance, are considered as simply referring, in their commands and prohibitions, to the external acts or duties of which they speak. This is a false and partial view of the subject. In opposition to it, the assertions of scripture carry these precepts as strongly to the desires and purposes of the mind, as to the open conduct of the life. The whole law is spiritual in its application. It lays its power upon the inner man, and while it reveals what God commands, it requires unqualified and unbroken obedience in the heart which God searches. If man were shut out from the possibility of external breaches of the commands; nay, if he were out of the body in which they must be accomplished, and were wholly a spirit, the law would impose the same obligation upon him, and make the same demands from him. The principle of obedience, is that to which the law looks, a total submission to the authority of God. The change of occasional relations to other created beings, does not at all alter the demand for this single principle of subjection to the divine will. This is the spirituality of the requisitions of the law. The thoughts and purposes which lead, in their regular issue, to outward violations of these requisitions, are themselves as much sins against the law, as the results to which they tend. When the law forbids a sin, it equally forbids every thought, and occupation, and feeling, which would lead to its commission; and when it commands a duty, it equally enjoins every circumstance and habit which can conduce to its performance. In the prohibition of sin, it requires, in the same precept, the contrary duty, and in the injunction of a duty, it forbids the transgression which stands against it. It is thus exceeding broad in its application to the conscience, and like a two-edged sword, cutting at the same moment in opposite directions. If the ten commandments, or any one of them, be considered, this is to be the principle of their interpretation; or if we take the two commands into which the Lord has resolved the whole, this is their legitimate application. In the assertion that the law is spiritual in its demands, we simply mean that it demands the heart, in its obedience. Its object is not the regulation of the outward conduct, the directing, or the cutting off the streams of life. It goes to the fountain of all character in the soul, and demands the perfect cleansing of that, in a perfect conformity to the character of God. If it could be a possible event, it would be entirely true, that though in every feeling, and desire, and act of a whole life, an individual had been obedient, and but one single thought had risen in rebellion against God, or gone astray from him, that one thought would as really annihilate the whole obedience to which it had been attached, as a life of iniquity. This was the fact with the first man, who, by one purpose of transgression, destroyed his whole covenant of life. This is the spirituality of the law's demands. It requires, in your whole heart, a submission to God, uninterrupted by a single insurgent feeling, a purity of character, uncontaminated by a single spot, and a zeal of devotion, unrelaxing in a single purpose. Thus we know that in its precepts the law is spiritual; it has no partial operation for the earth. The very same character it requires throughout the universe. What angels are in heaven, it requires that you should have been, from your birth, and be forever. Its precepts reach the heart, and there are to be obeyed in a perfect and perpetual display of the character of God.

3. The law is spiritual in its *operations*. It was originally ordained to be a covenant of life, and its spiritual operation, then, was simply in its holy, searching and animating guidance to a perfect conformity of the soul to God. It was the friend and guide of man. It taught him what his Creator required. It warned him of what his Creator had forbidden, and thus, in the keeping of its precepts, it gave him great reward.

The disobedience of man has changed the whole course of these spiritual operations of the law. The law can never be the friend of sinners. It comes now with no offer of life. But faithful to God, it stands forth as the witness and the enemy against all who rebel against him. The whole operation of the law upon a sinner, is to convince and condemn him. It comes in the majesty of its authority, and in the clearness of its accusations, for this twofold purpose. It lays out before his conscience the extent of its own claims, and places, side by side, with them, the enormity of his transgressions. It shows him what God requires, and then it shows him what he has done, and thus, spiritually laying open to him his aggravated guilt, it convinces him of the truth of its statements. It stops his mouth from all excuses. It compels him to cry out in deep humiliation, unclean, unclean. Having thus convinced him of the fact of his transgressions, it comes in its condemning power to pass the sentence upon his soul. It proclaims the wages of sin; it announces a coming wrath; it unveils destruction; it strips off the covering of hell; and thus, spiritually destroying the transgressor's soul, it constrains him to exclaim in the bitterness of anguish, "O, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death."

Here the work of the law ends. It cannot go beyond this limit. It convinces and condemns the sinner, and then leaves him to perish. In this aspect, every true Christian may say, as the result of his own experience, I know that the law is spiritual.

Under these three views I wish you to consider the spirituality of the law. In its *origin*, its *requisitions*, and its *operations*. Spiritual in all, because it came from, and is employed by that Divine Spirit who first made man holy, and now renews him again in holiness, after his own perfect image.

II. My second object will be, to draw some suitable reflections from this subject. And,

1. How deeply this view of the divine law must humble the soul of the very holiest of men! As to gross outward violations of the law, many of you may be comparatively blameless. But who has rendered unto God that glory which is his due, and despised every thing, in comparison with him? Were we to trace that line of conduct which the law lays down, in the different relations of life, who would not be compelled, in view of it, to acknowledge that his transgressions were multiplied more than the hairs of his head, and as the sands upon the sea shore? And if we come to the tempers and dispositions which we have exercised, and to the thoughts which we have harboured, who must not blush to lift up his eyes unto heaven, and be ashamed and confounded in the presence of that God who searcheth the hearts? But to call to mind what we have done, or what we have left undone, will give us a very inadequate view of our sinfulness. If you would estimate yourselves aright, you must take the high standard of God's holy law, and see how infinitely short of your duty you have come, in every act of your lives, and in every moment of your existence. You must not inquire merely whether you have loved God at all; but how near you have come to what his law requires, and his perfections demand. You must trace the whole state of your souls from the beginning of their life, and estimate it by this rule. You will then see that your attainments have been as *nothing*, literally, I say, as *nothing*, in comparison of your

short comings and defects. The poorest bankrupt that ever existed has paid as great a proportion of his debt as you have of your debt to God; yea, he is in a far higher state than you, for he, if he discharge nothing of his debt, adds nothing to it, but you have been augmenting your debt, every day, every hour, every moment. The very best deeds of the very best men in an unconverted state, when tried by the touchstone of God's perfect law, are but one continued accumulation of guilt and misery, against the day of wrath. If you try yourselves only by the *letter* of the law, you will not see this; but if you look into its *spirit*, there will be no terms too humiliating to express your sinfulness and your desert of God's wrath and indignation.

O that I could call you to this self-abasing view! That I could wrest out of your hands that delusive plea, that you have done no harm! I pray you take judgment for your line, and righteousness for your plummet, and judge yourselves as God judgeth. It is by his judgment that you must stand or fall, and not by your own; and his judgment, rely upon it, will be according to truth.

Were the condemnation that awaits you to affect only the present life, we might be contented to leave you under your delusions. But we know that you must shortly appear before the heart-searching God, to receive your final doom. Then the book of *his* remembrance will be opened. Then your own consciences will attest the truth of every accusation which shall be brought against you; and then will you see the equity both of the test by which you will be tried, and of the sentence which shall be pronounced against you. There will be no respect of persons in the judgment of this spiritual law. The learned and dignified will stand on the same footing with the most illiterate peasant; or rather will have a severer judgment, in proportion to the advantages which they shall have neglected to improve. The Lord grant you ability to lay these considerations duly to heart; and enable you to abase yourselves before God with that humility of mind, and that brokenness of heart, which God will not despise.

2. In conclusion I would remark, how foolish are all attempts to establish a righteousness of our own by the works of the law! There is not a single precept which does not testify before God against our guilt. Some persons, indeed, have an idea, that Christ has lowered the terms of the law, and brought down its demands to the standard of human infirmity. But where can they find any thing that sanctions such an idea as this? Which of the commands has the Lord Jesus lowered? He has summed up the whole decalogue in his two precepts: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself. Which of these two has he set aside? Which has he dispensed with? Or what measure of abatement has he made in either of them? If this law before the coming of Christ required too much, was it then holy, just and good? If, on the contrary, it required only what was really due, then has not Christ, if he has at all lowered its demands, robbed God of the obedience which was due to him; and thus become himself the minister and patron of sin?

On every subject which concerns the Deity would I speak with reverence; but I must say, that God cannot reduce the demands of his own law. It would be to divest himself of his own glory, and to give liberty to man to violate the obligations which every rational creature of necessity owes to the Creator. The law of God is as immutable as himself; for it is a perfect transcript of his own mind and will. It is a matter of indispensable duty to every creature to love the Creator with supreme affection; and to love, in subordination to him, all the works of his intelligent creation. This law is unalterable. And if any would obtain a righteousness by it, they must obey it perfectly, from first to last; and as this is utterly impossible to those who are already transgressors, the thought of obtaining righteousness by the law must be relinquished by every soul of man. You must, if you would be saved at all, seek for some other righteousness more commensurate with the demands of the law, and more consistent with the honour of the Lawgiver.

I would to God you could all adopt the declaration of the text: "*We know* that the law is spiritual." But how generally are you ignorant of this important matter! Nay, what general ignorance of it prevails throughout the Christian world! All sinners are desirous of moderating the law to their own standard. All are anxious to lessen their own criminality before God; and to do this, they thus attempt to make him the partner of their guilt. I beseech you to settle it in your minds, as an indisputable fact, that the law of God is altogether a spiritual law; and that it must remain so for ever. Let it be thoroughly understood, that this is the nature of the law of which, in these discourses, I am proceeding to speak; and if you gain a clear insight into this important attribute of the law, the uses and operations of it, as subsequently considered, will be perfectly distinct and intelligible to your minds. My great object in the whole of this course of remark, is to persuade you to give up your vain confidence in yourselves; to cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; to lay aside every notion that you have any thing to offer unto God, and to look for a righteousness which shall correspond with the utmost demands of this spiritual law. Such a righteousness is provided in the Lord Jesus Christ, and freely offered by him to every penitent and believing sinner. Remaining under the law, you remain under a curse. You are exposed to the everlasting anger of God for each thought of your life. It gives you no hope and no comfort. The law is spiritual, and you are carnal and sold under sin. It condemns and destroys you in every one of its precepts; and it is the height of infatuation to look to it for justification and life. If these appear to you hard sayings, the Spirit of God must enable you to receive them. He must subdue your pride and vain confidence; and show you by the very law to which you thus cling, that you are condemned and ruined. O that his convincing power were received and exercised in all your consciences; that you could be compelled to cry, God be merciful to us sinners; that you could be constrained, in the view of the law's unbending, impossible demands, to ask, What shall we do to be saved? Then would you follow me in these considerations with success; and find, to your souls' salvation, that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.

LECTURE IV.

THE CONVINCING POWER OF THE LAW.

Now, we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.—ROMANS III. 19.

The consideration of the *spirituality of the law* leads us to consider next, as the subject immediately succeeding, the *uses* and *operations* of the law. The serious contemplation of the extent of the divine law, must lead us with the Psalmist to exclaim, "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." Though, like him, we have seen an end of all perfection, taken and understood the dimensions of all other things, and been able to estimate the worth of all created objects, yet none by searching can find out God, or behold the extent of that law, which is a perfect transcript or picture of his character. The view which I have attempted to give you of the spiritual character of the law, is entirely inadequate to the importance of the subject; but it is probably sufficiently extensive, to convince you that the subject is important in the highest degree, and one which it is reasonable for us to desire to understand.

We now take the law, thus extended and illustrated, for our subject; and proceed to speak of its uses to us who live under the operation and within the reach of the privileges of gospel grace. It is not uncommon to deny its whole application to men living under the gospel; and it is frequently denied to have any thing like the power and influence which will be assigned to it in these discourses; and which are assigned to it, I believe, in the infallible revelations of the scriptures. The question which the apostle asks, "Whereto serveth the law?" is asked, but in a different spirit, by many among us. The subject now before us will be sufficient, if it be properly regarded, to answer this question, to those by whom it is suggested in a spirit of inquiry; and to set aside the objections of those by whom it is brought forward, in a fretful spirit of opposition.

In pursuing my design, I shall present the spiritual law of the Most High to your view, under four different aspects:

I. In its CONVINCING power upon the conscience of the sinner.

II. In its CONDEMNING power upon the soul of the impenitent.

III. In its GUIDING power to lead the sinner to Christ.

IV. In its GOVERNING power to control him after he has embraced the gospel.

The subject of the present discourse, is the *convincing power of the law upon the conscience of the sinner.* "Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped and the whole world become guilty before God."

It is by "whatsoever things the law saith," that its power to convict the sinner is displayed. The legitimate and proper operation of this power is "to those who are under the law;" and so extensive will be seen this proper operation of the law, "that every mouth will be stopped, and the whole world will become guilty before God," or come under the judgment of God, justly forfeited and condemned. This convincing power of the law is either shown in the salutary awakening of the sinner in his day of grace, that he may be brought to Christ for life, or in the final arousing of his conscience in the day of judgment, that he may acknowledge the justice of his own condemnation. In one or the other of these conditions, the mouth of every sinner in the universe shall be stopped; and under an irresistible conviction, he shall be compelled to acknowledge himself guilty before God.

The power of the law to convince the sinner in his day of grace, that he may be saved by his acceptance of the Lord Jesus, is the subject to which I would direct your attention at this time. The law is the great instrument which the spirit of God employs to convince men of sin; and in his hands it is declared to be living and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder the soul and spirit; laying open to view the most secret purposes and plans of the inner man; and discerning or separating, for the purpose of clearer exhibition, the thoughts and intents of the heart.

In this process of conviction, the law is altogether an instrument of the Holy Ghost. In itself, it is to the conscience of the transgressor a mere dead letter, because his eyes are so blinded that he will not see its impartial records; and like the deaf adder, he stops his ears that he may not hear that which it testifies against his soul. This refusal to behold and listen, the spirit of God overcomes; and putting life and resistless power into the declarations of the law, he breaks down all the sinner's strong holds of pride and self-confidence, and crushes his rebellious spirit into the dust of humiliation and conscious ruin. Though without this spiritual application of the law he may be alive and boastful in himself, when the commandment comes with the attendant power of the Holy Ghost, sin revives in all its awful, deadly and destructive features, shows itself to his conscience, without disguise, in its own hideous form; and he, under the clear apprehension of its guilt, and the danger which attends it, dies; lies powerless at the feet of Jesus, and yields himself to the new creation of his grace.

I. By the instrumentality of "whatsoever things the law saith," the Holy Spirit convinces the sinner of the guilt of his past trangressions. We have already seen that the law claims entire, perpetual and spotless obedience. It describes the holiest of possible character, and demands the conformity of the whole man to that. In the exercise of its convincing power, it reveals this true character of itself to the sinner's understanding, and compels him to acknowledge it; and then comparing the obliquity and defects of his own character with its strictness and purity, laying down a rule perfectly straight and unbending upon the crookedness of all his conduct, it gives him thus a knowledge of sin. It communicates a knowledge both of the nature of sin in itself, as a transgression of this law, and of the existence of it, in an aggravated degree, in his own character and life. You have naturally no disposition to attend to the things which the law saith. In reply to its holy and inflexible demands, your hearts are ready to say, "Not so; be that far from thee to condemn the righteous with the wicked." But it is the truth, that the law lays the most awful charges of guilt against your souls; and in the operation of it, to which I now refer, it convinces you of their justice. It searches into your character, and shows you to be, by nature and voluntary habit, a mass of corruption and sin; having the whole head sick, and the whole heart faint. It charges you with having spent the time which the divine forbearance has allowed you on earth, in an open defiance of the great God of heaven. It accuses you of presumptuous sins committed against warning and knowledge; of relapsing into them against vows, and protestations, and prayers; of rushing by all the admonitions and entreaties of your own conscience, in the determination of your sin. It accuses you of sins of inadvertence and ignorance, utterly without number; of allowing days to pass without consideration or reflection; of crowding together the greater part of your lives, without pondering what you do, or caring whether you do well or ill. It accuses of secret sins of thought and desire, literally like the ocean's sand; sins which, though they are concealed from the cognizance of the world, are open and naked to him with whom you have to do; sins which pass you like the motes that play upon the sunbeam, and elude all your exertion to examine or pursue them. It accuses you of the habitual omission of holy duties; of negligence of God and his requirements; of restraining the voice of prayer, and refusing the offerings of praise. It accuses you of total deficiency in the spirit of those duties which you have undertaken to perform; of dullness, formality and hypocrisy in your apparent approaches to the service of God. It accuses you beyond all acts of omission or commission, of that which they infallibly indicate, a natural state of sin; a nature of rebellion; a fountain in your hearts, of aversion to God; a state of character and life, in which every feeling and purpose partakes of the universal bitterness, and is sinful and worthy of condemnation; from which there has never proceeded in the minutest or most infantile shape, one good thing. These are the charges which the law makes against you, as constituting the guilt of your past transgressions; and with these, by the quickening power of the Holy Spirit, it convinces you of sin.

II. By "whatsoever things the law saith," the spirit convinces the sinner of his exposure to the wrath of Almighty God, and of his danger of eternal death. The divine law has guarded itself against all violations, by the most important and solemn sanctions. While it promises life everlasting as the result of everlasting obedience, it denounces eternal death as the inevitable consequence of eternal sin. It proclaims an unspeakably awful curse upon every soul of man that doeth evil, and because every man living is born a sinner, and grows and matures in sin, this curse, in all its terror, is laid upon every soul of man. The sinner's condemnation is not a future matter. He is condemned already; and although, like a convict in his cell, there is a respite yet allowed before the execution of his sentence, still his case is to be regarded as disposed of; no new act of authority is required for his punishment; his time is fixed, and he is only to be let alone until it shall arrive. The state of an unconverted sinner is a state of condemnation and wrath. There are many of you who may be ignorant of this; nay, perhaps, who may feel disposed to deny it. But this is one of those things which the law saith, and in the exercise of its convincing power upon the conscience, it makes you acquainted with this solemn and all-important fact, that you *are* condemned already, and the wrath of God is abiding on you. It shows you, that although prosperity and wealth, and ease and honour, may be allowed to decorate your passing hours here, your final destiny, while you remain under the law, is nevertheless fixed; there is a curse rolling forward upon your souls which will sink you into eternal ruin. While the law convinces you of your real character, as sinners, it fastens this acknowledgment upon your minds, that for you, in this character, there remains, "the fearful expectation of judgment and fiery indignation," which will consume you, as the adversaries of God. It shows you, that all your past blessings are no proof of God's acceptance of your souls; that although he has sustained you, with much forbearance, you were still "vessels of wrath fitted for destruction." In the hour of conviction, it lays open before you the solemn fact, that you have been the enemies of a God who has said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." It shows you that you are, with the utmost reason, condemned to everlasting death, and that it would be altogether right and just in God to cast you finally from his presence, and to refuse the exercise of mercy to your souls. It lays down before you the long chain of sins to which reference has been already made, and attaches to every individual in the series an everlasting curse, and then bids you to look at your condition, and see what hope you have of escape from the damnation of hell. I pray you to observe that this conviction of your exposure to God's holy indignation, is only the revelation of a fact of which you were before entirely ignorant. The law saith, "There is none that doeth good—no, not one; they have all sinned; they have all become abominable." Then it saith, "Cursed be every one that sinneth against God." "Let wrath come upon them, and let them go down quick into hell, for I have seen iniquity in them all." Of this condition of ruin in which transgression of the law has placed you, in your state of native carelessness, you are entirely ignorant. The convincing power of the law, of which I now speak, does not make the fact of your danger, but it unveils your eyes, and compels you to see it. Under the operation of this power, though you groan in anguish, you are no more in condemnation than you were before, when you were thoughtless and gay; but you have been made to see and consider dangers to which you were before voluntarily blinded, and the sight of your previous actual condition, over which you have long slept in heedlessness, will now, under this convincing power of the law, fill you with apprehension and grief.

III. The law, with the attending power of the Spirit, convinces the sinner of the utter impossibility of his ever obtaining justification before God, on the ground of his own works. This fact the apostle declares in the verse immediately following the text, "Therefore, by the deeds of the law, shall no flesh be justified in his sight, for by the law is the knowledge of sin." The law teaches no other knowledge than this. A knowledge of pardon and salvation must be acquired from some other source. The convinced sinner sees this utter impossibility, and while he is obliged to acknowledge his guilt, and to confess his just exposure to wrath, for his transgressions, he finds himself compelled to lay down all hope of working out any righteousness for himself. He cannot obtain acceptance by his obedience to the law, for the law shows him the total imperfection of any obedience which he can render. He cannot be justified by making satisfaction for his disobedience, for the law shows him again, that no satisfaction can be received, short of the penalty threatened, which is everlasting death; so that to hope for life, by satisfying and recompensing divine justice for his offences, is simply to hope for salvation by being damned. This twofold impossibility he sees demonstrated to his conscience beyond the power of denial. To this great end, the convincing power of the law will operate upon your consciences. When it has thus brought you to despair in yourselves, by showing you your unspeakable dangers, and your utter inability to find a remedy in yourselves, by any thing which you can do or suffer, it has finished its work. There it must leave you, in this horror of great darkness, until the Holy Spirit, who, by this ministry of the law, has convinced you of sin, shall, by the gracious ministry of the gospel, convince you of a perfect and sufficient righteousness laid up for you in Jesus Christ.

This is the conviction which the Spirit of God produces, by "whatsoever things the law saith;" and until the law has wrought with this convincing power upon your consciences, all preaching of Jesus Christ to you is utterly vain. Until you are thoroughly awakened to acknowledge the facts to which the law calls your notice, you will never turn, with a godly sorrow for sin, to embrace the offers of mercy which the gospel holds out to your acceptance. You will wrap yourselves in your own carnal confidence, and see no need of looking after any other righteousness than your own. You will think yourselves whole, and will, therefore, refuse the physician. You will be blind to danger, and deride the proposal of salvation.

But upon whom is this convincing power of the law to operate? The text declares, "whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law." In the connexion in which the apostle uttered this assertion, it was to prove the guilt of those persons who were supposed to be in possession of the greatest privileges. The Jews, who were in every sense "under the law," were perfectly ready to acknowledge the truth of the broadest statements of sinfulness, when applied to the Gentiles, but were disposed to deny the proper application of the same statements to themselves. In opposition to their personal assumption, the apostle wrote the text; he argues the reasonable application of all that the law had said, to those to whom the law had been given, and while the law did utter aloud the charge of universal and indiscriminate guilt, it certainly designed to direct the charge against those to whom its holy and searching precepts had been communicated. In applying this assertion to the moral law, which we are peculiarly considering, I must unequivocally assert its appropriation to every human being; all, without exception, are born under the inflexible obligations of this sacred law, and the things, therefore, which it saith, belong to the whole family of man. If they applied to Jews, to whom had been given the oracles of God, as well as to Gentiles, who had been without a revelation, they apply to those to whom these divine oracles are still granted, as much as to the heathen, who are without the knowledge of God. As extensively as the precepts of the law reach upon the earth, do its charges of guilt, and its denunciations of punishment, also go; and if there be not an individual man who is released from the obligation of loving God with all his heart, there is not an individual who is not justly accused of transgression, and threatened with punishment for having refused to comply with it, "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" nor is there a man who can say, without entire falsehood, "I have made my heart clean; I am pure from my sin." The proper operation of this convincing power of the law is upon every human being. Its broadest accusations, and its most fearful threatenings, belong to every one before me, and none can have the prospect of security by pleading an exemption from the charges which it makes. Whatsoever things it says, it says to you. And whether it comes in the power of the precept, or in the terror of the denunciation, it lays its iron grasp upon your souls, and will *hold* you to eternity, unless there come to your rescue, a power of grace stronger than the power of wrath. Its object is to convince you of sin; to show you your entire need of a Saviour; to constrain you to throw away all deluding and destructive pleas; to compel you, in the acknowledgment of your guilt, to cry aloud for the exercise of mercy; to send you to the blood of an Almighty Redeemer, as the only fountain which can be opened for sin and for uncleanness. If its operation upon your consciences, for this purpose, be denied and resisted, its further design is then to convict you before the bar of God; to compel you there to see your exposure to wrath and eternal woe, and to draw from your own conscience the acknowledgment that your condemnation is just.

This end and result the apostle declares in the conclusion of our text; the law says all these things, that "every mouth may be stopped, and the whole world become guilty before God." Now, the mouths of sinners are by no means sealed; they are every day uttering complaints against the unreasonable strictness of the divine commandments. You find your natural hearts constantly rebelling against the solemn demands of God: you do not, you cannot acknowledge, that you are bound to such devotion as it requires, or that you are justly charged with guilt, for failing in that, which you find to be so repugnant to your dispositions, that its fulfilment amounts to an impossibility. You find your hearts inventing a thousand excuses and pleas for your security; temptation, ignorance, heedlessness, weakness, are all severally urged as sufficient reasons why you should be dealt with upon some milder system, and receive a more extensive toleration. All these complaints and excuses arise from the want of that conviction, which it is the province of the law to impress upon you. When by the power of the Spirit, with the ministration of the law, you are convinced of sin, your mouths will be sealed. The justice and holiness of God will be so apparent, that you will feel no right to complain though you are condemned. Your own aggravated guilt will be so clearly manifested, that no excuse or extenuation will occur to your remembrance; you will lie down before a God of immaculate purity, with a spirit torn and bruised, acknowledging the truth of every accusation, and proclaiming the entire justice of every woe. Whatever may be the character of others, you will feel that shame and confusion of face alone belong to you, and that God is righteous though he taketh vengeance. If this conviction be not awakened in your souls in your day of grace, while it may be salutary and effectual, it will come upon you like a giant aroused from his sleep in the day of judgment; confusion will cover you in that day when God arises to shake terribly the earth, and to repay vengeance and recompense to all his adversaries. Then, every impenitent and unprofitable servant will be speechless, though he be bound hand and foot and cast into outer and final darkness: while the universe will proclaim the abiding spotlessness of the judge, who thus solemnly condemns.

The final result of this convincing power of the law is, that beside silencing the complaints of every transgressor, "the whole world may become guilty before God," or come under the judgment of God, condemned for sin, and without a claim for the exercise of mercy. The holy law announces its requisitions, and proclaims its sanctions, that it may make room in this world for the exercise of abundant grace, and hereafter display the entire justice of God in the exercise of condemnation. It brings the whole world, and every individual transgressor, under the divine judgment; nothing can be demanded but the wages of sin; in passing by every sinner, God would not be unjust; in pardoning and saving one, he is infinitely gracious and merciful. When the sinner is truly convinced, he sees this fact strikingly displayed to his mind. Under such circumstances you will feel that you are justly under condemnation, under the judgment of God, and that there can be no reason found for the extension of any compassion to you, but in the unsearchable riches of the love of God. This conviction will lead you to look to nothing for pardon and rescue, but free and unlimited grace: to throw yourselves altogether upon the mercy and sufficiency of that Being, who has become the end of the law, that he might bring in an everlasting righteousness for you, and in whom God can be just, and the justifier of all who believe in him.

When the law works its last and eternal conviction upon the conscience of the impenitent, in the day of retribution, this great and final end to which the text points you will be displayed, "The whole world will come under the judgment of God." He will be seen to be righteous who judgeth in the earth; and while not a being has any claim to mercy, and the impenitent and hardened are justly condemned; he will show, in the free and full redemption of every soul that has fled to Christ for refuge, how, in his own appointed and glorious way, mercy can rejoice against judgment, and grace accomplish what the law must leave undone forever.

LECTURE V.

THE CONDEMNING POWER OF THE LAW.

The law worketh wrath.—ROMANS IV. 15.

The whole subject of the present discourse is presented in the declaration of this text. It is the *condemning power of the divine law.* We are now to consider the law as standing forth, to warn men against itself; we are to regard it as proclaiming to every sinner who is seeking after salvation, "it is not in me;" we are to speak of that aspect of its character, which occasions it to be called "a fiery law," a "ministration of condemnation," and a "ministration of death." Let it be distinctly understood, that the whole power of the law here referred to, has accrued from the apostacy of man. For man, as an innocent being, it was ordained unto life. Its one grand requisition of implicit and total submission to the will of the Creator, was written upon his heart; and whether that controlling will of God prohibited the eating of an apple, or the crime of murder, the necessity of obedience and the guilt of transgression were not in any degree altered. This law, to a holy and obedient man, would have wrought life and happiness, as it does to the pure spirits of heaven.

But to a fallen man, it works nothing but wrath. In the violation of its one grand requisition, Adam and his posterity fell into ruin and guilt. "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." "By the offence of one, many died, and judgment came upon all men, to condemnation." This violated law is the covenant under which every child of man is born into the world: it rolls down its sentence of death for past transgression, from generation to generation, at the same time that it does not relax in any degree the obligation of its demands. Every infant of the race is exposed from his birth to the awful penalty of this broken covenant, as much as Adam was in the moment of his sin, and is still bound to render the full obedience which its precepts demand, as much as Adam would have been, if he had never sinned. Every unconverted sinner remaining still "a child of wrath," remains under the two-fold pressure, which is here referred to, of a penalty, the endurance of which is intolerable, and of a requisition, ~~the~~ fulfilment of which is impossible. Christ Jesus the end of the law for righteousness, offers the only refuge from the wrath which the law thus works, and every man who is rejecting Christ Jesus from his heart, is voluntarily choosing to abide under a covenant which works, and can work, nothing but wrath. "Tell me, then, you who desire to be under the law, do you not hear the law?" Does it say any thing to you, but "do this, and thou shalt live?" Does it set before you any alternative, but "Cursed be he that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law, to do them?" Has it any other terms than this? "Do this," this wrath-working law proclaims; do it all, *all* without exception, *continue* in it from first to last, and you shall live. But a curse, an everlasting curse, awaits you if you offend in any one particular; plead what you will, its denunciations are utterly irreversible: "I wish to obey it," you may say, and it answers you, "Tell me not of your wishes, but do it." "I have endeavoured to obey." Tell me of no endeavours, but do it, or you are cursed." "I have done it in almost every particular." "Tell me not of what you have done almost, have you obeyed it altogether? Have you obeyed it in all things? If not, you are cursed." "I have for a great number of years obeyed it, and but once only, through inadvertence, have I transgressed." "Then you are cursed; if you have offended in one point, you are guilty of all." "But I am sorry for my transgression;" "I cannot regard your sorrows, you are under a curse." "But I will reform, and never transgress again." "I care nothing for your reformation, the curse remains upon you." "But I will obey it perfectly in future if I can find mercy." "I have no concern with your determinations for the future, I know no such word as mercy, I cannot alter my terms for any one. If you rise to these terms, you will have a right to life and need no mercy. If you fall short in any one particular, nothing remains for you but 'everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.'"

I pray you to observe, that this is no fancy of mine. St. Paul says, "as many as are of the works of the law," or looking to the law for any ground of hope, a description which includes all men in a natural state, "are under a curse." "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." There is no mere human being who has ever obeyed the law; and, therefore, without an exception, every mouth is stopped; every soul is counted guilty before God, and is under a curse *now;* condemned already; a curse, which, if the only refuge for the sinner be rejected, must remain on them eternally. This is a plain statement of the demands of the law. And from the utter impossibility that an apostate being should rise to the terms of its inflexible demands, "it works wrath;" it warns men to flee from itself, and to seek a hope of peace somewhere, where it may be obtained, in consistence with the character of God.

This condemning power of the law, this solemn warning which it utters against itself, is manifested in *the obedience which it demands*, and in *the sentence which it passes.*

1. If it referred solely to overt and gross acts of transgression, it would rather encourage us to cleave to it, for our hope, than dissuade us from abiding by its terms. But such is the spirituality, the exceeding broadness of its character; such is the extent of obedience which it demands, that it charges us with guilt, not only on account of open violations of its commands, but also on account of the defectiveness of our best actions. Suppose that you are at this moment filled with love to God; does this love rise to the full measure of the precept which requires it? If not, your best moment is a moment of guilt, and a sufficient reason for condemnation. The same may be said in reference to all your best efforts to fulfil the commands of God. The law cannot receive the disposition in place of the act. It makes no toleration for the sincerity of desire, if there be not the utmost fulfilment of the requisition. It is so rigorous in its claims that it admits of no deviation, no weariness, no defect, even for a moment, or under any circumstances, to the very end of life. Thus, in the inexorable character of its claims, it works wrath; it produces inevitable condemnation, and lifts up its voice in perpetual warning against itself. "Do not think," it says to you, "of obtaining life by me; you see my demands; you see that they can never be relaxed; you see that a curse is denounced against the least transgression; I can make no abatement on account of your weakness; I can offer no assistance for the performance of any one duty; I can present no hope of mercy; I must have a spotless obedience from first to last; and though there be but a single failure in that, I must testify against the acceptance of the whole; and will you seek life in me? O fly from me; be afraid to remain one hour under my curse; escape for your life to him whom I acknowledge to be a Prince and Saviour, able to give repentance and forgiveness of sins." The terrors of Mount Sinai, and the fence around its base, and the strict injunctions against any attempt to break through and gaze, marked the impossibility of gaining access to God by any way which the law could open. In reference to that illustration, Moses said, "I exceedingly fear and quake;" and much more, in the actual exposure to the reality, may you feel awakened and terrified at the wrath which this holy law thus works.

2. In the sentence which it passes, it still further manifests this destroying power, and warns you to flee from all idea of attaining hope in the personal satisfaction of its claims. The penalty of disobedience in a single deficiency, is everlasting death. There is no alternative less than this presented by the law. Whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to those who are under the law; and reveals indignation and

wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil; and then shows that *all* have sinned or done evil, and come short of the glory of God. In proclaiming its irreversible sentence, the law asks you the simple question, "Who can dwell with the devouring fire? who can dwell with everlasting burnings?" Thus bringing up every soul of man before God, under the solemn charge of guilt, and then laying the obligation of endurance of its penalty upon every one who hath sinned, the law can work nothing but wrath; and man might as reasonably seek for rest and shelter in a burning fiery furnace, as seek for life and salvation in his own obedience to the law.

It is remarkable that the whole body of the Israelites were required to give their cordial assent to this condemning power of the law. When the Levites proclaimed from Mount Ebal, "Cursed be he that continueth not in all the words of this law, to do them," it is added, "and all the people shall say Amen." Be it so, it is right. Some of my hearers have been ready, perhaps, to cry "God forbid," under some of my statements, to imagine that I have overstrained the matter. But I would commend this example to you; and while I make assertions correspondent with the evident revelations of Almighty God, and so conformable to all the sober deductions of our own reason, I would hope there may yet be found but one sentiment pervading this whole assembly; and that all, in the way of intellectual acknowledgement, and of cordial approbation, will be ready to cry out, "Amen, amen."

Having considered this condemning power of the divine law, and shown how it works wrath, I wish now to point out the connexion which this attribute of the law has with ourselves. I have said, that every child of man is born under the curse of this law, as a matter of unavoidable inheritance. But beyond this, I now assert that every unconverted man, every one who has not yielded himself to the spiritual dominion of the Lord Jesus Christ, is labouring to obtain salvation by his obedience to the law. All men by nature, being ignorant of God's righteousness, attempt to establish a righteousness of their own, and in the refusal to submit to the righteousness of God, thus expose themselves to all the wrath which the law can work. This connexion you all have with this vitally important subject. The moment in which you turn to *any thing* which you have done, as a ground of hope and justification, you choose this for your covenant, and become debtors to do the whole law; and then there is presented to you the simple choice of perfect and perpetual obedience, or chains of everlasting darkness. This disposition to rest upon the works of the law, you will find all persons to be indulging who are not spiritually united to Christ.

There are some who look for their justification altogether upon the ground of their own works; they cannot understand why good works should be required at all, if they are not to obtain our acceptance with God. And when the assertion is made, that our own obedience does not in any degree operate to procure our justification, they suppose that we set good works altogether aside, and encourage all manner of licentiousness. These persons throw themselves altogether upon the law; agree to abide by its terms; expose themselves to the utmost of its claims; and voluntarily assume the whole amount of wrath which it has power to work.

There are others who see and acknowledge that some honour is due to Christ, and that from his being called a Saviour, we must stand indebted to him in some manner, in part at least, for our salvation. They will assert, therefore, a partial dependance upon Christ, and try to connect his atonement with their own obedience. The utter impossibility of such an expedient they do not see. The one makes void the other. Their salvation must be altogether of grace, or altogether of works. The attempt to unite them, only forms a system, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image, part of iron and part of clay, which can sustain no weight, and constitutes a totally insufficient foundation. These persons, in the rejection of a free redemption through unassisted grace, lay themselves down beneath the whole burden of the law; and not being able to produce the perfect obedience which it requires, for them the law worketh wrath.

There are others who think they must do something for themselves; and therefore they enter into a kind of composition or agreement with the Lord of all, that they will render him obedience, if he will bestow upon them salvation. They do not expressly unite their merits with his, but they make their own obedience the ground upon which they confide in him, the reason for the trust which they affect to place in him. They do not remember that they have no obedience to bring; that they have nothing but sin and misery to lay down before him; and thus they do not feel that their total dependance must be in sovereign and all conquering grace; that they must receive a salvation entirely without money and without price.

There are others who refine still more than this. They think themselves willing to give all the glory of their salvation to Christ; but they want some warrant, some argument for believing in him. They are not willing to take the fulness of the provision, and the freeness of the promise, for this warrant, but they must find it in themselves. They will either say, that they dare not go to him, because they are so vile; and therefore they will endeavour to make themselves better before they venture into his presence, and indulge the hope of his acceptance; or else, that they have a good hope of his acceptance and mercy, because they have never transgressed the bounds of human infirmity, or have truly repented of their faults. The result of all these delusions is the same. They throw the sinner wholly back upon the claims of the law. Salvation must be all of grace, or all of works. Any attempt to blend the two, in any measure, destroys the whole idea of grace, and exposes to the demand of perfect works, under the alternative of endless wrath upon their failure.

This is your connexion with this subject. If you do not come as poor and outcast and perishing, to the atoning sacrifice and the justifying obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ, you must stand by the law and meet its requisitions. If you are not willing freely to accept the work of a perfect surety offered in the covenant of grace, you must, in your own persons, fulfil the utmost demands or bear the eternal penalty of the covenant of works. The terms of this covenant you cannot, in any degree, alter; you must come up to the full of its demands, or it works for you nothing but wrath. Let this consideration lead you, with St. Paul, to seek earnestly and only to be found in Christ, not having your own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God, by faith in Christ; and to count every thing but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of him.

If this connexion of our ourselves with the condemning power of the law be a fact; if it be true that it works wrath to an extent so universal, O what deep humiliation of soul becomes you all, in view of its claims! What an amount of curses it suspends over the sinner's devoted head! You must not look solely to your outward transgressions of the commands, your grosser violations of precepts, as reasons for God's righteous anger. The wrath of God is revealed against *all* ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Your defects expose you as much as your violations to condemnation, and every omission, as well as every positive disobedience, will receive its just recompense of reward. If, then, it should be granted that your lives are blameless, so far as regards outward violations of God's authority, still your iniquities have grown over your heads; your sins are utterly innumerable. In comparison with many of your fellow-men, who have suffered the punishment of trampling upon human laws, your characters may appear exemplary and worthy; and such, men may think you; but in the sight of God the difference between you is small. He may behold in you less gross iniquity, but see it far more than counterbalanced by an abundant measure of spiritual sins, by no means less hateful in his sight. Suppose it had all been true which the self-righteous Pharisee asserted of himself, that he had been no extortioner or adulterer; did not his hateful pride, his self-complacency, his uncharitableness, more than compensate for that? If he had tried himself by a proper standard he would have found but little reason for his self-preference above the contrite Publican; he would have seen, that had all been true which he had asserted, the simple difference between them was, that the one was a painted sepulchre, and the other a sepulchre without paint. I do not assert that gross outward transgressions add nothing to a man's guilt; but that in the absence of these, God may see spiritual transgression in the heart, more than enough to supply their place. The point to which the attention must be directed to produce true humiliation, is the defectiveness of our best services. Look upon this deep deficiency in duty; behold it in its aggravated character, as against a God of infinite love and mercy; against a God who has assumed our nature and laid down his life for us; against a God who has been interceding with our hearts, to guide us aright, and to lead us to repentance. Behold it also against light and knowledge, against vows and resolutions, against judgments and mercies, and continued in without repentance or shame for many years. Behold it as a proud rejection of the boundless love of a crucified Saviour; as a bold and persevering determination to stand upon your own ground, and to claim salvation upon your own merits, and you will see that the law reasonably works for you nothing but wrath; that your guilt must sink you into everlasting perdition, if God do not interpose in the multitude of his mercies, and cause his grace to superabound, where sins have so fearfully abounded. Behold the aspect under which this condemning law brings out your character, and you will see that to call yourselves the chief of sinners, is not merely a humble expression, which, though it sounds well upon the lips, need not be felt in the heart, but is the real character which belongs to you all, since the very best man among you must know far more evil of himself than he can know of any other individual, and see a depth of guilt in his own heart, concealed from the knowledge of the world, which, were it exposed to public view, would overwhelm him with total degradation.

If you will fairly bring up your character to the trial of this condemning power of the law, you will see yourselves exposed to God's heaviest judgments, no less than the most flagrant transgressors in the world. You will feel obliged to cry for mercy, as Peter did when sinking in the waves, "Lord save me, or I perish." Others who have different views of what God demands, may wonder and say, "What can *you* have done to call for such humiliation and distress?" But you will know your own deserts, taste the bitterness of your own sins, and feel compelled to lie down before a holy God in the deepest self-abasement.

O that you could be brought to this state of mind; to have it as a settled principle in your judgments while the mirror of God's requirements is held up to you, that by the works of the law no man living can be justified. O listen to this law, though it works nothing but wrath. If its warnings are alarming to you, they are indispensable; and surely it is better that you should be warned in season, that your house is built upon the sand, than be suffered to perish in its ruins. Should I know your danger, and utter no warning, I should be accessary to your ruin. It is a fatal delusion which shuts your hearts against the acceptance of a Saviour, who is the end of this fiery law, for righteousness to your souls. There is no other hope presented to you; but this is presented. And while the law drives you thus away from itself, humbled, guilty and condemned, it does not thrust you upon an ocean of uncertainty, to find by chance, where you can, a remedy for your disease and a satisfaction for your want. It acknowledges a righteousness in your anointed substitute commensurate with its utmost demands. It bids you seek to him and live. It tells you of a Saviour who can preach glad tidings, though it cannot. This has been my present object, to show you that there was no dependance to be placed in your own obedience, and no hope to be offered you in the law. The law offers nothing but a curse; and yet all the unconverted among men are still seeking salvation in this curse. The gospel of Jesus brings a full salvation, and yet the same sinners are rejecting all the mercy which it presents. I ask your serious thoughtfulness to be directed to the subject now presented to you; and if you can be persuaded to listen to the warnings which the law utters against itself in the condemnation and wrath which it works, your minds will be prepared to consider it with me next as a guide to him who is able to save unto the uttermost, all who come unto God through him.

LECTURE VI.

THE LAW A GUIDE TO CHRIST.

Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.—GALATIANS III. 24.

The subject which we are now to consider, is one upon which we may enter with delight, as in every respect congenial to the feelings of a redeemed soul. There has been an unavoidable aspect of severity in the views of the law, which have been previously presented to your minds. But this severe appearance of its demands will serve to render the more cheering and valuable our reflections upon the great object of proper love and adoration who is now brought before you, as the chill and darkness of the night which is just passing away prepares us to welcome the rising of the sun with the greater gladness. To meditate and to speak of Christ, is delightful to those who appreciate his worth; and to be able to lead the hearts of the sinful children of men to a cordial acceptance of his redemption, and to a free submission to his power, more than compensates for the unpleasant severity by which their minds need often to be awakened to an acknowledgment of their necessities.

The interesting subject now before us, is the *guiding power of the divine law to lead our hearts to Christ*. The illustration in which the apostle presents this subject to us, in connexion with our text, has great force. He argues from the total impossibility that any law should be given to a fallen being which could bestow life, the necessity and value of that system of redemption which the gospels reveals by faith in Jesus Christ. He then considers the condition of all those in whose hearts this life-giving faith had not been produced, as one in which no alternative was presented to them but this, or ruin. He represents the law as a jailor, under whose power they were fast shut up, for this alternative. The law was added because of transgressions. It was not designed to give life to a fallen being, or to be in any way the friend of sinners. It imprisoned all under the bondage of sin, and allowed no avenue of escape but that which grace opened in Jesus Christ. Before this great object of faith came, men were thus universally imprisoned under the law. Every door was fast barred, and every one was to remain so but the single one, which opened upon the satisfaction of Christ. They were shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed, as their only alternative to perpetual imprisonment. Thus the law, closing every *other* way of escape, and dealing with its captives with great severity, became a kind of schoolmaster or guide, to bring them unto Christ, that they who could not be justified by works might be justified by faith; and when this door of grace opened upon them, as it were of itself, and the divine messenger of mercy loosed their chains and bade them go in peace, while the keeper became as a dead man; then, except they remained voluntarily in their captivity, they were no longer under this schoolmaster; no longer under the law, but under grace. This is the course of the apostle's argument, in which he introduces the assertion of the text.

1. In considering this guiding power of the law, the views of the law, which have been already presented, must be borne in mind. It must be remembered, that the law can never be set aside. It is as unalterable as the character of God himself. It is holy, and can never abate of its commands. It is just, and can never mitigate its sanctions. It is good, and must eternally continue so, whatever may become of those who are subject to its dominion. In every thing which it requires, its direct tendency is to promote the honour of God and the happiness of man; and if it become an occasion of unhappiness to any, it is only through their own perverseness in violating its commands. Immutable in its constraint, it says to all, "The curse which I have denounced must be inflicted; the commands which I have given must be obeyed. If there be any person found to endure the one for you, and to fulfil the other in your stead, and God Most High be pleased to accept a substitute in your behalf, it is well. But without such a regard to my right and my honour, no man living shall be saved. I must be magnified and made honourable. My integrity and faithfulness must be shown before the whole creation, or no sinner shall find acceptance before him from whom I proceeded, and whose authority I must maintain."

The law thus, as it were, puts us upon a search for some sufficient Saviour. It leads us to look at the demands which it makes upon us; and when we are convinced of the unalterable character of those demands, and see the impossibility of our complying with them, we are directed to the inquiry, if there can be a possibility of finding an adequate substitute. It is not my object to consider the text in its application to those who lived before the actual appearance of the Saviour on the earth. I wish to present the whole matter in the light of personal application to individuals among ourselves, and to consider the present habitual operation of the law as the sinner's guide to Christ. Considered in this light, it makes its personal demands upon us, by a compliance with which it promises us acceptance. It tells us honestly and candidly, that if we can undergo the full punishment which it requires for our past transgressions, we shall be accounted free from guilt, and allowed to set out again in our attempts to obey the divine commands; and then, if we can offer a full and perfect obedience to the precepts which it sets before us, we shall be considered righteous, and be justified and accepted upon the ground of our own righteousness. When our consciences have become convinced of the folly of any exertions to work out such a righteousness for ourselves as this, then it tells us, if we can find such a satisfaction and such an obedience in any one who will be the surety for our souls, its claims may be answered. But when the law has thus put us upon looking out for a Saviour, we ask at once: Where can one be found who is capable of thus fulfilling its requisitions? one who can bear infinite wrath, and accomplish a spotless obedience? And above all, where shall we find one who is ready to do this *for us?* A creature, though he were an archangel, would sink under the everlasting wrath of God. Any creature would be himself as much subject as we to the divine commands, and therefore could only obey for himself. He would be bound to fulfil all that the law has enjoined. He could do nothing beyond his absolute duty. He would therefore be in the end an unprofitable servant. He could never obey for others, for he could not exceed what was due from himself; so that no created being could become such a substitute as the law would accept. The only thing under such circumstances that could give the slightest hope to man, would be for God himself, the only being competent to answer the demand, to come as the substitute for sinners; and in their nature to suffer and obey for them. Were this possible, there might indeed be a hope, because the dignity of the sufferer would put a value on his sufferings sufficient to overbalance the eternal sufferings of the whole world; and the obedience paid by one who was under no obligations to obey, would form a justifying righteousness sufficient for all the sinners of mankind. This would be sufficient, were it possible; but how can such a thing be contemplated for a moment? Is it *probable?* Is it *possible?* Possible or not, the law shuts us up to the attainment of this or death. It says decidedly, "I can consent to no lower terms than these. Suppose such a plan to be sanctioned, approved and executed by the Almighty himself, then I can consent to the salvation of sinners; yea, I should not only *consent*, but highly *approve* of it, because the satisfaction and obedience of the living God will glorify me infinitely more than either the obedience or the condemnation of the whole human race. Let such a plan as this be made and executed by the Creator, and I agree that you shall be saved by it and receive a weight of glory, which your own obedience never could have deserved. Let a door like this be opened to you, and I can hold you imprisoned no longer; but until it is so, you are still shut up under the impossibility of obtaining salvation."

Thus the law acts as a guide to bring us unto Christ, by awakening our expectations, and putting us upon the inquiry for a Saviour competent for our wants. It prepares our minds to hear the glad tidings of the gospel, and to look with amazement and thankfulness into its glorious revelations. It prepares us to rejoice in the faithful sayings, that "God was manifest in the flesh;" "made in all things like unto us, sin only excepted;" that "he hath borne our sins, in his own body, on the tree," and "become obedient unto death," and been raised for our justification," that he might "become the Lord our Righteousness," and that we might be found in him, having the righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ. By leading our minds to look altogether to this quarter for a way of escape from the captivity in which we are held, the law becomes a guide to Christ, and when this door of grace is opened, and the light of eternal day shines into our prisons, we are ready to arise and follow the herald of peace and security with the utmost gladness and speed.

2. Again, the law acts as our guide to Christ, by showing us *how* we must go to him to obtain an interest in his redemption. It exhibits to us our real character and condition, showing us that we are, in fact, sold under sin, in a state of entire bondage, without any thing to offer for our own redemption, and without ability to do any thing for our own rescue. It holds up plainly to us the great truth, that our salvation must be all of grace, the fruit of overflowing compassion, having no reference to any worth in us in our state of captivity, or to any thing we shall do for our Deliverer, after our release. When this door of faith is opened to us, and Christ calls us to the liberty of the gospel, the law tells us, with fidelity, "you must not attempt to recommend yourselves to him by any works whatever. You must arise and go to him ignorant, that you may be enlightened; guilty, that you may be pardoned; polluted, that you may be purified; enslaved, that you may receive a free and full redemption. You must carry nothing to him but your wants and miseries, and expect nothing from him but as the result of his own previous purposes of grace, and the free gift of God, for his sake. You must renounce, and count as worthless, every thing of your own, and desire to have him made unto you, all in all, your wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that throughout eternity you may glory in the Lord alone. If you entertain the idea of earning any thing by your own obedience, you will only come back to me and remain under my imprisonment, to be dealt with according to the terms which I have proposed. You must disclaim all thought of this, and be content to be saved by grace alone, to receive every thing from that fulness which is laid up in Christ. This is a way of salvation, both *suited to you*, and *honourable to God.* It is suited to you, because it provides for those who are ruined, every thing, as a free gift. It is honourable to God, because, while it preserves my integrity unviolated, it exalts and glorifies every perfection of the Deity. Flee then by the open door which is set before you. Flee to the everlasting covenant which God the Son has established by his own blood. Believe in him. Look to him as the procuring cause of all your blessings. Be not discouraged by any conviction of your own unworthiness, but go to him as the chief of sinners, that you may be made the brightest monument of his grace. He came to call sinners to repentance, to seek and to save that which was lost, to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that were bound. The more deeply you feel your need of him, the more readily will he receive you to the arms of his mercy. He stands at the door and knocks. He calls to you, "Come unto me, all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." "Whosoever cometh unto me, I will by no means cast him out."

The law thus shows you, in your bondage, both the necessity that some way of salvation altogether by grace shall be laid open to you, and the method in which you must become interested in this gracious salvation when it is revealed. It tells you of the necessity of some Almighty substitute, and of the dependant and suppliant manner in which you must apply for his mercy, and appropriate his work to your souls. Thus it prepares you to hear and receive the revelation of that great fact which constitutes the gospel, that such a substitute has been found; that he has finished the work of redemption which was necessary, and having made all things ready for your salvation, invites every sinner to become a partaker of his mercy. In this way the law acts as a guide to the gospel, as a schoolmaster to bring you unto Christ.

3. The law further manifests its guiding power by showing you how you must maintain an interest in his redemption. "That we might be justified by faith." The great want of a rebel sinner, who is under the condemnation of the law, is of a justification before God. The idea of justification, includes in it a pardon for past transgressions which shall restore the sinner to the condition of an innocent man, though a man without merit; and a title or right to future blessedness and reward which must arise, and can only arise from a perfect obedience to the commands of God.

In order that a sinner may be justified, the law shows this twofold righteousness to be necessary. He must have this to present before God. Now to be justified by words, would require that we, ourselves, had personally accomplished this righteousness of satisfaction and obedience which is demanded. If this could be done, we should have whereof to glory; we should be independent of every other being; heaven would be ours by legal right; there could be no room for the exercise of grace, nor could God justly deny what we fairly deserved by our own obedience. The law, in the exercise of its convincing power, shows the impossibility of this ground of hope. But still our condition is not changed; our want is the same; we must be justified, or we must be condemned. If we cannot be justified by works, is there any other way in which we can attain this desired end? Yes. The law brings us unto Christ that we may be justified by faith. To be justified, or to be pardoned and rewarded by faith, does not mean that faith is received in the place of a perfect obedience, and is itself regarded as a sufficient righteousness. Faith is not the matter or reason of our justification. But it is the instrument or means which conveys to us and makes our own, the perfect righteousness of our Great Surety, a righteousness which more than answers every demand of the law of God. How then does the law guide us to this justification? Why, it says to us, "You must have a perfect satisfaction of my penalties, and a perfect obedience of my precepts, or you cannot be justified. This satisfaction and obedience you can never accomplish for yourselves; therefore, by the works of the law shall no flesh living be justified. I can never save you, either in whole, or in part. Cease, therefore, to look to me for that which I can never bestow upon you. But while you can never obtain this end for yourselves, there is one who has done every thing for you. He has a righteousness to be bestowed freely upon you, perfectly commensurate with my demands. Procure his righteousness to be imputed to you, to be made yours. Obtain a title to his obedience, which he is ready to give you without money and without price, and you will be able to present to God all that I can ask, and be fully and eternally justified before him. Believe in him, and this perfect righteousness of his shall be made yours forever. You well know how a branch receives every thing from the stock into which it has been engrafted; precisely thus must you receive from him the blessings which he offers. You must, by faith, abide in him, and you shall be freely accepted before God. The law thus unalterably demanding a perfect fulfilment of all its requisitions, before a sinner can be justified, and at the same time pointing to the Lord Jesus Christ, whose everlasting righteousness is to be imputed to us, and made ours by the instrumentality of faith, becomes our schoolmaster, or guide, to lead us unto Christ, that we may be justified by faith; and when, in the acceptance of the tidings of the gospel, this faith has come to our souls as the instrument of our attaining an acceptable righteousness, the law sets us entirely at liberty; we are no longer under a schoolmaster; we are no longer in bondage; but being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, or the gospel which brings the spirit of life to our souls, has made us free from the law of sin and death; the law which could give no knowledge but sin, and pay no wages but death, and we are to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

And now, that you have seen the guiding power of the law, and heard the instructions which this schoolmaster gives, let me intreat you to take him as your guide to life. There are other teachers who will speak to you in far milder terms, and accommodate their statements much more to your carnal minds. They will tell you of the value of your good works, of the mercy of God, of the lowered terms of obedience which the Saviour has introduced; but I beseech you, listen not to them; they will deceive you to your eternal ruin. A dependance, however partial, upon your own obedience, will destroy your souls. For, establish whatever standard you may, and try yourselves by it, and you will find that your own system concludes you under sin. Which of you has, from his earliest youth, acted up fully to the light which he has enjoyed, and done every thing which he knew, or believed to be required of him? Nay, which of you would dare to stand by this trial, and allow his everlasting destiny to be determined by it, for even a single day of his life? There are many not able to endure sound doctrine, who will deceive you by such hopes as this, and persuade you that your salvation must, after all, be in part by your own works. Such delusions are fatal beyond expression. There is no salvation to be derived, in any degree, from your own obedience. The utmost attainments in personal holiness which you may acquire, are of no value in the estimation of the law. They can purchase nothing from God. Nay, so far are you from obtaining salvation by your own holiness, that you *have* no holiness of character until you have renounced this vain ground of hope, and fled to Christ as your only refuge, that you may be justified because found in him. All your possible obedience to God results from this vital union with Christ, in which you are justified. Before you are thus accepted, there is not a single aspect of your character which does not exhibit rebellion against God. You never do or can obey until salvation has visited your souls, in your cordial acceptance of the Lord our righteousness; and then you are accepted before God, not with the least reference to any thing in yourselves, but solely because he has paid the penalty, and fulfilled the precepts of the law for you.

O, that God may be graciously pleased to impress these truths upon your minds! to open your hearts to receive the things which are spoken in the word of truth! Your natural state is one of utter ruin. Your condition was fairly represented in the case of the Israelites, bitten by the fiery serpents. You are incapable of restoring yourselves to health, or of finding a healing balm throughout the universe. Death is sweeping you off, in swift succession, and, alas! whither is it bearing you? What is to be the result of your rebellion? But why? Is there no remedy? In the case referred to, see the remedy. Let Moses be your guide to Christ. By God's command he erected the brazen serpent, and proclaimed throughout the host the joyful tidings, that whosoever would look upon it should be saved. The opportunity was gladly embraced by multitudes who were perishing, and the promise was fulfilled to them. This day is this transaction renewed in the midst of a congregation of dying sinners. You are all perishing from the wounds of sin. There is not a creature in the universe who can render you the least assistance towards a recovery from your condition of ruin. But the Lord Jesus Christ is set forth openly among you, as crucified for your sins; and the law itself directs your hearts to him, as the great appointed way for your salvation. This hour would this instructor bring your souls to him, that they may be justified by faith. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so hath the Son of man been lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have eternal life. Behold the eternal Son of God, lifted up upon the cross, bearing the burden of your sins, bruised for your iniquities, made a curse under the law, for your souls. Hear his gracious invitations: "Look upon me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else." "There is no Saviour besides me." Hear the law and the gospel uniting in one annunciation to you: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and you shall be saved." "All that believe in him shall be justified from all things." "In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified and glory." O, throw away your garments of self-righteousness and come to him. Come miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked, and lay yourselves down before his feet, to find a free salvation. Fly from all dependance upon yourselves. Shake off all the weights that false instructions and false views would hang about you, and ask for a free redemption by the grace of God, through the blood of the Lord Jesus; and while the law utters unavoidable denunciations, and makes impossible demands, let them lead you to that gracious Saviour who has wrought out an everlasting righteousness, and bringing it for your acceptance, asks to be received into your hearts, as your hope of glory, and your only source of peace and consolation.

LECTURE VII.

CHRIST OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.—Romans x. 4.

The subject which this text presents to you, is the most important one which can be offered to the view of a congregation of sinful beings. It embraces the whole grand system of man's redemption It comes to you as rebels against God, under the condemning sentence of his law, exposed to his fiery and everlasting indignation, and utterly unable to find a ransom for your own souls; and addressing you under this character, it announces the glad and glorious intelligence, that there is *one*, in whom for you, all fulness dwells, *one* who has fulfilled every demand upon your souls, and wrought out for you an everlasting and all-sufficient righteousness. After the views which we have taken of the convincing, condemning and guiding power of the divine law, after the terrors which we have seen to be denounced against us, and the demands which we have seen to have been made upon us by this violated dispensation, it will be refreshing and satisfactory to us to meditate upon the glorious truth of a full and free redemption from its curse, and its power to destroy. In my last discourse, I considered the operation which the law had to lead us unto Christ, for a free justification through his blood. The present subject comes in an immediate succession to that, as it presents the real ground and foundation of our acceptance before the throne of God, and the actual object of a living Christian faith: "Christ the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." In my remarks upon this important subject, every word should be adequate to the vastness of the theme; and I desire to look with intenseness of dependance to the enlightening Spirit of God to guide me in what I may say, and to enable you to attend to, receive, and understand the things which may be spoken, agreeably to the holy word and will of Almighty God.

In considering the present text, *three* subjects are suggested for reflection and inquiry.

I. What Jesus Christ did, as man's Redeemer, for which he may be called the end of the law.

II. For what object was he thus the end of the law?

III. For whom is he thus the end of the law, and who are benefitted by his redemption?

It will be readily perceived that these three inquiries will suggest most important topics of remark, and express my views in reference to some cardinal but controverted points of divine truth.

I. We will inquire in what sense Jesus Christ is "the end of the law."

The word which is here translated *end*, presents to us two distinct ideas. It signifies both the object which was designed, and the object which has been accomplished. Christ was the end of the law in both these senses. He was the grand object to which the law pointed, and to which it was designed to lead, and he has been the fulfilment of all that the law required. He was the end to be attained by the law, and in the finishing of his work of love, he has been the end and accomplishment of all the law's demands. These two points we will separately consider.

1. The full redemption accomplished by the Lord Jesus Christ, was the grand end to which the law was to lead, and the object in view in the publication of the law. Under whatever sense you may consider the word *law*, you will find the entire truth of this assertion.

Jesus Christ was the grand object of all the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish dispensation. Every sacrifice offered with fire from the time of Abel, pointed to him, and had no meaning or efficiency, except as the faith of the offerer laid hold of this great sacrifice, by which sin was to be put away, in the latter ages of the world. The purifications and washings of the ceremonial law, the construction of the tabernacle and temple, and the thousand ordinances among the Israelites, which in themselves appeared so unmeaning and useless, were all designed to lead their minds forward to him in whom all righteousness should be fulfilled. They were the shadows of the really good things which were to be revealed in the incarnation of the Son of God. They made nothing perfect, for they were themselves entirely imperfect and incomplete, without that key to their design, furnished by the actual redemption accomplished in Jesus Christ. He was the single object to which they led, and without him they are, in themselves, entirely inexplicable. The whole of the Mosaic ritual was appointed, not of itself to be the immediate means of salvation to any individual, but to point universal attention to him that should come as the single author and source of life eternal unto sinners. For this purpose it was established, and to this end its consistent and proper operation guided all.

Christ was also the great object of the moral law. The publication of this divine law to fallen beings, whether in the age of the patriarchs, or by the ministration of Moses, was not designed to open in it a way of life for sinners. Its object was directly the reverse; it invited none, but it faithfully warned all. By showing, in the spiritual purity of its required obedience, the impossibility that any sinner should comply with its terms, it invited all to look forward to some other source for salvation. It was added, or proclaimed anew to man, from time to time, because of transgressions; to convince men of their sin and danger, until the seed should come, in whom all the promises were to meet and be fulfilled. To constrain sinners to look forward to the great Redeemer who was promised, was one most important object in the proclamation of the law; and in the accomplishment of this purpose, it caused him to be the desire of all nations, and to be welcomed by those in all nations who waited for consolation from on high, as an unspeakable gift and blessing to all.

In this sense Christ was the *end* to be attained, both of the law of ceremonies, and the law of moral obedience. They are unintelligible without him, and as their requisitions and ordinances are read and considered in the Old Testament, he must be borne constantly upon the mind as the great object in whom they were all designed to meet and become effectual; and with the light which is thrown back upon them from his redemption, they have a meaning and force, which without him they must want entirely.

2. Christ is the *end* of the law, in the actual accomplishment of all the law demands.

While all the shadows and ceremonies of the Jewish religion were designed to lead to him, he has fulfilled them all, rendered them unnecessary in their obligation, and set them aside forever. The types of the old scriptures are all answered in him. The predictions which they gave of his circumstances and character, and the illustrations which they furnished of the method of his personal obedience, have been all accomplished. These types and shadows, exhibited in correspondence with the Saviour's work, are still useful, as illustrating the nature of his redemption. They deserve always to be studied and considered, for his sake. But he is their full and single end, and they cannot carry the mind beyond the parts and progress of his glorious dispensation. The ordinances and institutions of the law of ceremonies are fulfilled in him. He is the Great High Priest; the only sacrifice; the true paschal lamb. He has opened the one real fountain for sin and for uncleanness, and while God could not accept sacrifices and burnt offerings, or have pleasure in them for their own sake, he has come, in a body which was prepared for him, to do the will of God, and to sanctify forever those who are accepted in him. Having thus fulfilled the objects and design of all the ceremonial observances of the law, he has abolished them forever. That which is perfect has come, and that which was in part is done away. All the shadows of a salvation approaching for man have past by in the arrival of this salvation in the fulness of its light and power; and Christ having come, and offered himself without spot to God, to obtain eternal redemption for us, has become the end and fulfilment of all that this law of ordinances designed.

Of all the requisitions of the moral law he is also the end. He has fully obeyed its precepts, and endured its penalty. While the law required a perfect and spotless righteousness, an obedience which should be, in the minutest point, altogether unblameable, Jesus has rendered the utmost of its demands; and because his nature was so high and dignified, and he was under no obligation to obey the law, but was perfectly voluntary in his conformity to it, his obedience magnified it and made it honourable. The law claimed the utmost love to God, and universal benevolence to his creatures. This love Jesus rendered, and thus his obedience was an entire fulfilment of the law.

But it cannot fail to be remarked by a reader of observation, that while Jesus thus perfectly fulfilled the law, so that it had no claim upon him in the shape of a penalty, even for the most trifling deficiency, he was still dealt with and punished as an entire criminal. He received the full punishment of transgression, and died under the condemnation of the violated law. He furnished the only possible instance in which the same being shall perfectly conform to the precepts of the law, and yet sustain the curse of an universal violation. And while a being who has never sinned may fulfil the preceptive part of the law, and a being who has sinned may bear the penalty and curse of the law, he alone could make them both the matter of experience, and thus become the *end* of all that the law demanded of any created being.

It is in this aspect that he is presented as the substitute for sinners. All that he did, he did for them. Every part of his life formed a portion of his actual obedience in their behalf; and every suffering which he passed was a part of that death which he had voluntarily undertaken for them. The hour in which he became a subjected being, he began his voluntary and unconstrained humiliation; and from that hour every moment of his life was a part of his one great offering for the transgressions of his creatures. The two-fold demand which the law made, he accomplished; and his infinitely exalted character and rank added such dignity and worth to his obedience and sufferings, that they were reasonably accepted as of more value, and more honourable, than would have been the personal submission of the whole human race. The divine law made no demands, and can make no demand, which this high Redeemer did not adequately answer, so that though his obedience did not abolish the law as a rule of life for his followers, it did provide for them, in answer to its demands, a perfect righteousness; and he was for them the end or fulfilment of the law, so far as it regarded any claims which, as a distinct dispensation, the law could have against them.

It is under these two senses that Christ may be called the *end* of the law, as he was the great object to whom the law was designed to lead, and as he has been the accomplishment of every thing which the law required.

II. The text further declares the purpose for which the Saviour thus became the *end* of the law: it was for "*righteousness.*"

It could be for no other purpose. Righteousness comprises the whole circle of the law's demands, and the whole extent of the sinner's wants.

The law could ask for nothing but a righteousness which should be a satisfaction of its penalties, and a fulfilment of its precepts. When this righteousness, this perfect conformity to its claims was found, the law was satisfied, it could go no further.

The sinner under the condemnation of the law, wanted nothing but a righteousness which should be sufficient to answer the requisitions of the law which held him in bondage. Whenever and wherever he could find this adequate righteousness, his release and liberty were made secure to him forever.

The violation of the law formed the whole necessity for an atonement and expiation for sin, because sin is the transgression of the law. Accordingly, when a Saviour was found who agreed to become the sinner's substitute, his mediation would have been unavailing, unless he could furnish this righteousness, which was the sinner's single want. It was the relation in which the transgressor stood to the divine law, which made his need for a priest and sacrifice; and when that priest and sacrifice appeared, it must have been to sustain the same relation to the law in which the sinner had been placed, or the mediation would have come short of the necessity. That he might obtain a righteousness sufficient for his wants, was the sinner's only need for a Saviour and substitute. Of course, all that this Saviour did as the surety for the sinner, must have been designed to accomplish and provide for him the perfect righteousness which his condition of condemnation and despair rendered indispensable.

The Saviour came to release the sinner from the bondage of the law, and to bestow upon him freely, by his grace, the inheritance of life which had been forfeited by disobedience. The law could not agree to this release until its demands were fully answered. Every thing, therefore, which the Redeemer did or suffered, was designed to make up and finish this everlasting righteousness which the case required. His labours and instructions, and miracles, his pains of body and agonies and darkness of mind, all his acts of obedience and all his deprivations and sorrows, united themselves for this single end, that he might be the Lord our Righteousness, and able to save unto the uttermost those who should come unto God through him. In him there is now provided the infinite treasure of merit which the sinner needs. We are to stand complete in him; and while the Father could say of him as the evidence of the greatness of his own love, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," the law could proclaim in view of the perfectness of his work, "This is a righteousness which meets my utmost claims."

The satisfaction which the Saviour made to the law was perfect and entire. He answered every claim which it could make for obedience or suffering; and thus he accomplished a perfect righteousness, for righteousness is nothing but perfect conformity to the law.

But this righteousness which he attained by being thus the end of the law, could not be for himself. The law had no claims upon him; his obedience and his sufferings were equally and entirely voluntary; and all that he did, he did as the substitute for sinners. When he became the end of the law, he was in possession of a spotless righteousness. But for whom was this righteousness? The text answers this question: "He is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth;" and thus presents us with our third subject of remark.

III. There is no distinction among the whole human family as it regards the condemnation under which the violated law has placed them. Without reference to any acquired varieties of character or degrees in guilt, by natural inheritance, every man born into the world is under a curse, and under an equal curse, for sin against God. This is the relation in which the whole race of men stand towards God; condemned under his righteous judgment, and exposed to his everlasting wrath. In becoming the end of the law for a world thus universally guilty, the Saviour has provided a remedy in every respect equal to the want. It was to satisfy the law, and to render the salvation of men consistent with the character of God, that an atonement was required, and a Saviour offered. This Jesus has done; and the righteousness which he possesses as the world's Redeemer, is sufficient for all, is designed for all, and is honestly offered to all the children of wrath and sin. The satisfaction to the law, which was indispensable to render the forgiveness of a single sinner consistent with the character of God, was equally sufficient for the whole world. Before the law was thus satisfied, not an individual could be pardoned. After this perfect satisfaction was made, it is trifling to speak of limitations to its sufficiency or its offers. The whole world may be saved in as perfect consistence with the character and government of God, as a single transgressor. The way is perfectly opened, for the exercise of grace to all; and there is not a barrier left, but in man's voluntary and determined enmity to the God that made him, to the universal salvation of this fallen family.

But while there is this perfect sufficiency and unlimited invitation in the work of substitution which Christ has finished, the result of the case is the simple one announced in the text. He becomes a personal righteousness only to those who believe. There is abundant provision, and it is honestly offered to every sinner; but it is applied for individual salvation only to those who accept it in faith. While the law was unsatisfied, the holiness and faithfulness of God could allow no offer of salvation. The atonement of Christ has respect singly to this difficulty, and renders the exercise of pardoning grace consistent with the divine character, and honourable to the divine government. If no atonement had been made for sin, men could not be required to believe, for there would have been no Saviour for them if they should. But now nothing prevents the pardon of all but the want of that evangelical faith which shall appropriate to the sinner the provided righteousness. Any man may be pardoned who will accept with faith the offered atonement. The way is open, and equally open to all. The proffers of pardon are made with the same sincerity and kindness to every sinner to whom the gospel is preached; and he who does not accept them, and of consequence remains unpardoned, must remember that nothing is in his way but his own impenitence and want of faith. He is condemned singly and wholly, because he loves darkness rather than light.

When any sinner can be led to accept with faith Christ as the end of the law for his righteousness, every obstacle which the justice of God and his own perverted heart interposed to his salvation, has been removed; and he is accepted, crowned with full redemption, and saved with an everlasting salvation.

How glorious and consistent is that scheme of salvation which is presented in the gospel! Jesus, an Almighty Saviour, all in all. The gospel takes us just where it finds us, in a state of ruin and sin, condemned by the law of God to everlasting perdition, and utterly incapable of procuring justification by our own righteousness. In this miserable condition, it announces to us a Saviour divinely great and glorious, divinely excellent and lovely, assuming our nature to become an expiation for our sins, revealing to us the way of reconciliation to God, and inviting us to enter into it and be saved. The acceptance of this expiation it announces from the mouth of God himself; and the simple terms upon which we may be reconciled to God, by believing in Christ and being found in him, it discloses with exact precision and perfect clearness. The one demand which it makes upon us, is the submission of our hearts to Christ, because with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.

How desirable is that vital principle of faith which shall seek and find a permanent refuge for the sinner in the bosom of Jesus. The cause of every sincere believer is safe in the hands of God. Christ has been the end of the law for him, and there is no condemnation to him while he is in Christ Jesus! He has chosen the good part, which shall never be taken away from him. The Saviour who has begun to befriend him in this infinite concern, will never leave him nor forsake him. All the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord. Though he fall, he shall rise again; and his mercy God will not utterly take from him. In the seed which is sown in his heart there is a blessing, the beginning of life immortal. Cold and wintry as is the climate beneath which it has sprung; unkind and barren as is the soil in which it grows; doubtful and fading as its progress often appears, it cannot die. The hand which planted it will cultivate it with unceasing care, and will soon remove it to a happier region, where it will flourish, and blossom, and bear fruit for ever; and the satisfied law will rejoice in the triumphs of grace which have brought the ransomed soul to eternal glory.

And O how awful is their condition who voluntarily reject this Saviour, in whose atonement and sufficiency God declares himself well pleased! The law condemned them, for their original apostacy, to everlasting ruin. To the guilt of this apostacy, unatoned, unrepented of, and therefore remaining in all its enormity, they add a second condemnation: the peculiar guilt of rejecting the singular and amazing efforts of the goodness of God to bring them back to holiness and life.

In what manner men can more effectually despise the divine character, affront the divine goodness, and expose themselves to inevitable destruction, no mind can conceive. No other offer can be so kind, no other blessing is so great, no other display of the character of God so lovely. The ingratitude, therefore, of the sinner refusing the righteousness of Christ is wonderful, his guilt incomprehensible. If, then, the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall these unbelieving and ungodly sinners appear? If it be a fearful thing for all men, for heathens and Mahommedans, to fall into the hands of the living God, what must it be for those men to whom Christ is offered freely, daily and always; who sit, from the cradle to the grave, under the noonday light of the gospel, and bask through life in the beams of the sun of righteousness? Be assured, the Lord knows how to deliver the godly out of their temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished.

LECTURE VIII.

THE GOVERNING POWER OF THE LAW.

Being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ.—1 CORINTHIANS, IX. 21.

I enter with much pleasure upon the subject now before me, because I am aware that many of my hearers have felt anxious lest my arguments, to which your attention has been previously called, should be supposed to set the obligations of the law altogether aside. We have considered the divine law as a spiritual system of requirements, convincing the sinner of his guilt and danger and weakness, condemning the impenitent under the perpetual burden of unpardoned guilt, guiding the awakened sinner to the mercy offered in Jesus Christ, who has been the end of all its demands, as the sinner's righteousness; and we are now brought to the fourth and last aspect of this holy system, in its governing power over those who have embraced the gospel, or fled from the terror of its denunciations to the shelter offered in the full salvation of Christ.

It has been my wish to state as clearly as possible, the great truth, that our own obedience has not the least influence upon our justification before God. We are accepted solely for the perfect obedience of the Redeemer. In such plain statements of the doctrine of the Bible, many in our day, as in the apostles' time, are ready to think that the necessity of obedience has been destroyed, and that our system is one which tends to overthrow a proper watchfulness in personal character. To relieve all such fears, and to shield the truth from such unreasonable and improper imputations, I am now to show the use and obligation of the law as *a rule of personal conduct* to the true believer.

The expression of St. Paul in the text furnishes a proper introduction. His anxiety to win souls to Christ, led him to conform, so far as it was consistent with his duty, to the habits and prejudices of all among whom he ministered. He asserted his entire liberty from the impositions of all men, and yet he voluntarily submitted to the views of all, that he might gain the more. In preaching to the Jews, he became a Jew in his outward conformity to unimportant ordinances; and while they considered themselves under the ceremonial obligations of the law, he refused not to submit to them also, that he might win their attention to the liberty which was presented in the gospel. And on the other hand, while he preached to those who had never received the law, he became in his disregard of ceremonial observances, without law also, that he might gain those who were thus without the law. This varying compliance with the feelings of men did not show that he had no regard to the divine authority, or that he felt himself to be without law to God. He claimed the privilege of disregarding only that which had been fulfilled and abrogated. The moral precepts of the Almighty laid upon his conscience with their full power; nay, his embracing the hopes and promises of the gospel, had increased their authority upon his heart; he was "under the law to Christ," who had given him a still higher standard of obedience and still more powerful motives to lead him to obey; and the doctrine of salvation in Jesus which he preached to men, though built upon his perfect satisfaction of the demands of the law, did not make void its authority as a rule of character, but tended still the more to establish and confirm it.

The text describes the exact condition of the justified and accepted man. He has been delivered from the condemnation of the law. It has no penalties to demand of him. He is free from all its denunciations; but he has been placed under new obligations to obedience, and has new motives leading him to acquire a perfect holiness of life and character. He is not a lawless man, not without law or any rule of obedience to God, but under the law to Christ, who has perpetuated and confirmed upon him every divine commandment; and taught him, that thus only can love to a Saviour be exhibited, by obedience to divine commandments.

The sinner who has embraced the gospel of Jesus, is resting his whole hope of justification upon the perfect righteousness of the Lord. He does not expect to earn a single hour of peace or glory by his own holiness of character. The obedience in which he trusts for his salvation, was finished long since; and he does not hope to add an iota of merit to that great offering which has been once for all made for his soul; but yet, as his rule of character, the law has dominion over him so long as he liveth. Its governing power constrains him unceasingly in his exertions, to bring forth fruits of holiness unto God. He is bought with a price, that he may glorify God in his body and spirit, which are his; and is in the expression of the text, "under the law to Christ."

1. The law displays this governing power over the Christian, by setting before him the unalterable standard to which he must be conformed. As a rule of individual character, the law of God is holy and perfect. It is the transcript of the character and perfections of the Creator. A conformity to its precepts is an attainment of the image of God. After this image every Christian is to be progressively renewed, until he is holy, as God is holy. The one principle which fulfils the law is love. When with our whole heart and strength, we love the Lord our God; and with a principle of universal benevolence we love every creature as ourselves; this principle will lead to the performance of the duties of every possible relation in life. This requisition of entire and unlimited love was laid upon us by the Creator, as it is laid upon every creature which he hath formed. No change of circumstances could ever alter the holy and perfect standard which divine wisdom has thus placed before every created being. Whatever station we should occupy in the scale of being, it must be our indispensable duty to love God with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves. Nor can this obligation be set aside without authorizing men to despoil themselves of the image of God, and to rob him of the glory which belongs to him. When we have embraced in a new heart the mercies of the gospel, and are under the law to Christ, the constraint of this obligation of universal love is increased by all the high motives which the redemption of the Lord Jesus has set before us. No being in the universe, not an angel in heaven, is placed under the law of love, with such a weight of obligation as a sinner ransomed by the blood of Christ. This perfect standard of obedience is set before us, and our great object is, in a conformity to its precepts, through the power of the Holy Ghost, to be renewed after the image of God, from day to day. And though we are forgiven and accepted in Christ Jesus, the governing power of the law still controls us, by presenting the only standard to which we are required to become conformed.

2. One great object of the redemption of the gospel was, that we might be governed by the precepts of the law. The Lord Jesus had in view the holiness and obedience of his people in all that he did and suffered for them. He did not come merely to rescue us from death, but to deliver us from the bondage of sin. This design was given as the reason of the name by which he was called: "He shall be called Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins." The great object declared in the hymn of Zacharias, for which God had raised up a horn of salvation, and remembered his holy covenant, and the oath which he sware unto Abraham, was, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life. To have merely delivered a race of rebels from the ruin which they deserved, would have been but a partial object. The great design was to bring back these rebels to a state of obedience and love; to take away the spirit of hostility which had governed them, and thus to restore harmony and peace to a disordered universe; to stop the breach which the waters of contention had made, and to bring all conflicting feelings and purposes into one in Christ Jesus. This St. Paul declares was the great object for which the Redeemer gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all inquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar

people zealous of good works. He has restored that holy government of heaven which is the source of universal peace and assurance, and died, and risen, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and the living. He will not rule in kindness over a world which still lies in wickedness, but has purchased for himself a church, an assembly of pardoned sinners, that he might present it unto God, holy and without spot or blemish. As he sees this sanctifying of men progress, he sees of the travail of his soul, and is satisfied; and, rejoicing over every ransomed sinner, whom he brings in triumph to the glories of the blessed, he presents each one to the Father, as the full accomplishments of his great design in pouring out his soul as an offering for sins, and consenting to be numbered among transgressors; "Behold here am I, and the children whom thou hast given to me." In the view of his own image impressed upon every glorified saint, and partially upon every child of God on earth, he triumphs in that result of his humiliation and death, which has plucked brands out of the fire, and brought rebels home from eternal condemnation to a lasting conformity to the law and the image of God.

3. The governing power of the law is displayed in the fact, that the most important end for which we are delivered from the condemnation of the law is, that we may obey its precepts. Christ hath purchased us in our state of bondage, by the offering of himself, and bestowed freely upon us the liberty of the gospel, so that we are no longer under the law, as a violated dispensation, uttering condemnation and wrath, but under grace. But we have not been made free that we may continue in sin. We have been liberated that we may obey the holy commands of God, in newness of spirit and life. The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death, or the gospel has delivered us from the condemnation of the law, that what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, or through man's inability to obey God, in sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, might do, that is, condemn sin in the flesh, for this great and important end, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. While under the law as a dispensation, we can never obey its holy and separating precepts; it can offer us no assistance or strength; it can neither make us acceptable nor holy in the sight of God. It acts as a hard taskmaster, requiring us to make brick while it furnishes us with no straw. But when we have embraced the gospel, all the help is afforded us which we want; and we are then able to offer that obedience to the precepts of the law, which in our former condition we were unable to present. And the great object for which we have been thus set at liberty from condemnation is, that we may be able to obey the precepts of the very law which has before held us in bondage and sin. There is a race to be run and a contest to be maintained. But it is vain to command the culprit in his dungeon, bound hand foot with chains, either to run or fight. Loose his fetters and open his prison-doors, and then with propriety, and probably with success, you may require him to contend and strive. Precisely so is it with our connexion with the bondage of the law, and the liberty of the gospel. We are dead to the law, that we may live unto God, and its power over us is cancelled and destroyed as the measure of our hope, that being united unto Christ through whose sufferings we are freed, we might obey its precepts, and bring forth fruits unto God.

4. The governing power of the law is remarkably exhibited in the fact, that a holy obedience to its precepts is one of the most important promises of the gospel. It is announced repeatedly in the Old Testament, that one great result of the publishing salvation in Jesus Christ, should be, that God would put a new heart into his people, and renew a right spirit within them; that he would cleanse them from all their uncleanness and sins, and put his Spirit within them, and cause them to walk in his statutes and to keep his judgments to do them. When delivered from condemnation, we accept the unsearchable riches of grace which are laid up in Christ Jesus, this gracious promise is fulfilled. The disposition to sin is taken away in proportion as we are sanctified; and we are set out upon a new course of obedience to the commands of God. In this aspect of the gospel system, the Christian's personal holiness of character is exhibited as a privilege of the gospel, and his obedience to the law is infallibly secured by God's undertaking to work it in him and for him, by the good influences of the Holy Spirit. The solemn covenant which the Saviour makes with every sinner who receives him in his heart, as his hope of glory, is, sin shall not have dominion over you, for you are not under the law, but under grace. When you were under the law, sin did have dominion over you; but now that you have embraced the refuge of the gospel, this dominion is broken, and you shall be holy, for I am holy. No higher honour could be put upon the requisitions of the law, than this constituting obedience to them one of the chief blessings of the gospel, in the promise that when the full redemption of the people of Christ should be accomplished, they shall be all holy, and presented without blame before God. And nothing could more clearly show, that in delivering our souls from the bondage and curse of the law, the Redeemer never intended to open the door of transgression, to lead us to sin because grace abounded, or to set us fairly loose without law to God; but to give us the very obedience which the law before demanded in vain, to increase our obligations and motives to obey; and with new constraint to bring us, so far as its governing power was concerned, under the law to Christ.

5. The governing power of the law over those who have embraced the gospel, is displayed in the fact, that Jesus has made obedience to it the grand characteristic of his disciples. By this he certainly proves, that he never designed to make void the law, as the believer's rule of conduct. "By this shall all men know that ye love me, if ye keep my commandments." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." "By their fruits ye shall know them." No professions of regard or devotion testify the sincerity of our love for Christ; no sufferings, though they amount to martyrdom for his sake, form an accurate indication of the state of our hearts before him, if a watchful pursuit of holiness of character and conduct be wanting. Our holy obedience to the law, our supreme love to God, our universal love to men, actuating us in all the relations of life, constitutes the only possible evidence that we have been rescued from the condemnation of the law, and made free with spiritual and lasting liberty. A man who has truly embraced the gospel, cannot but be an holy man; for the grace of God which has brought him salvation, has visited his heart for this very purpose, that he might be taught and enabled to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously and godly in the world. And the alternative is perfectly true, that he who is not thus holy, and thus mortifying the body of sin, has never yielded his heart to the dominion and righteousness of Christ, or been delivered from the law, which worketh wrath. There is no other proof of the existence and operations of the spirit of God within the heart; every thing is uncertain and unsatisfying as an evidence of grace, but the love which fulfils the law. They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. Against such there is no law. But, being bought with a price, they are delivered from the law in all its penalties; that in a holy obedience to God, they may be, as their rule and evidence, under the law to Christ.

6. The governing power of the law is displayed in that explanation of its precepts which the Saviour has recorded. The constraint of the law, as a rule of life, he came not to destroy, but to establish it in the obedience of his followers, as it was in the obedience of the holy angels, more durably than even heaven and earth should stand. To this end he displayed the perfectness and spirituality of its character; he showed that its precepts extended to the desires and purposes of the heart; and while men had supposed that the regulation of the exterior conduct was all which could be required of them, he insisted upon the necessity of attention and watchfulness, to be directed to the feelings and thoughts. He taught that the conduct and character of men were desirable, according as they were conformed, in sincerity and holiness, to the will of God, who searches and knows the heart, and that nothing which was merely external or partial, could be of any avail while the spirit and life of true obedience, in the inward character was deficient. In this explanation and extension of the precepts of the law, while he adopted it as the rule by which his disciples were to be governed, he magnified it and made it honourable. He testified to its excellence and purity, and made it evident, that unto all generations of his people, it was to be made the great standard of obedience and character. In his answer to the scribe who asked him which was the great commandment of the law, he displayed the extent of obedience which he required; and while Jewish teachers had looked chiefly to the outward character, he demanded the cordial submission of the heart, in a spirit of universal devotion and love.

These views show the perpetuity of the law, as a rule of conduct, and display the existence and extent of its governing power over those who have embraced the gospel. Perfect holiness of character is required of every Christian. To this all-comprehensive and important end, the exertions of every Christian are to be directed; and although we come infinitely short of this, in our present course, we have no right to adopt an inferior standard. Feeble and worthless as we are in our highest efforts, and not, in any degree, expecting acceptance on account of our obedience, no lower purpose must be set before us, than that we may be presented perfect in Christ Jesus, and have every thought of our hearts brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.

I have thus endeavoured to display the governing power of the law over those who have embraced the gospel; or the fact, that though set at liberty from the condemnation and penalties of the law as a covenant, we are still as our rule of life, under the law to Christ. The effect which our obedience to the law has upon our personal salvation, will form the subject of my next discourse.

And now, let me intreat you, in enforcing the obligations of the law, not to attempt to lower its demands in any point of character. We have seen that as a covenant it recedes not from a tittle of its requirements. Its demands were to be perfectly fulfilled, and they were perfectly fulfilled in the work of the Lord Jesus. As your rule of life, its requisitions are of equal extent. It enjoins you to attain a love for God, with your whole heart and strength, and to love others as yourselves. You must propose no lower standard than this to govern you in your daily walk in life. Do not be satisfied with the standard of the world. Do not be contented with the performance of a mere round of outward duties, or a few kind and charitable acts. You must die altogether unto sin, and live with your heart and spirit unto righteousness. Make it your object to have the whole body of sin within you mortified and subdued; to delight yourselves in the law of God, in the spirit of your mind, and to perfect holiness in his fear. While the law is your rule, let Christ be your example. Walk as he walked. Purify yourselves, as he is pure. Be as he was in the world. Let nothing satisfy your desires and determinations, short of absolute perfection, longing and labouring to be holy as God is holy, and to be perfect as God is perfect.

Be willing servants and cheerful subjects of the precepts of the law. Consider the obedience which God requires of you, to be perfect freedom, and run the way of his commandments, with enlarged and thankful hearts. Where this spirit is, there is liberty and comfort, and the commands of a holy God appear in no degree grievous. Brethren, I speak to them that know the law, and approve of it in the operations of its power, which have been set before you. Let me beseech you to give yourselves up unreservedly to God. Those who do not enter into your views, nor adopt your system, will judge of you by the evident holiness of your characters and lives. Let them see in you what the real tendency of the gospel is. On the character of professing Christians, the honour of God and his gospel much depends; and I would that you should be wanting in nothing; that you should walk worthy of your high vocation in every duty, and by abounding in every virtue, and every praise, let it be seen that you have no wish to sin, because grace abounds, but are cheerfully and perseveringly under the law to Christ. There is no way in which you can put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and prove yourselves to be indeed the disciples of Christ, and be made the effectual instruments of doing good to others, but by pressing onward unceasingly to attain the measure of the stature of perfect men in Christ Jesus.

And should there be any of my hearers who have looked with prejudice upon this subject, and regarded the law as severe, and the gospel as licentious, under the display which has now been made of them, I can only say that I have set before them life and death. I pray them to allow the law to have, in its application by the Spirit, its proper influence to convince them of their sin; to show them their dangers; to lead them to Christ, and then to govern them in a new and holy life. The blessed and abiding influence which it produces upon one sinner, it may produce upon all, and if it harden any in their sins, it is only because they pervert its operation and reject the counsel of God against themselves.

LECTURE IX.

THE EFFECT OF OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW UPON OUR SALVATION.

Blessed are they who do his commandments, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.—Rev. xxii. 14.

At the conclusion of this series of discourses upon the divine law, I am brought to consider the effect which our obedience to the law has upon our everlasting salvation. Everlasting salvation and happiness is the great object to which the scriptures would lead our desires and exertions. For the attainment of this, they would persuade us to forget the things which are behind; to count all other things but loss, and to be willing to sacrifice every thing which is seen and temporal.

This everlasting portion of blessedness to which our attention is turned, the text places before us, under two separate figures, suggesting two distinct ideas. It speaks of it as *dwelling in a city*, presenting the idea of *security;* and as a *partaking of a tree of life*, presenting the image of perfect and eternal *enjoyment.*

Blessed are they who may enter in through the gates into the city, for they shall be everlastingly protected and made secure; and blessed are they who have a right to the tree of life, for they shall possess the means of everlasting enjoyment; and then, because these results are so desirable and glorious, blessed are they who do his commandments, for these important privileges shall belong to them.

The text thus presents us, as two general subjects of remark, *the end which is to be attained, and the way through which we are to attain it.*

I. The great end and result of a Christian life, is the everlasting *security* and *happiness* of heaven; to enter through the gates into the city; and to have a right to, or power over, the tree of life.

1. The scriptures frequently speak of the future state of blessedness for the saints as an abode, or place of residence. Our Saviour calls it "the Father's house." St. Paul speaks of it as "a city which hath foundations;" and St. John styles it the "new Jerusalem." In the two last chapters of the Revelation, the apostle dilates in a beautiful description of the whole appearance of this heavenly city. He speaks of its walls and gates and inhabitants, in expressions which are calculated to fill the mind with the most elevated and glorious thoughts. He describes the character of those who are admitted to its enjoyments, as pure and holy, without a spot. This description of a city is undoubtedly figurative, so far as its minute particulars are concerned. But whether the whole idea of a material abode and residence for the glorified people of God, be a figurative representation, is more than I am able to say. The idea which is evidently suggested to us by the figure before us, is that of perfect security and everlasting defence, and the entrance through its gates implies the attainment of this security, in the regular and appointed method.

The ransomed sinner, who has found this eternal shelter, was a guilty and condemned rebel. He fled from the avenger of blood. The violated law uttered its awful denunciations against him. Offended justice demanded the punishment of his sin. The plain in which he was pursued afforded him no shelter. His own strength supplied no means of defence, and wearied and desponding, he was ready to perish, when the glad tidings of the gospel directed him to the city of refuge, and led him to run thither and be safe. Through the door, by embracing the invitations of the Lord Jesus, he sought and gained a blessed and eternal abode in this home of peace. He was again a pilgrim follower of Jesus, conflicting with trials and difficulties; encompassed with enemies, pressing forward through multiplied sorrows, but keeping his hope steadfast to the end, and purified in all his trials, he has found, at last, his perpetual home, in the new Jerusalem, secured from every enemy, and delivered from every trial forever. He has sought a heavenly country; a continuing city; a kingdom which cannot be removed; and now, by grace, rescued from every difficulty, and supported through full obedience to divine commands, he has an everlasting security in the presence of God. After the views which we have taken of the sinner's necessities under the law, where he is without security, without protection, without comfort and without hope, we are prepared to adopt the full meaning and expression of the text, blessed is he who can enter through the gates, into a city of everlasting righteousness and peace.

2. But this salvation is not only an abode of protection and security: it is the enjoyment of lasting bliss. It is to have a right to, or power over the tree of life. In the description which St. John gives of the city of God, he speaks of a pure river of water of life, proceeding from the throne of God and the Lamb; and on either side of the river was the tree of life, which bear twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. This description presents an abundant source of heavenly enjoyment. There is an abundance of fruit yielded every month. There is a variety; twelve manner or kind of fruits. It is lasting, for it is a tree of life growing upon the bank of a river of the water of life; and even its leaves, that part of the tree which is generally fading and useless, are for the healing of the nations. The glorified Christian is stated to have power over this tree of life. It belongs to him, and he partakes of its enjoyments as his own. In this image, I am not disposed to follow out the minute illustrations. But the whole presents the idea of abiding enjoyment, and to have a right to the tree of life is to have a proper title to everlasting joys. The wants of a sinner under condemnation, having no prospect but death, and no source of comfort or lasting peace in himself, having lost by disobedience the right to any tree of life, and without means to acquire it for himself, perishing in his want and wretchedness, form the contrast to this picture. Amidst the vain and empty and fading gratifications of the present life, blessed is the thought, that there is a tree of rich and abundant life; and while all men are under the condemnation of sin, and without means of purchasing deliverance, blessed indeed is he who has received a right to this living tree; who may look to the eternal enjoyments of heaven as his own, and rejoice in the prospect of their being bestowed upon him.

Under these two figures, the text presents to our consideration the security and the enjoyment of heaven. None will hesitate to unite in its expression, Blessed are they who shall be enabled to attain these in the sure and appointed way which God has set before us; and, therefore, none can refuse their cordial assent to the whole declaration of the text, "Blessed are they who do his commandments; they may have a right to the tree of life, and enter in through the gates into the city."

II. This is the way through which we are to attain the blessings of eternal rest. While in its convincing and guiding operations the law is to be our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we may be justified by faith; in its governing power over our hearts and character by the sanctifying ministrations of the Holy Ghost, producing in us perfect holiness of character, it is to be our schoolmaster also to educate us for the glory of heaven, and render us meet to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. Perfect obedience to divine commandments, universal holiness of character, is indispensably required under the gospel to the attainment of life eternal.

"His commandments" in the text refer to all divine commands, particularly to those two which our Saviour selected as the fulfilling of the law: supreme love to God, and universal love to his creatures. It is by obedience to these commandments that the high privileges of the text are to be obtained; and the reverse of this is perfectly true, the man who does not obey them cannot attain the glories which are here presented.

1. The obedience to the precepts of the law which the gospel requires of every believer, is a perfect obedience; and it cannot, and does not, promise salvation to any man but in the way of a perfect obedience. Still the idea of perfection in obedience under the gospel is quite distinct from the idea of perfection in obedience under the law. This distinction I will make apparent.

The law demanded an obedience for justification, perfect in *degree;* so perfect in degree, that nothing was deficient and nothing could be added. This is the obedience which angels render. The original depravity of fallen beings vitiated such an obedience in the very outset, and the attempt on their part to attain it, would have been to build a house upon a quicksand, into the fathomless abyss of which each stone would sink as soon as it was laid. This obedience, perfect in its degree, to which nothing could be added, an obedience which was necessary to the sinner's justification, the great Substitute for sinners has rendered for them, and has thus entirely fulfilled the demands of the law.

But having released us from the bondage of the law, he demands of us, under the gospel, a perfect obedience also. I say *he* demands it; for being justified by him, we are no longer under the law, but under grace. The law does not demand, but Christ does. But the perfection of obedience which he requires, is a perfection of *motive* and *principle*, and not a perfection of degree. It is a perfection which has respect to all commandments, and aims at a glorifying of Jesus in a full obedience of all, though there may be necessary infirmity and deficiency characterizing the actual obedience of each. It is a sincere and cordial devotion of the powers and faculties and affections of the whole man to the obedience of God's holy commandments, though all may be in themselves weak and imperfect.

The obedience accepted under the gospel is a china vase, which is whole, without a break; and is therefore said to be a perfect vase, although it may be small in size and inconsiderable in value and workmanship. The obedience demanded by the law is a vessel in itself of the highest possible worth, and therefore perfect, because no power could improve it or enhance its value.

Legal perfection is a perfection of *degree.* There can be no increase of it, because there is no deficiency. Evangelical perfection is a perfection of *particulars*, a wholeness and unity of system. It is like the body of a perfect child; of which, though every member is diminutive, none is wanting. So in this obedience, all precepts are regarded, and all graces are cultivated, though each one be infantile and weak, and in itself of no worth.

Such an obedience the gospel requires of every believer; having regard to every precept, and aiming constantly at supreme perfection in each; willingly omitting no command, passing over no duty, but governed by a single purpose and desiring the glory of a single being; following every commandment with an enlarged heart. This is a perfect, whole, unbroken obedience, though weak and imperfect in the degree to which it is carried upon the earth. Such an obedience which consitutes the holiness of a Christian character, is required in the text as the way through which we are to attain a power over the tree of life, and a right to enter through the gates into the city. The man who attempts to climb up some other way, and to separate the walk of holiness from the reward of peace, the same is a thief and a robber.

2. But in what character is this obedience demanded; What effect will it produce upon our eternal salvation?

Our obedience to the divine precepts is not required of us as the meritorious cause of our salvation. We are saved by grace. No obedience could save us but one which should perfectly fulfil every demand of the law; and the only meritorious cause of our salvation is that obedience of Jesus which has actually fulfilled the law, and which is offered to us as a free donation of the grace of God to those who are perishing under the condemnation of their sins. This obedience has purchased a right to the tree of life, and a right of entrance through the gates into the city; and having done this, Jesus has become the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him.

1. But though our own obedience is not the meritorious cause of our salvation, it is the indispensable antecedent and preparation for its completion in glory; and is thus required of us. This renders us meet or prepared to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints, as an adequate education in the business of the world renders us meet to engage in its duties, when, at the proper age, we are called to their performance. The business of heaven is unqualified submission to God; and for this, the increasing holiness of the Christian on the earth educates and prepares him. They who have lived and who die in the Lord, rest in the hour of death from their earthly labours; but their works follow them, not only as the evidence of their character, but as the commencement of that life of perfect obedience to the divine will and cordial rejoicing in the divine presence and glory, in which they are to be occupied for ever. And he who would delight himself in the eternal contemplation of the majesty and glory of God, must not here be habituated to love darkness rather than light, because his deeds are evil.

2. Perfect obedience is required of us under the gospel as a debt of gratitude to Christ, and an evidence of the reality of Christian character. This real motive of Christian obedience Jesus offers us when he says, if ye love me, not if ye would purchase life eternal, keep my commandments. A real love for Christ will constrain us to live, not to ourselves, but for him who died and rose again to bring us unto God.

For this end we have been bought with a price, that we may glorify God in our bodies and spirits, which are his; and Jesus lays it upon us as the argument of friendship for him, that we follow his commandments in a life of holiness, and keep ourselves from the power of the evil one. He would bind us here by those cords of love which shall hold us throughout eternity, and deal with us, not as vassals and servants whom he can govern as he pleases, and who dare not resist his will, but as the chosen friends and companions in whom he shall delight himself forever, and whose hearts he would attach now to that holiness of character in which he desires them to shine, as the brightness of the firmament and the stars forever and ever.

3. This perfect obedience to divine commandments is required as the evidence of our title to the blessedness of the people of God. "Lord, Lord," may multitudes say at the gates through which the real disciple enters, "Open unto us; we have prophesied in thy name, and eaten and drank in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets." But the reply to all such demands must be the same: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." The title to reward is the perfect obedience of Jesus; but the evidence that this title has been conferred upon us, is in the sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit, by which we are sealed to the day of redemption. By no other testimony can the title be established; and vain is the assertion of a right to the tree of life, which, destitute of this evidence, we are utterly unable to prove. By faith we are justified and made the heirs of the divine glory; but no man can bring evidence of evangelical faith, who is destitute of evangelical obedience. An unholy Christian is a contradiction in terms; for as animal life can be in no method indicated, but by the motion and speech of the living being, no more can the spiritual life of the professed Christian be testified, without the full result of its power in the outward holiness of his character.

4. From this it is further evident, that perfect obedience of the divine precepts is necessary to bring an assurance of the attainment of salvation to the heart. There is no possible method by which a voluntarily sinful man can attain an assurance of rest. If he could be supposed to do it, it would be obtaining conviction of the truth of that which, after all, is an absolute falsehood; for there is no rest to the wicked, saith the Lord. If you can suppose a renewed man, a child of God, to turn aside from following after holiness, and to enter upon the paths of disobedience, we affirm that that man is on the broad road to hell; all his righteousness shall not be mentioned in the day of his sin; but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he shall die; and unless he be converted unto God, and renewed in holiness, in the whole character of his soul, he shall be lost forever; for without holiness, no man shall see the Lord.

5. From these demands for perfect obedience, as the indispensable preparation for heaven, as a testimony of gratitude to Christ, as an evidence of a right and title received from him, and as the only ground of assurance to our own hearts, I may lastly remark that it is necessary, from the absolute command of God. This is the will of God, even your sanctification. He requires you to glorify him in those good works which he hath before ordained, that you should walk in them; all that he has desired, revealed, or enjoined, is for this single end, that he might make unholy and rebellious men once more perfect in holiness, after his own image. For this his love has laboured. For this his grace has strove. For this his power has been extended; and to this great end the command of God, which cannot be turned aside, is directed, that they which believe be careful to maintain works of holiness; that they may stand according to that trial which shall say "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

In considering the effect which our own obedience produces upon our eternal salvation, we see the truth of the assertion of the text; and more than this, the great truth that the gospel of Jesus is designed, and operates to produce universal holiness, and universal peace in submission to God throughout the universe. In this method, the great object of Jesus to redeem the world from sin and to renew it in holiness, is accomplished; and they who do his commandments, have, through his grace, the right to dwell forever in the city of God, and to enjoy the benefits of the tree of eternal life.

This interesting subject shows us who are the real candidates for eternal bliss. They are those who are growing in holiness of personal character; who are maturing in deep and humble piety, and daily acquiring more of the blessed and delightful spirit of the Redeemer of men. Hereby we know that he dwelleth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us; and no evidence can truly convince us, that either we or others are preparing for everlasting glory, but the holy and peaceful fruits of that spirit. Our confidence in hope, though it does not rest upon our own obedience, but upon the perfect obedience of Christ, must rise or fall, in direct proportion to the holiness and watchfulness of our own conduct; and we shall certainly deceive ourselves, if, while we are not growing in grace, we comfort ourselves that we may still rejoice in hope of the glory of God. The sinful and rebellious heart cannot escape the just judgment of God. To be with God, and to enjoy his presence, we must be brought into a state of subjection to his will, and learn to follow in the steps of his holiness. While we are pressing forward in the paths of obedience, though we are altogether infirm and imperfect in our character, yet if we are sincere and true in our purpose, we are preparing to enter through the gate into the city, and Jesus, passing by all our infirmities and weakness, while looking to the perfect desire and motive which has governed us, will be prepared to say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

But if this is the way to blessedness, and this the fair and reasonable prospect of those who are following after holiness, see the sad condition of all who are cherishing a spirit of rebellion against God. While the renewed and humble Christian enters through the gates into the city, against them the door is shut, and without the protection and comfort which that city gives, they are with odious and abominable beings, with whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie. God looks upon them with no compassionate tenderness. Like reprobate silver, rejected from the fining pot; like tares bound in bundles for the fire, they are rejected forever, with no eye to pity, and no arm to save. The wages of sin is death; and they who have sold themselves to be the servants of sin on earth, must groan under the payment of their hire throughout eternity. They have passed a life of enmity to the Almighty God; they have provoked against themselves the vengeance of the Most High; and rejecting the holy precepts of his law as the rule of their life, they remain under the fearful condemnation of that law, unpardoned and chained down with everlasting despair. What can there be in the pleasures of transgression which shall compensate the sinner for such a result of his wasted life? How strange that Satan should be able so to delude him with the prospect of security, when the Almighty has declared that iniquity has no lurking place in which it shall be concealed? that though the sinner could dig into hell, thence should his hand take him; and though he could climb up to heaven, thence would he bring him down; and neither the top of Carmel, nor the bottom of the sea should afford protection to his soul? The present discourse has placed before you the only path of safety. The return of your hearts to God, in a new and holy life, conformed to the precepts of his sacred law. Blessed are you when convinced of your guilt, you turn with desire to the divine commandments. Blessed are you while with a spirit of sincerity and love you walk in the path of these commandments; for according to God's gracious promise you shall have power over the tree of life, and enter through the gates into the city.

LECTURE X.

THE OBJECT OF THE GOSPEL.

The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.—Luke xix. 10.

The Son of man is the Lord Jesus Christ. It is an appellation which he assumes to designate his voluntary humiliation for the sake of man. In his own eternal nature he was the Son of God, "the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person." But being originally "in the form of God, and equal with God, "he took upon himself "the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Then he became the Son of man, "was made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."

When this wonderful event took place, he came, in the expression of the text, from heaven to earth; from God to men; from personal glory to personal humiliation and distress; from the possession of inexhaustible life, to lay down himself as a sacrifice for the sins of his creatures.

This coming of the Son of God, to be made the Son of man, is the whole subject of the gospel. The writings of the New Testament tell glad tidings, good news to fallen and ruined sinners; and thus they preach the gospel, because they reveal the fact of this mission of a mighty Saviour.

The word gospel means glad tidings; and the glad tidings are, that there is an all-sufficient and glorious Redeemer, who, in the sacrifice of himself, has removed the necessity of eternal death from the whole race of man.

That the Son of man has come, is the delightful intelligence of the gospel. He has borne the necessities of sinners; has made an end to sin for those who believe in him, and has brought in an everlasting righteousness as the free gift of God to those who will receive it. And having done this, the gospel which he commands his ministers to preach, is simply the intelligence of this grand fact. The sum and substance of all that we announce to man, in the name of Jesus Christ, is, that "God hath made him to be sin for us, when he knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;" and being reconciled to us through this one offering for sin, he calls upon us to be reconciled to him, and not to receive the grace of God in vain.

Thus understood, the text proclaims the *object and purpose of the gospel;* the design upon which the Son of man came into the world, and for which he consented to be numbered with the transgressors. "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost. The text thus fully introduces to your notice the subject of the present discourse, which is, *the object of the gospel.*

This object is here declared simply to be, "to *seek* and to *save that which was lost.* The mission of the Son of God constitutes the subject of the gospel; and the design of that mission is to save the lost.

In discussing the important subject which is thus presented to us, I shall best display it to your minds by following the language of the text; and,

First, State the condition in which the gospel finds you; and,

Secondly, The means which it has provided for your deliverance from that condition.

I. The condition in which the gospel finds the whole race of men is exhibited in the text by a single word. They are "lost." And in reference to them it has but a single object, which is, "to seek and to save" them.

It needs no argument here to prove that you are not now by nature, what God designed you to be. He formed man upright; and now that man has fallen, he would restore you to a more permanent uprightness than that in which he was formed at first. It is, however, absolutely indispensable that you should understand the state to which transgression has reduced you. You must see yourselves as you are in fact; for a conviction of your wants and dangers, and an humble sense of your great alienation from God, lies at the root of all true religion; is indispensable to your acceptance of the gospel.

1. The gospel finds you lost under a burden of inconceivable guilt. Every precept of the divine law testifies against you. There is not a duty required of you which has not been left undone. There is not a transgression prohibited, in which, by thought and purpose, if not in word and act, you have not engaged. You were born in sin; and from the birth you have gone astray. One transgression would have exposed you to eternal ruin; and you have multiplied your transgressions as the sand of the sea. Every hour of your life, because spent in rebellion against God, is a record of condemnation; and there is not a single hour, which, if you were tried by it, would not sink you into unutterable despair. Your guilt is, therefore, inconceivable: for until you have written down every sinful purpose and feeling of your lives, and marked the recompense of everlasting condemnation as its proper desert, and then have added up the sum of all these innumerable purposes, and taken the amount of condemnation which will result from your estimate, you have attained no just measure of your guilt. It is high as heaven; what can you know? It is deep as hell; what can you do? It is utterly beyond the power of your minds to comprehend the extent of actual guilt which lies upon every one of your souls. You are lost beneath a load which the arm of omnipotence alone can heave off from you; and in this condition the gospel comes to seek and to save you.

2. The gospel finds you lost in the extremity of personal corruption and sinfulness. The depravity of your fallen nature is exceeding great, and it extends to every power of your mind, and to every affection of your heart. It is vain to dispute about the words *total depravity,* which are often used to express the state of man by nature. I mean, by my assertion, that there is nothing in you by nature which is not sinful, that your hearts are full of evil. Your understandings are dark; your wills are perverse; your affections are sensual; your conscience is partial; your memory will not retain heavenly truths; your bodies are under the influence of a depraved mind; and every member, instead of being an instrument of holiness, is a willing servant to sin. And from the head to the foot, you are destitute of soundness or spiritual health, and filled with unholiness and pollution. Through your whole lives, and in your whole character there is not one good thing. And if your everlasting salvation were offered you upon the single condition of finding a thought or desire which was not sinful, in the whole compass of your past existence, the requisition would defy your power in compliance. There is none of you who hath done good, no, not one. That there may be depravity beyond yours, none will doubt; but that there is any thing but depravity in you by nature, the word of God denies. Lost in this extreme of sinfulness, the object of the gospel is to seek and to save you.

3. The gospel finds you lost in a state of enmity to God. The natural mind of every man is enmity against God. In some it may break forth into more open acts of hostility than in others. But it is not less really enmity to God, where it is cloaked with a fair exterior, and shut up under false professions of indifference or friendship. I mean to say, that there is a direct hostility between the mind of God and the mind of every unconverted sinner. They pursue opposite and entirely inconsistent ends; while one is gathering, the other is labouring to scatter abroad. Many may not be conscious of distinct purposes of opposition to the will of God; many may deny that they have such. The reason is, simply, either that they do not stop to consider what the will of God is, or that they have formed such erroneous views of his character that they have made him altogether such an one as themselves. To a God of perfect holiness, a God who cannot abide transgression, a God who will by no means clear the guilty, there is not an unrenewed sinner upon the earth who is not an enemy. Your whole course of character and conduct, in an unconverted state, is operating to thwart the divine purposes in the redemption of the world, to make iniquity abound, when he would make an end of sin, and to divert from Jesus the heart which he would bring home to his dominion. And thus, by these wicked works, you prove yourselves the enemies of God.

4. The gospel finds you lost in a state of utter inability to return to God, or to restore to yourselves the divine image and favour. So far are you from being able to recommend yourselves to God, that every imagination of the thoughts of your heart is only evil continually. God alone can enable you to will or to do any thing that is good. You have not a wish of your own to be reconciled to God. Your dispositions and affections are so entirely averted from him, and you love darkness and sin so much better than you love light and holiness, that you have no natural desire to be brought to a knowledge of yourselves or to a knowledge of God. This aversion of your minds forms an utter incapacity of yourselves to return to God; and were there no other power to operate in the conversion of your souls but the determining power of your own wills, Ezekiel might as well preach to the dry bones as we preach the gospel unto you. Still more beyond your power is it to restore to yourselves the divine favour and image which have been lost by sin. This is a path which no human wisdom hath ever trodden, and no mortal eye could ever discern. And except as the result of God's unsearchable riches of grace, all possibility of reconciliation to him would cease for ever. So far as it regards a way to render God merciful to the sinner's soul, or to bring this soul back to God, though the united wisdom of all creatures should be collected to decide upon the method, the gospel finds you utterly lost, and must seek and save you as you are.

This is the condition in which the gospel finds you by nature. You are *lost* under a load of intolerable guilt, in the extremity of sinfulness and corruption, in the enmity of your hearts to God, and in an utter inability to restore yourselves to his favour.

I have no disposition to overstate this matter. But unless you do discern your actual state by nature, and become acquainted with your necessities, it is vain to point your notice to the provisions which the gospel has made for your rescue and relief.

We cannot better illustrate the natural condition of fallen man than by comparing it with the actual condition of fallen angels. They contracted guilt and were unable to remove it. They lost the divine image in which they were created, and were unable to restore it; and having no provision made for them by God himself, they are left to endure the penalty of their transgression in endless, irremediable misery. I know not that there is a shadow of difference between us and them in this respect, except so far as the sovereign grace of God in which *they* found no interest, has interposed for *us*. This, I believe, to be the very truth before God; and all the difference between us and them, is the difference which grace has made.

But if this truth were really felt among you, our work, in establishing the truth of the gospel, would have no difficulties to encounter. It is the pride of your hearts which interposes the great obstacle to your acceptance of the gospel. You are so averse to see your necessities, so disposed to contend for some remnant of goodness or power in yourselves, which shall lessen your obligations to God, that the provisions of the Son of man are shut out from you and despised. But could you feel and acknowledge yourselves to be *wholly* lost, and *for ever* lost, you would be ready to hear of a Saviour with thankfulness, and to embrace with anxious desire the salvation which has been provided for you in the gospel. You would rejoice that "the Son of man had come to seek and to save that which was lost."

II. We will proceed to consider the *means* which the gospel has provided for your deliverance from this lost condition.

The object of the Saviour is a single object; it is "*to seek and to save* that which is lost." Every other purpose which the gospel accomplishes, and every other aspect under which the Saviour is presented, is subordinate to this. As a teacher of morals, a revealer of wisdom, a guide in life, the character of the Lord Jesus is honourable and comforting. But all these characteristics and offices are merged in that one glorious, indispensable character; "*a Saviour to the chief of sinners*." This is the character which the text presents.

The first object of Jesus was to *seek* a world that was lost; a world that had started out as it were from its proper orbit of submission to God, and had wandered off, unknowing and unknown, in regions of everlasting darkness and despair. Like the shepherd, whose ninety-and-nine sheep had remained in his protection, while one only had gone astray, Jesus left the innumerable hosts of beings who still owned his just dominion, and came to look for this one poor race of creatures, that in the wonderful method which he had devised, he might save them from destruction, and bring them back to acknowledge and to delight in the holy government of their Creator.

Having visited and *found* this alienated world, his next object was to *save* it; to put an instant stop to the course of condemnation and ruin; to arrest all proceedings of violated justice, and to subdue the purpose of rebellion which actuated the heart of man. In the accomplishment of this end, he has rendered the forgiveness of man consistent with the character of God, and has provided means to reconcile the alienated heart of man to God, from whom it had been averted.

In its pursuit of this grand object, the gospel has made every provision which the lost condition of your souls demands. And it offers to your acceptance a salvation in every respect honourable to God, and adapted to your utmost wants.

1. For the *inconceivable guilt* which presses down your souls in death, the gospel has provided a *substitute* and *surety* in the person of God's dear Son. He has given himself a ransom for all. He came as the Son of man to stand in the sinner's place. He was born of a pure virgin, that he might be a partaker of the nature of man, while he should not partake of his guilt or inherit his corruption. Of all our sinless infirmities he was made the subject; but in regard to our corruption of nature, he was free from sin. He was a victim without spot and blemish; and having no sins in himself to demand atonement, he could make himself an offering for the sins of others. In his sacred person were united both God and man: and having humbled himself to death, even the death of the cross, for us, God "laid on him the iniquities of us all." For you he suffered, for you he bore the penalties of the broken law, which, without his merciful intervention, you would have suffered in eternity: and for you he obeyed its holy precepts, to work out a righteousness which should be imputed to all, and put upon all that believe. He voluntarily assumed your guilt to be laid upon himself, that he might bear its curse. This has been done. If, now, you will thankfully accept his righteousness, to be laid upon you, the work of the Son of man for you will be accomplished; and your inconceivable load of guilt shall be carried away to a land of utter forgetfulness.

In this great offering of the Son of man, he has restored the relation of peace between God and your souls. He has thus rendered God's purposes of love to you perfectly consistent with the holiness, justice and faithfulness of his own character. He has silenced the denunciations of the offended law; he has satisfied the utmost claims of divine majesty; and has done every thing which is necessary to be done beyond the limits of your own perverted hearts, to save you from your lost and ruined state. Having thus opened a perfect and sufficient way to rescue your souls from the everlasting punishment of sin, he is now able to apply to each of you, for the conversion and cleansing of your individual hearts, the full atonement which he has made.

2. For the exceeding sinfulness and depravity of your hearts, the gospel provides the influence and power of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the blessed Trinity, whose grace is freely offered to you to bring back your affections unto God, and to renew you in holiness after the divine image.

To save you from your native enmity to God, by the power of this Spirit it takes away your evil hearts of unbelief, gives you a spirit of submission to the divine will, and causes you once more to render unto God that which is his own.

To supply your utter incapability to restore the divine image to your souls, it works within you by the same Spirit both to will and to do. It thus reveals the Saviour to your acceptance, and fulfils the good pleasure of his grace, in your final salvation.

The difficulties which your lost condition opposes to your salvation beyond your own hearts, the gospel provides for in the infinitely sufficient mediation of God the Son; and the difficulties which arise from this lost condition within yourselves, the gospel removes by the power and operation of God the Holy Spirit.

As, when you were all without strength, Christ died for the ungodly, and thus came to seek and to save a world which was lost; so while you are individually dead in trespass and sins, the Holy Spirit comes as the great gift of Christ to apply the work which he has finished to your souls, and thus as the great agent to the Son of man, to seek and to save each individual sinner among you from his lost estate.

This last provision of the gospel for the attainment of its great object, is as full and sufficient as the former, which we have already considered.

Your personal inability to save yourselves is an entire inability, though it be the result of sin, and no imperfection in the original constitution of man. So far as relates to any spiritual feeling or power, you are naturally utterly destitute of both, and are dead in your sins.

In this condition, the Son of man comes by his Spirit to seek and to save you. This Almighty Spirit quickens you by his divine power; and it is by this power alone, the power which raised Christ himself from the dead, that any one of your souls can attain the least disposition to serve and honour God. Having quickened or awakened your souls, the Holy Spirit discovers to you the extent of your wants, and humbles you under a sense of them; he then stirs you up to cry after God; he then reveals the Saviour to your view, enables you to exercise faith in him, and to receive him in the gracious offices which he sustains for you. Having done this, he fills you with a principle of love to Christ, and constrains you to devote yourselves to him.

From this, he gives you ability progressively to mortify the indwelling power of sin, to honour the Saviour who hath called you by a holy conversation; and from day to day he transforms you more entirely after the image of Christ, and renders you meet to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. He is thus sent as the great instrument of God, to apply individually to your souls the perfect and all-sufficient redemption which the Son of man has wrought out for you: and under the gracious provisions of the gospel, you have access through Jesus Christ by one Spirit unto the Father.

In the means of deliverance which are thus provided for your free acceptance, the gospel accomplishes its one great object; "to seek and to save that which is lost." These means are perfectly sufficient for the end designed; they supply every possible want; they meet every possible deficiency; they come up boldly to face all opposition: and the sinner who is willing to embrace them, finds them ministering to his soul a full and final salvation.

Let it be remembered that the single object of the gospel in reference to yourselves, is your everlasting salvation from a condition of utter ruin and death. Every other purpose which it attains in accomplishing this is partial and unprofitable, if this be not attained. If in this life only, you have hope in Christ, you are of all men most miserable. To attain this great object of your salvation from ruin, it provides a perfect atonement and righteousness in the Lord Jesus to reconcile God to you, and the all-powerful sanctifying influences of the divine Spirit to reconcile you to God. It declares to you, that God has accepted the mediation of the Son of man, and is reconciled to you; and it asks if you will accept it also, by the power which is given you from on high, and be reconciled to him? Whenever you are individually ready to do this, the great object of the gospel has been attained, and the Son of man has sought and saved that which was lost.

III. In concluding my remarks upon this important subject, I must ask you to examine with the utmost fidelity, how far this object has been attained among you.

"The Son of man has come to seek and to save," this whole congregation of sinners, pressing forward to the judgment seat of God. Had the gospel produced its proper effect, there would not be in this assembly one transgressor still alienated from God through the blindness of his mind. But alas, how far are we from this result! what mean the number of slaves to the world, of captives to Satan, to whom the solemn voice of the Almighty God this night comes in the warnings of his word? What mean the giddy children of folly and mirth, for whom hell has opened her mouth, and still enlarges herself without measure? Whence the swarm of infidel hearts that yet lift up themselves in rebellion against the Creator of heaven and earth? O, how very partially has the great object of the gospel been attained among you! Could I go from soul to soul before me, and see the mark of God's infallible determination of character rise upon your foreheads as I approached each; upon what numbers should I read that solemn word, LOST, LOST! in many cases, perhaps, beyond the reach of recovery! and what would be the probable result—but, that the greater portion of this assembly of immortal beings would be proclaimed to be still under the wrath of God and without hope in the world? This fact is awful; is it a fact? Am I now addressing hundreds who are denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon their souls a swift destruction? And are you careless and unconcerned under such views of your character and condition? Do you feel nothing? Have you *no* desire to be brought back to the fold of Jesus? Have you no wish to be saved in the day of his power? Will you choose as your portion, the darkness and despair in which unpardoned sin will inevitably involve you? I do ask you honestly and affectionately, will you determine to drive the Son of God from your souls, and lie down upon the unbeliever's everlasting bed?

I would speak to you, as a poor sinful creature, with humility and tenderness; but I would speak to you also, as the minister of God to you for good, with authority and much assurance; I warn the multitude of dying and yet unconverted sinners to whom I speak, that they cannot escape the just judgment of God; I call upon you in the name of the glorious Redeemer, who desires not your death, to awake from the ruinous delusion which you are playing upon your own hearts. Lay up no more sorrow for the last days. Be no longer infatuated with the false promises of the destroyer. The Son of man has sought you, O shall he not be allowed to save you and bless you with peace? Every thing is waiting the result of your own determination; heaven and hell are suspended upon a moment's choice: and this night you either go back with the shepherd to the fold, or you bind yourself the more irrevocably to the power of Satan.

Poor deluded sinner, *lost!* O, how much is meant by that one word *lost*. The man has wandered from his home, the shadows of the evening are stretched out, the coming darkness hurries on despair. Alone in a wilderness, wearied with the day's anxiety and fatigue, with no track to lead him to his home, no prospect of repose but on the bosom of the desert, no shelter for the night but the chill atmosphere of his solitude, with what feverish delirium he throws himself upon the earth. Home, children, friends, comforts and joys, all crowd into his bewildered mind. But these are gone. He shall see them no more. He is *lost*, and many a heart is swelling with anguish at the fear he will return no more forever. No sound arrests his ear but the desert's blast, or the wild beast's roar; and hope, and peace, and reason too, have taken their flight from his disordered mind.

But would you complete this picture of woe? See, a messenger of kindness comes to this lost man to tell him of a path to his home, and to lead him back to its secure repose. He wakes him from his dream, intreats him to arise and go with him, assures him that he will lead him in safety to his own abode, and with a thousand words of sympathy and love intercedes with him for his own deliverance. But reason and feeling and recollection have gone, and though he is lost, he refuses to hearken to his guide. He will listen for a moment to his kind offer and then lie down in the madness of despair, finally to perish, and turn a deaf ear to every intreaty and remonstrance. You pity the image which fancy has created, but you are *lost*, and will not pity the actual miseries of your own ruined, deserted souls, nor allow the Son of man, this messenger of mercy, to bring you back to his Father's house in peace.

LECTURE XI.

THE GOSPEL WAY OF SALVATION.

By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.—EPHESIANS II. 8.

The great object of the gospel is the eternal salvation of man. To accomplish this object has been the design of the Son of God in all that he has done and suffered and taught. The accomplishment of this purpose is all that man requires. Let the sinner be *saved*, and he may be happy in the prospect of it, though he be poor and deeply afflicted with the trials of this world. Let him live and die without the prospect of this salvation, and all the wealth and indulgence of the world cannot purchase for him the comfort which he wants. The few years of his existence here are but of small importance. Whether they pass away in sorrow or in joy, they will soon pass, and their pains and pleasures will be alike forgotten.

So far as this life is concerned, it would be reasonable in you to dismiss anxiety and care. But you have to die; and after death, the judgment; and after the judgment, eternity. These claim your notice and consideration. Seventy years of life you may be allowed to despise; but the countless ages of your future existence you cannot despise. For them the great question is to be settled, and to be settled *here*, Shall you be saved or lost?

The object of the gospel of Jesus is to settle this all-important question. It is to save you with an everlasting salvation. But *how* you shall be saved, how you shall escape the just judgment of God, and come before his spotless throne in peace, forms another question, which the gospel alone can determine.

To answer this momentous question is my purpose at this time, while I bring before you, as the subject of the present discourse, *the gospel way of salvation.*

You find yourselves by nature in a state of utter ruin and condemnation. You have no peace with God, and no comfort or hope in yourselves. *Eternity* is filled with the blackness of darkness forever; and you see that you shall have no hope when God takes away your soul. God in his righteous indignation against you is a consuming fire, and you feel that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. But how you shall escape his anger, and be made secure from the proper consequences of your own sins, is a matter utterly beyond your power to determine. It is a matter which would have remained a mystery hidden in God forever, had it not pleased him, in the riches of his grace, to reveal it to you in the gospel of his Son.

To the decision of this matter, the present text comes with the wisdom of God, and it answers as from the very throne of the Most High to every question and every doubt, "By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God."

In considering this subject, the text presents *three* natural divisions in the three assertions which it makes:

I. "By grace are ye saved," as the *cause* and *instrument*.
II. "Through faith," as the *method*.
III. And "The gift of God," as the *origin*.

I. "*By grace ye are saved.*"

When our thoughts and desires are first turned to the glorious blessings of the gospel, and we ask with the jailor at Phillipi, "What shall we do to be saved?" probably in all instances the first idea which occurs to the mind is, that we must *do* something, in order that we may in some way merit and earn the salvation which we want. The performance of some particular duty, the hearing of some particular preacher, the reading of some designated book, the new obedience of our life, or even our own grief and sorrow for sin, are suggested to our minds as a price which we must pay for the blessing which we want; and it is sometimes long before we are willing to trust ourselves to the free and sovereign grace of God, to be saved in the way which shall seem best in his sight. The salvation of the gospel is altogether a salvation by *grace*. The term grace is used generally to convey two distinct meanings; the one of which is a consequent upon the other. It means the original unmerited favour or mercy of God, from which our salvation has flowed as the *cause*, and the influence of the Holy Spirit, by which that salvation is applied to us, as the *instrument*.

When we say "ye are saved by grace," we mean to assert that your salvation flows exclusively from the unmerited mercy of God, which has provided and offered a Saviour, and that it is applied to you exclusively by the new creating power of the Holy Ghost, who takes of the things of Christ, and shows them unto you and enables you to believe in your hearts on him.

The first aspect of the text declares ye are saved by grace, to the exclusion of all human merit, in the purchase of your salvation. The second, ye are saved by grace, to the exclusion of all human power, in applying this salvation unto you, and in converting you unto God.

Let these two be distinctly considered:

1. The gospel teaches us, that we are saved by the free grace and unmerited mercy of God, to the exclusion of every thought of human works or deservings. The idea of merit in a fallen and imperfect being is entirely absurd. Consider the situation of our first parents after their disobedience, and what could *they* do to recommend themselves to the favour of the God against whom they had offended? I will not ask what they could do to merit the gift of God's dear Son and the influences of the Holy Spirit upon their souls, for it is obvious that no thought of the possibility of such a method of restoration could, by any means, enter into their minds. But what single personal act or service could they render to God for which he should be induced to pardon their disobedience and restore them to his favour? What can the fallen angels now do to restore the image and favour of God to themselves? and they are as capable of earning their salvation as is any unconverted sinner upon the earth.

But it may still be said, that since God has mercifully bestowed a Saviour upon us, we should do something to deserve his favour, or to repay him for his kindness. I would ask, then, what can we do? "Without him we can do nothing." And if the communication of his grace must precede every good act in us, it will be self-evident that we can do nothing to deserve it; and must be dependant upon God's sovereign pleasure for the ability both to will and to do.

The truth is, as the first gift of a dying Saviour sprung from God's unmerited love, so must our salvation by him in all its parts. We have nothing to offer him. All our sufficiency is of God; and render him what we will, we only render him that which is his own.

The gospel opens to us, therefore, a way of salvation perfectly free. It has provided every thing which our souls can want; and having made such abundant provisions, it asks us to receive them without money and without price. Its salvation is clogged with no conditions. Accept it as the gift of God to those who are perishing, and it is your own for ever. The depth of your sinfulness forms no difficulty. Salvation is as freely offered to the pirate in his dungeon, as to him who is, in morality of conduct, not far from the kingdom of God. Whosoever will, may take a blessing, to which man can add nothing, and for which man give nothing. Whatever you have been, whatever you have done, the gospel does not ask a question about it. It addresses you all as the chief of sinners, and presents the full glories of its salvation as honestly to one as to another, asking nothing but your thankful acceptance of the gift which it offers.

2. But *how* shall you accept this gift, and apply this free salvation to your own souls? The text answers you under the second aspect, "Ye are saved by *grace*." The Holy Ghost must come upon you, and the power of the Highest overshadow you, before, in the acceptance of this salvation, you can be created anew after the divine image, and be made the sons of God. A real conviction of your sinfulness and danger is the result of his power. He gives a true repentance for sin; he leads your hearts to the Prince and Saviour who has been exalted to give repentance and forgiveness of sins. He bestows upon you that new heart and new nature which is promised in the covenant that God hath made with his people under the gospel. His power is all-sufficient, and it is alone sufficient to create in you the gracious dispositions and character which God is ready to accept.

When you are dead in your sins, he awakens you to life. While you are infirm and feeble, he sustains and strengthens you. He leads you to the fountain of living waters, and clothes you with a new and divine life; and from the first hour of your spiritual existence to the hour of eternal triumph by the *grace of God*, you are what you are.

The gospel requires no human power in the work of your salvation. It depends not, in any degree, upon your own wisdom or strength, or determination. It demands nothing of you which it does not promise to work within you, so that from the divine fulness you may receive grace upon grace. When it commands you to repent or believe, or be obedient to God, it has before offered to your acceptance the very gracious qualities which it requires you to exercise; and there is not a single quality which it calls for that can flow from any other source than its own sufficiency.

This view of the gospel way of salvation is most important, and cannot be too deeply impressed upon your minds. The Saviour asks from you nothing but what he first offers to give you. There is not a grace in the renewed heart which has proceeded from any other power. The same spirit upholds and sanctifies the steadfast believer, which consoled and transformed at first the penitent transgressor. The gospel will set none of you up upon an independent stock of grace. Your manna must fall every morning, and be gathered before the sun is hot. Your barrel and your cruse shall never fail, but they shall never be filled. As your day is, and only so, shall be your strength; and you might as well close the shutters of your house to keep the light of the sun which you have received, as think of retaining grace and strength when cut off from immediate and uninterrupted communication with the great source of both. You will live only while Christ lives in you; and from the first to the last, the work of your sanctification is all divine, and the glory belongs entirely to God.

The gospel way of salvation is in these two aspects a salvation by *grace*, to the exclusion of human *merit* and human *power*. The provisions which it had made it asks you to accept, and then promises and gives you the power to receive them. The full foundation for your hope was laid when the Prince of Life offered himself upon the cross as a sacrifice for your sins. You will be able to build securely upon this foundation when the Spirit of God shall be allowed to lead you back from your love and pursuit of sin, to acknowledge and receive him as your righteousness and peace.

The text yet more definitely points you to this way of salvation, when it goes on to state the method in which you may be interested in it.

II. "Ye are saved by grace *through faith*."

Every gracious provision of the gospel is made independent of ourselves; and the work of our salvation is accomplished when we are finally interested in those abundant provisions for our wants which God offers us in the gospel. When we are united to Christ, we are partakers of his abundant mercy; our sins are pardoned through his atonement; our souls are justified through his obedience; and because he lives, we shall live also. While all these provisions are beyond ourselves, it is by faith alone that we can be interested in them. The foundation is laid; it is perfect; it is all-sufficient. Whether we believe or not, it remains the same. God cannot deny himself. Would you then be made partakers of that grace whereby you may be saved, you must *believe* God's record respecting his dear Son; and then look to *him* for the communication of his purchased benefits to yourselves. You must rest yourselves with confidence upon that unmerited love of God which has offered you salvation, and that all-powerful influence of his Spirit which may apply this salvation unto you. There is no other conceivable method in which you may obtain an interest in the mercies which God has treasured up in Jesus Christ; and if you look through the scriptures, you will find that your simple faith in the power and promises of Christ is the only instrument ever spoken of there, as the one which shall secure to *you* the work which he has finished. If I have treasured up in my house abundant provisions for the destitute, which I offer freely to their use if they will receive them, how can they obtain the blessing but by believing that it is there, and will indeed be bestowed, and then asking in this spirit of faith for the bestowal? God's treasures are laid up for you. They are not now to be made, or to be increased in any degree by all that you can do. Believe that they are there, believe that they are all-sufficient, believe that they will indeed be bestowed, and then ask them with the desire of faith, and you shall not be sent empty away.

It is true you are required to repent, and to obey the commandments of God, in a new life of holiness; but these are the results of a true faith. You can have no repentance unto salvation without believing in him whom you have pierced, that he may give it to you. You cannot obey a single command but by his power dwelling within you; and these gracious dispositions and habits, instead of purchasing salvation for you, are themselves a part, and a most important part, of that very salvation which is offered to you in the Lord Jesus Christ as the purchase of his cross.

Do you ask for a godly sorrow for sin? for a total subjection of your unholy affections? for the dominion of holiness and love within your hearts? May not Jesus reply to every request, "Believest thou that I am able to do this?" And will not his bestowal of them, and of every thing accompanying salvation, depend upon the answer which your consciences would be obliged to render to a question like this? Only believe, we may still say to you, and these and all other mercies shall be bestowed. The treasury of God's love, in which attribute the scripture says he is "*rich*," is freely open to you. Every thing which you want is there; and a coming thither with faith will show you such provisions of grace as pass man's understanding. You can purchase nothing, you can render nothing, you can offer nothing. When you are by faith vitally interested in Christ, you will want nothing more. You will find no deficiency for your own power to supply. While he dwells within you by faith, every holy trait, every lovely disposition, every spiritual habit, every heavenly desire, shall spring and rise, and flourish and spread abroad in your hearts and character, from Christ who dwelleth in you. But until by faith you yield to him, you are dead in your sins; and a naturally dead man might as justly be expected to rise up and offer a price for that life, the possession of which was implied in his very rising, as you expect to offer anything but a depraved, corrupted and dead spirit, upon which Christ may show the power of his grace. You must be saved by grace, and that grace shall be applied to your souls by faith; and even here again, to take away all pride and glorying from yourselves, the grace and faith and every mercy, spring not from yourselves; they are all "the gift of God," a gift to those who are poor and destitute and perishing in their sins.

III. "*The gift of God.*" This last assertion does not refer particularly to the *faith* which is required before, but to the whole salvation by grace of which the text speaks. Every part of man's salvation is equally a free gift. The original purpose to save, the glorious sacrifice which has been made, the offer of that sacrifice to you, the acceptance of it by your hearts, and the peace and holiness which this acceptance gives, are alike the results of a principle of love in God, which looks to no merit, or strength, or recompense, in the creatures to whom the gift is made.

The same determinate counsel and purpose of divine mercy which delivered up a Saviour to be crucified for you, will, in the last day, finish your salvation by crowning you with him. Your last breath will be as much dependant upon him as your first; and eternity will be spent, not in personal congratulations upon your own strength or wisdom or perseverance, but in raptured hallelujahs of thanksgiving to him who has loved you and given himself for you, and washed you from your sins in his own blood, and redeemed you from every kindred and tongue, and people and nation, to make you kings and priests unto God for ever.

Although the truths which I have here presented to you have been controverted in every age, and there have been multitudes of men who have opposed this casting down of human merit and ascription of all praise and glory to the grace of God; still the Bible teaches the same thing, and the plain and simple way of salvation which it first laid open to sinners it lays open now; and it seems to me that nothing can be more plain and evident, and intelligible, than is this way of salvation which the gospel offers. While on the one side there is a poor wretched creature, wanting in every thing and having nothing to give, on the other there is a bountiful Sovereign and Lord, who offers every thing freely, and asks no price from the subject of grace.

The gospel is provided in all its operations as a remedy for existing evil, and as such it is in every part exclusively "the gift of God."

Let us come back to consider the actual state of a fallen being, the actual condition of your own souls by nature, and you will find yourselves to be entirely in a guilty, polluted and helpless condition. In this state of spiritual ruin, God has provided for you a *remedy;* and he both inclines and enables you to apply that remedy. For your guilt he applies to you the atoning blood of Christ; for your pollution and weakness he sends the Holy Spirit, to begin and carry on a work of grace within your hearts. By looking to Christ you may obtain peace with God and in your own conscience; and by yielding yourselves to the influences of God's Holy Spirit, you may become renewed and sanctified in all your powers. Your renovated health will begin immediately to appear. You will be enabled to mortify all your former corruptions, and to walk holily, justly and unblamably before God and man, and will become gradually transformed into the divine image in righteousness and true holiness. But to what then shall be ascribed the change which has taken place within you? Will it not be altogether owing to the remedy which God has prescribed and enabled you to apply? To your latest hour you will continue to apply the same remedy; for through the whole of this life you will be only convalescent and not perfectly recovered; and when in the full establishment of your spiritual health, in the heavenly inheritance, you will tell the history of your restoration to the sole honour of that Almighty Physician who visited you in your lost estate, and brought a balm which was adequate to your need.

Now is not this perfectly plain and simple? Is it not exactly *the* gift which every sinner wants for the peace of his mind and for the sanctification and salvation of his soul? Yet in this representation all is of grace. Both the Saviour himself, and unmerited salvation through him, are the free gift of God; and not according to works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy we are saved by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.

I have thus endeavoured to set before you *the gospel way of salvation.* You find it a way perfectly adapted to your powers and to your necessities. It calls for your sincere thankfulness to God, who has been willing to provide it, and your cordial acceptance of the gift, while it is so freely presented. But all will be of no avail to you unless you embrace with rejoicing, the remedy which is thus presented. Let not the subject, therefore, be allowed to rest in your understandings unfruitful and barren. Seek to have your hearts interested in it; hear the voice of the Spirit, which says to you, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" and turn not to the right hand or to the left.

In concluding the remarks which I have now to make, let me beseech you to seek a deep acquaintance with your real state before God, and the application to yourselves of the gracious remedy which is offered you in the gospel.

Had you but a due preparation of heart for the reception of the gospel, were you truly convinced of your unworthiness and danger, the glad tidings of salvation would distil as the dew upon your souls, as the showers that water the mown grass. Did you feel that the sorrows of death compassed you about, and the pains of hell had got hold upon you in the deep and piercing sense of your own guilt, the sound of salvation purchased by our incarnate God would transport your souls, as it did the angels, when they sung, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth, peace, good will towards men." Unspeakable joy would spring up in your hearts from the thought of an indwelling God, undertaking your cause and working effectually upon your souls. The great and universal reason why you hear the gracious invitations and promises of the gospel so inattentively, and with so little effect upon your characters, is, that you are not convinced of your danger. You do not feel and mourn over your lost condition. "They that are whole need not a physician." Because so many of you believe yourselves to be whole, the remedy is heedlessly rejected, and your souls are left to perish. O that God would tear off from your hearts the veil which Satan and the world are uniting to weave over you, and make you to see the pollutions which are there open to his view! Why are you so anxious to deceive yourselves in this matter? There is a day before you when hell shall be naked, and destruction shall have no covering; when every false excuse shall fail, and every extenuating plea shall become utterly useless; and when, though discovery shall be perfect, it shall be too late to be beneficial. If you *are* insolvent and ruined, why attempt to delude yourselves with the contrary belief? But *are* you *not?* Then Jesus is no Saviour to you. You may as profitably own Mahomet or Brahma for your Lord as Jesus. He will not, he cannot save you till you feel yourselves to be *lost.* I pray you look at your characters in the mirror of God's infallible word; and while he proclaims that you have altogether gone out of the way, acknowledge the truth of his representation, and be willing that he should bring you back to himself in peace.

Upon this deep acquaintance with your own character and state alone, can be built a proper acceptance of the gospel. However your understandings may be enlightened with a knowledge of the gospel way of salvation, it will profit you nothing while this knowledge is merely speculative. Though the patient in the hospital might deliver a lecture upon his own disease, and the adaptation of the remedy to his want, it would avail but little should he still refuse to apply the remedy to himself. If you neglect the gracious remedy of the gospel, or substitute any other in its stead, you do so to your eternal ruin. I beseech you to look to Christ for the justification, and to the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of your souls. In no other conceivable method can you find salvation from the condemnation of the law, the bondage of sin, and the everlasting punishment of hell. There is no other name given for salvation, but the name of Jesus, and that name is worse than useless to you, unless it be permitted to dwell in your heart, as your hope and comfort. Yield yourselves to his power. Be willing to be saved by grace through faith, and so receive the unspeakable gift of God, that his power may operate within you, to bring you home to that fold of ransomed sinners which is under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, the Great Bishop and Shepherd of souls.

LECTURE XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE GOSPEL.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people.

As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began.—St. Luke i. 68 and 70.

In one previous discourse I have considered the great *object* which the gospel designs to accomplish, which is to seek and to save that which is lost. In another I have spoken of the *way* which the gospel lays open for the attainment of this object, which is by grace through faith, as the gift of God.

Before I proceed to consider several distinct attributes and characteristics of the gospel, I wish in my present discourse to set before you the *history of the gospel.* By this expression I do not mean the narrative of facts which the writings of the Evangelists contain, but the history of the gospel itself, as a dispensation to man, showing its origin and its progress, in the clear manifestations of its grace to those for whom it was designed since the fall of man.

As an appropriate introduction to this subject, I have selected my text from the sacred hymn which Zacharias uttered at the circumcision of his son. This hymn was uttered by the immediate inspiration of God, for it is said, "that Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied" in the divine language which is here contained. Every assertion of necessity which this hymn makes, must be infallible and eternal truth.

The son of Zacharias was to be the forerunner of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world; and on the occasion of his public dedication to God, his father prophesied of the character and work of that Saviour before whom he was to be sent.

The Redeemer was not yet born in the lowly nature which he had assumed. But the faith of Zacharias was led forward to him, when it is more than probable that none of his auditors, beside his own wife, understood the allusions which he made. "Blessed," he says "be the Lord God of Israel, for *he* hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David." In the figurative language of the Israelites, a horn implies great strength, and in the text, "a horn of salvation," is a strong salvation; an all-sufficient salvation; a salvation to the uttermost; or, as in our prayer-book, "a mighty salvation," because accomplished by the mighty God of Israel, although he stooped to be a babe in the family of his servant David. The reference of this high title, "The Lord God of Israel," to the child who was to be born of Mary, becomes evident in the succeeding verses of the hymn, in which Zacharias addresses himself to his own child, whom he now held up in dedication unto God, "And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways;" and this perfectly corresponds with the statement of the angel before the birth of John, "He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb, and many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God, and he shall go before *him,*" the Lord God of Israel, in the spirit of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

The great event for which Zacharias thus praises God, was the incarnation of the Lord God of Israel; the whole sum and substance of the gospel. This raising up a mighty salvation in the family of David, in the birth of him who was to be the Saviour of the world, Zacharias says was a fulfilment of all the divine promises of salvation to the people of Israel. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began." This incarnation and suffering of the Son of God, is the subject of the gospel. This gospel has been proclaimed by the inspired prophets of God, from the beginning of the world. The interesting subject which I now propose to you, the history of the gospel, will lead me, *first,* cursorily to trace these different publications of the gospel to men, from the earliest ages of the world, in order to show that the great truth upon which we rest our hope, the incarnation of a mighty Saviour, was from the beginning of the world spoken to our fathers by the holy prophets whom God inspired.

From the day of man's fall from God one great plan has comprehended the whole arrangement of divine providence and divine mercy. This one plan is the redemption of the world, by our Lord Jesus Christ. For this the earth and men have been suffered to exist. For this the mighty revolutions of the sons of men have been overruled. For this the least event in the life of each individual subject of redemption is made to operate; and all things work together for this unspeakable good to those who love God, who are called according to his purpose.

The scriptures teach us that all the various parts of man's salvation have been devised from the foundation of the world. The great covenant of redemption between the persons of the Deity, in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit united to bring back the captives of Satan, was made before the world was created. The great sacrifice which the law demanded, and which this covenant of redemption provided, was then appointed, and Jesus is called the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world. The book of life was then prepared, and the saints are said to be those who are written in the Lamb's book from the foundation of the world. The everlasting home for the saints was then provided; for thus says Jesus of the redeemed, "Then shall the king say to them on his right hand, come ye blessed of my father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." The view which is thus presented of the great salvation of the gospel, is high and comforting. For the everlasting good of the feeblest Christian, the power of Almighty God has been exerted from the beginning of the world; and the gospel, which in its rich and attractive invitations is preached to us, is the simple, but glorious intelligence of that which occupied the wisdom and the love of heaven, before this world was formed.

The redeeming visit of the Lord God of Israel, of which Zacharias speaks, was planned and determined before the creation, and has been announced as the object of faith to the people of God, in every age since the world began. This I will proceed to exhibit to you, and may your hearts unite with the Father of the baptist in blessing the Lord God of Israel for this work of grace.

We will first speak of that period of history between the fall of man and the covenant with Abraham, and show how, in all this interval of time, God was proclaiming the glad tidings of the gospel to men.

As soon as Adam fell, the Son of God immediately entered upon the office and work of a mediator. This work he had undertaken before the world began; for he thus says of himself, "I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was." Now the appointed time had come, and in the moment of man's transgression, he immediately presented himself as the daysman between a holy, infinite, offended majesty, and offending mankind. His mediation was at once accepted, and wrath was prevented from going forth to execute the amazing curse which had been denounced against transgression. It is manifest that Christ began his work of mediation instantly upon the fall, because God immediately exercised mercy, and did not cut off man at once as he did the angels who had sinned. But no mercy could be extended to fallen man, but through a mediator; the exercise of divine forbearance and mercy shows the commencement of the work of the gospel, and when the Saviour came to comfort our first parents, on the day of their transgression, in the garden of Eden, he came to seek and to save that which was lost, as much as when he came afterwards to take upon himself the nature of man of the virgin Mary.

From that day Christ took upon himself the care of the church in all his offices. He undertook to *teach* mankind as their great *prophet*; to *intercede* for men as their *priest*, and to *govern* them as their *king*. He was then set up as the captain of the Lord's host; as the captain of salvation to his church, to defend them against all their foes, and from that hour God acted solely through a mediator, in teaching, governing, and blessing mankind.

While on the day of the fall the Son of God commenced the attainment of the great object of his mediation, on the same day intelligence of this was also proclaimed to man, and the gospel was first preached upon the earth. God said unto the serpent, "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." This was the first revelation of the covenant of grace; the first dawning of the gospel upon the earth. By the transgression of man, the light of God's favour had been shrouded in darkness, which neither men nor angels could scatter; and when, on that day of sin, God called man to account, his heart was filled with shame and terror. These words of God were the first dawning of a returning light. Before they were uttered there was not one glimpse of light; not one beam of comfort, nor a single source of hope to the sinner. Here was a certain intimation of a merciful design to be accomplished by "the seed of the woman," which was like the first glimmering of morning in the eastern sky. This gracious promise was given before the sentence was pronounced upon either Adam or Eve, from tenderness to them, lest they should be overborne with a sentence of condemnation, without having any thing held out whence they could gather any hope.

In the institution of sacrifices, with the skins of which Adam and Eve were clothed, the gospel was again revealed to man, and a permanent type set up of the sacrifice of Christ, by which the power of Satan was to be subdued. The ordinance of sacrifices was instituted immediately after the revelation by the promise of the covenant of grace. Thus the first stone in the great edifice of man's redemption was laid in prophecy of Christ, and the next in this standing type of his one sacrifice for sin.

Not long after the gospel was thus first proclaimed upon the earth, and the way of salvation through a mediator was laid open, God began the work of actually saving the souls of men. It is probable that the first fruits of the redemption of Christ were Adam and Eve. It is probable, I say, from God's manner of treating them, in comforting them by a promise, under their awakenings and terrors; for while they stood trembling and astonished before their Judge, without any expedient from which they could gather hope, then God offered them an encouragement, and told them of his designs of mercy through a Saviour, before he passed the sentence against them.

But it is certain that in their children, the great Captain of salvation manifested his power to save to the uttermost. In the instance of righteous Abel, we hear of the first ransomed sinner who went to heaven through Christ's redemption. In him the gospel thus wrought its perfect work. In him the angels first acted as ministering spirits to bring a lost soul to glory. And in him the holy inhabitants of heaven had the first opportunity to behold one of this fallen, ruined race, brought to the enjoyment of heavenly glory. Thus, while they saw the first effect of the full operation of the gospel, and could sing worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive honour, and glory, and blessing, he first experienced this operation of redeeming love, and first raised in heaven that song of experience to him who had loved him, and given himself for him, and redeemed him from misery and death, and had made him a king and priest unto God for ever. By faith Abel had accepted the promises which God had given unto man; and offering, in this faith, a sacrifice which was indeed excellent and acceptable, he obtained witness that he was righteous; and by this instance of a living and sufficient faith, "he being dead, yet speaketh."

By Enoch, God was pleased again with great clearness to testify the coming of the Lord to establish the kingdom which was committed to him upon the earth. "The Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment upon all." This may refer to any particular coming of Christ, and it cannot reasonably be confined to any one. But it speaks generally of his coming in the power and glory of his kingdom, and is fulfilled, both in his first coming to set up his kingdom on the earth, and his second coming to finish the salvation of his people and the destruction of his enemies. The *coming* of the Lord God of Israel to visit and redeem his people, and to place his enemies under his feet, forms the whole matter of the gospel. To this the faith of Enoch was directed; and while he prophesied of it to the men of his generation, he embraced it as the hope and comfort of his own soul. By faith in this appointed Mediator, he was translated that he should not see death; and was not, for God took him.

Noah also became a preacher of righteousness, and by the Spirit of Christ, preached to those whose souls were in captivity and bondage to the power of sin. The righteousness which he preached, and of which he became an heir, was the righteousness of faith, or the righteousness of the Mediator embraced by faith. With him God renewed his covenant of grace, and gave him a promise of peculiar blessings in the posterity of Shem. God accepted the sacrifice which he offered, and established with him and his seed after him, that everlasting covenant in all things well ordered and sure.

By faith in this one Mediator, who was to be peculiarly the seed of the woman, and by whose sacrifice a real satisfaction would be made for sin, and by whose obedience a perfect righteousness would be provided as an object of faith, all, from Adam downwards, who were saved at all, obtained redemption. To them, in every generation, the gospel was preached; and the great fact, which forms the gospel, the incarnation and sufferings of the Son of God, was held out to them as the one grand object of their faith. By *this* faith all the elders or patriarchs who were redeemed, have obtained a good report, and transmitted a name to posterity which is honourable to God, and honourable to themselves. This faith in the divine promise of a Saviour, was to them the substance of every thing they hoped for, and the sufficient evidence of their truth, although they were things not seen. Since the world began, God hath spoken to men by his holy prophets of the coming of the Redeemer, who is all our joy and all our salvation.

After we have thus traced the publication of the gospel from Adam down to Abraham, there will be no difficulty in understanding and acknowledging its clear and full revelation to him. The apostle Paul says, that God preached the gospel unto Abraham, in that gracious promise, "In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed." The single object for which Abraham was called, and for which his family were separated from all others was, that the promised Saviour might be made a more particular object of faith, as coming from him. To him, in a new and more specific manner, the covenant of grace was revealed; and the rite of circumcision was instituted as the outward sign of that covenant established with his family. To former patriarchs God had preached the gospel in proclaiming a Saviour who was to come as the sinner's only hope. To Abraham he preached the same gospel yet more clearly, in promising a Saviour to come from his posterity. The glad tidings of a sufficient Mediator were clearly made known to him; and his faith in the promises of the gospel was so established and entire, that our Saviour says of him "he saw my day, and was glad." By faith in a coming Redeemer he was justified and saved. And the faith which he had in Christ, the sure confidence with which he relied upon his mediation and offering, are repeatedly adduced in the New Testament, as illustrating the faith with which we are required to embrace a Saviour who has finished the work which was given him to do, and has gone to the glory which he had before the world was.

To Isaac the covenant of God's mercy was renewed, and the promised Saviour foretold, as coming from his posterity; and to Jacob, still more clearly, was the gospel preached, while Esau and his family were rejected. In the ladder which was presented to Jacob, as connecting together earth and heaven by the ministration of angels, an incarnate Saviour was offered to his faith. An open way of salvation was thus exhibited to him in vision, while in the very time of the exhibition, God renewed that gracious promise of a Redeemer from his seed, upon which the faith of his fathers had rested.

Another most remarkable proclamation of the manifestation of God in the flesh for man's salvation, was given to Jacob, in his wrestling with God and prevailing in the contest, after his return from Padan Aram. Here was a representation to his faith of the whole scene of Christ's humiliation; God was shown to him as dwelling indeed upon the earth, and subjecting himself to the power of his creatures; and the all-important fact, that there was a way in which man might prevail with God and obtain a blessing, was established in his mind. So frequently had the covenant of promise been renewed and confirmed with Jacob, that his faith rested upon a Saviour with remarkable distinctness and comfort. And when upon his bed of death, he left his last blessing to his sons, the most precious and desirable of all blessings, a Saviour from sin, he bequeathed to them also. One of the clearest predictions of the time, and the success of the publication of the gospel, which the Old Testament contains, is in the last blessing of Jacob to his son Judah.

To Adam, the promise of a Saviour was given in the general expression, "the seed of the woman." To Noah it was annexed to the descendants of Shem. To Abraham it was limited to his posterity by Isaac. To Isaac it was confined again to Jacob; and when by Jacob it was transmitted to his children, the descendants of Judah were selected as those from whom the Christ should come. Judah was to be the ruler of Israel in the person of David and his successors on the throne. And "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah," said the dying Jacob, "nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." Thus the light of the gospel shone more brightly in every succeeding age, as the time drew nearer in which all its promises were to be fulfilled, and its covenanted Mediator was to be manifested among men.

After this period it is hardly necessary to trace the history of the gospel. From the time of Moses the whole scriptures are full of the revelations of gospel mercy. Every sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple; every type of the Jewish institutions; every prophecy and promise of succeeding generations preached Christ to the faith of men. The wonderful visit for the purpose of redemption, which the Lord God of Israel was to make to the earth, in the fulness of his appointed time, was unceasingly proclaimed. The tide of prophecy swells from age to age, until in the time of Isaiah, it has grown into an unlimited flood; and the gospel is hardly preached with more clearness and power by St. Paul than by him. From the beginning of the world Jesus was made the one great object of faith; and the predictions of his character and office are multiplied until his time and place of birth, his miracles and instructions, his sufferings and the manner of his death, his resurrection and subsequent ascension to glory, are spoken of so particularly and so minutely, that the language of the later prophets, appears to be rather a history of what is past, than a prophecy of what is yet to come.

From this history of the gospel, you see that the sinner's ground of hope has been the same from the beginning of the world. The same Jesus who is preached to you for your acceptance, was preached to men from Adam down to Moses, and from Moses to the day in which we live. No child of man has ever passed into the heavens but through his redemption. His offering was equally availing and prevalent for Adam and Abel and ourselves. By his own obedience no man has ever found acceptance before God. But the same Almighty grace which has rescued the believing sinners in this congregation, brought the first ransomed sinner to glory, and every other one since his time. We offer no new commandment unto you, but that commandment which has been from the beginning, that you should believe on him who has been set up from everlasting, as the one Mediator between God and man, in whose blood alone there is redemption for your souls, even the forgiveness of your sins.

How elevated is the view which this subject presents of the character of Christ! His love how wonderful, that interposed for man in the moment of his transgression, when there was no arm that could save, and there seemed no possibility of finding any expedient by which the apparently inevitable punishment of sin could be turned aside. How great the power which has been exercised to accomplish this work of redemption in every age. Angels who have witnessed from the beginning his labours of love, know how worthy he is to receive blessing, and honour and glory for what he has done, and they gladly unite to praise him for all his goodness and all his mercy. Unnumbered multitudes of ransomed saints in the enjoyment of the glory which he has purchased, ascribe all the praise for their redemption unto him. He is the head of all things in heaven and on earth, and all living beings live through him. To the once crucified and now exalted Jesus, the universe, which is upheld by the word of his power, unites to render its thankful homage.

How unspeakable is the privilege which this subject presents to the true believer in Jesus Christ! The least in the kingdom of heaven is united by an everlasting bond to the glorious assembly who have been redeemed through the blood of the Son of God. The Redeemer has but one church. Angels, and living saints, and dead, but one communion make. The innumerable company of angels are subjected unto him. The ransomed believers in his power, from righteous Abel down to this day, are partakers of his glory; and to this holy and heavenly assembly, the weakest believer before me is eternally united. The poorest Christian on the earth is the constant subject of angelic protection and care. And though men may despise him, the hosts of heaven delight to watch over him, to minister to his wants, to console his sorrows, to defend him from dangers, and to bring him to the salvation of which he is made an heir. How delightful is the thought that we are never alone! In all our afflictions we have a great High Priest whom angels worship; who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and remembers whereof we are made. In our seasons of bodily suffering or family distress, in our periods of earthly adversity and wants, he will be a present and all-sufficient help; when the shades of death are gathering around us: he will stand by us to alleviate our distress and to elevate our hope. He will pass with us through the dark valley that we may be in perfect peace. In the great day of judgment he will own us amidst assembled worlds, as the satisfying travail of his soul. He will proclaim to the universe that we are the jewels whom he has purchased for himself, and over whom he will rejoice for ever. He will accept us, poor and worthless as we are, freely through the value of his own blood, and crown us with everlasting glory in heaven. How unspeakable is the privilege of being united to the whole company of the redeemed, through the precious and all-sufficient offering which is published to us in the gospel; and that privilege belongs to every one before me, who has sought for refuge in the precious blood of a divine and mighty Saviour.

How amazing is the conduct of those who persevere in rejecting the mercies which this gospel presents to universal acceptance! With what unutterable joy Adam must have heard of a hope of returning peace! With what transport Abel must have taken possession of that home of glory to which he was carried so suddenly from the trials of the world! And why should any of you who need a Saviour as much as they, and to whom the blessings of redemption are as freely offered as they were to them, take upon yourselves the voluntary and persevering rejection of all that Christ has done in your behalf. How much you will desire to see one of the days of the Son of man when the wish will be entirely vain! It is a fact with the unconverted sinner, despise the assertion of it as he will, that the hour will come, when, trembling and astonished, he will crouch before the Son of man, and beg and cry for the mercy which he has so often cast heedlessly away from him. How amazing is it that the man who knows that death, and judgment and eternity are spread before him, should be willing to throw away a hope, the sufficiency of which he acknowledges, while he has nothing to supply its place upon which he dare trust himself. And yet this is the conduct of every unconverted soul before me. There is not a man here, destitute of spiritual religion, but is rejecting what he knows to be a sufficient hope, while the rejection of this hope leaves his soul utterly without comfort and peace. How amazing in the sight of angels must be this course. They wondered when mercy was proposed to man. They must wonder still more when this mercy is again offered, after it has been rejected. They must wonder most of all, if sinners still persevere in this rejection, and finally determine to choose darkness rather than light.

LECTURE XIII.

THE WISDOM OF THE GOSPEL.

We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory.—1 Cor. ii. 7.

The *object* which the gospel is to attain, the *way* in which it is to attain it, and the *history* of its attainment of this object in past ages, have occupied our attention in three former discourses. I wish now to speak of the several characteristics of the gospel itself, as a dispensation of divine grace and mercy to man; to show its unsearchable *wisdom*, as an expedient for man's salvation; its almighty *power* as an instrument for the accomplishment of this end; the *grace* and *love* which is displayed in the gift which it offers unto man, and its *excellency* and *glory*, as a revelation of the character and purposes of God in his relation to fallen man.

My present subject is the unsearchable *wisdom of the gospel*, as an expedient or plan for man's salvation.

The text which I have selected contains St. Paul's description of this wisdom, as proclaimed by him and his fellow apostles. When he carried the gospel of Jesus to the enlightened and philosophical inhabitants of Corinth, he was aware that they sought after wisdom, and expected him to develope to them some new scheme of philosophy which should furnish matter for their own speculations. In opposition to this desire of theirs, he professes to them the single determination with which he came to them, which was to make known to perishing transgressors, Jesus Christ, and him crucified, as the only foundation for hope or acceptance before God.

This preaching rejected all the enticing words of man's wisdom; all the false and delusive words of persuasion with which other teachers were accustomed to come to them, and depended for its whole success upon the demonstration of the Divine Spirit and the power of God. He did not attempt to flatter them upon their own powers of understanding, nor to submit to the decisions of their natural and darkened reasons, the truths which he was sent to teach. He told them of their sins and dangers, and he held out to them freely the remedy which divine grace had provided for their wants. Such preaching, which dealt only with men as poor and depraved creatures, which addressed them from an eminence of authority, as those who were lost, was regarded by them as foolishness, and their proud hearts despised him for the bold assertions which he made of man's necessity and God's abundant mercy.

But though he has often adopted their own scornful expression, and called the preaching of the cross of Jesus foolishness, he denies that such was really the character of his preaching. "We speak wisdom," he says, "among them that are perfect," or able to understand us, "yet, not the wisdom of this world;" no wisdom of man's discovery. "But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery; the wisdom which has been hidden, but which God ordained before the world to our glory."

The apostle here, as in many other places, calls the gospel the "wisdom of God." He describes it as wisdom which reveals such things as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived; as wisdom which is revealed to man solely by the Spirit of God; the Spirit which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, and which the natural or unrenewed man cannot discern or understand.

"We speak," he says, "in preaching the gospel, the wisdom of God."

This display of Divine Wisdom, which the gospel makes, has before been "hidden in a mystery." It was not clearly revealed until the preaching of Jesus brought life and immortality to light. It was concealed in the types of the Jewish religion, and in the predictions of the Jewish prophets; and so hidden in the mysterious representations of the Old Testament, that none of the princes or wise men of this world knew it, but in their ignorance of it, crucified the Lord of glory.

But although the wisdom displayed in the gospel was hidden in a mystery before its full and perfect revelation, in the coming and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus, it was wisdom ordained before the foundation of the world. The whole plan of bringing from among men many sons to glory, through the sufferings of the Captain of their salvation, was devised and determined before the creation of man; and the gospel which Paul preached, and which we preach, is but the intelligence of that plan of mercy which God ordained then, for man, as a manifestation of the unfathomable depths of his own wisdom.

From this declaration of the apostle I derive my present subject of discourse.

The gospel displays the unsearchable wisdom of God which ordained a plan of salvation and glory for sinners before the foundation of the world, and concealed it in the mysteries of the Old Testament until *he* came, in whom all these mysteries were to be fulfilled and made plain.

I. The wisdom of the gospel is displayed in the extent of the difficulty which it was required to meet. In this view it may well be called the "wisdom of God in a mystery," for the extent of wisdom displayed is deeply mysterious.

In the fall and disobedience of man so many difficulties, and apparently such insurmountable difficulties were created, that all hope of his restoration would seem impossible. A holy being had become a polluted and guilty one. How should he be restored? The holy and denouncing law of God had been violated. How should the breach be made up? The majesty and faithfulness of an all-powerful God had been offended. How should it be appeased? It will be remembered that these questions were now agitated for the first time. All these difficulties had occurred in the case of the angels who had sinned; but there was no purpose to save them, and therefore there was no necessity to ask, in their case, how the difficulties should be overcome; with them sin had its perfect work, and the wages of sin was death.

In the case of man's transgression there was a previous determination to save them from the ruin in which they were involved, and the demand for wisdom was to solve the way in which it should be done.

We will suppose for a moment that it had been left to man to devise a way for his own restoration to the Divine favour, or that every created mind had been consulted by him for that end; and can you conceive that any way would have entered into the thoughts of any finite being, but an immediate and absolute pardon, by a single sovereign act of mercy? We may see many difficulties attending such an exercise of mercy; and whether it would have been at all consistent with the honour of God's character, it is utterly impossible for us to say. None but God can know what it is within the power of God to do. But we may safely say, even if we suppose such an act of mercy, under existing circumstances, *possible*, it was not the way which would the most highly honour the character of God, nor was it the way which was *most* suited to the wants of the occasion, and therefore it was not the way which a God of infinite wisdom thought best to adopt. Indeed, while I say we may see many difficulties attending an exercise of absolute mercy, under the circumstances of man, it appears to me entirely proper to say, such an act of mercy would be impossible. God, who delights in mercy, would have spared the sufferings of an innocent and holy Saviour, had the salvation of man been possible without their endurance.

How great was the difficulty which was here presented! and what wisdom was demanded to meet the necessities of the case! Every thing in the case was new. Every path to be trodden was hitherto untried. The breach which sin had made was infinitely wide. It was an ocean over which no created intelligence could travel; and the redemption of a single soul was so important and precious, that so far as men or angels were concerned, it must have ceased forever.

To meet this infinite demand; to make up all the difficulties which the case involved, and to bring God and man together across this unmeasured alienation, was required in the gospel, and here the wisdom of the plan by which it proposes to accomplish the purpose is gloriously displayed. When all created minds acknowledged that the case was hopeless, God brought forward to the view of his creatures the hidden wisdom which he had ordained before the world.

He made the fall of man an occasion of manifesting his own glorious perfections. This was his purpose and design, and the difficulty in removing man's guilt, and restoring a ruined world to his favour, and at the same time bringing eternal glory to the character of God, was met and answered in the abundant provisions of the gospel. There is not a question to be asked in reference to man's salvation, which the gospel does not answer. It abundantly saves the sinner, and brings the highest glory to God.

The wisdom of the gospel supplies all your wants. It makes a guilty being a pardoned and justified one. It converts a polluted and defiled creature into a holy and perfect one. It satisfies all the demands and denunciations of the law. It perfectly compensates the offended faithfulness and majesty of the Creator, and restores man to God, and reconciles God to man. The difficulty which existed in the case of the first transgressor remains in the case of every other sinner to be converted unto God; and the wisdom of the gospel as an expedient of salvation, is displayed in meeting and supplying this amazing difficulty whenever a sinner is brought home to God.

II. The wisdom of the gospel is displayed in the manner in which it glorifies all the divine attributes. While it manifests abundant mercy on the part of the Great Creator in his dealings with his creatures, it does not in the least degree compromise any other of his perfections in the exercise of mercy. If you will conceive of the relation in which man, as a sinful being, stood towards God, you will see how all the attributes of the divine character were at war with him. God had given him a law in the hour of his creation, and had bound that law upon him in the most solemn manner. He had voluntarily and unnecessarily broken that law, and now, in the presence of all beings, the Creator and his creature were at variance, as it were, in an awful contest, whether the Creator should be true to his word, in the punishment and destruction of the creature, or the creature should triumph in his rebellion over the instability of his God. Angels stopped to witness the result. Fallen spirits watched the progress of this conflict; and there seemed to depend upon the issue the one momentous question, shall God be the ruler of his creatures or no?

The holiness of God was called to express its abhorrence of sin, as it had done before. The justice of God was called to execute immediate vengeance on those who had committed sin, as it had done upon Lucifer and his host. The truth of God was called to fulfil the threatenings which had been denounced against sin; and yet, amidst all these difficulties, God so loved the world that he had determined the whole of men should not perish, but some of them should have everlasting life.

If the transgressor should receive an immediate and unconditional pardon, how should the holiness of God be displayed, or his justice honoured, or his truth preserved inviolate? Shall all these glorious attributes be despised and passed over utterly unheeded? The character of God is glorious, and must be glorified in the salvation of man; but how it should be so glorified, the wisdom of men and angels could never determine. No means had been provided for the restoration of fallen angels, and no angel could tell what means should be provided for the restoration of fallen man.

The attributes of God evidently required the punishment of sin. If the idea of a substitute had entered into any created mind, the difficulty was at once seen, how can an innocent being be punished for the guilty? Can God accept a substitute? Can it be imagined that he would inflict, with his own hand, sufferings belonging to the guilty upon one without sin?

Here the gospel displays its wisdom. It announces a substitute for the sinner. It exhibits the whole system under which this substitute was offered and accepted.

But if only the fact that a substitute would be accepted had been suggested, all creatures might ask, where shall one be found who can bear the punishment deserved by the millions of mankind? Were all the angels in heaven able to render such a service to mankind? Could any one less than the living God himself undertake such a work? Could it be conceived possible that God should be willing to do this for creatures who had trampled upon his laws? and if he were willing, how could it be done? How shall God endure sufferings for man? How shall any thing which he thus does be put to man's account? and if God were willing to become man, and to put himself in the place of man, and do and suffer what man was bound to do and suffer, how could it consist with the holiness and justice of God, to let the innocent suffer and the guilty go free? yea, to let the innocent suffer, that the guilty might go free?

The more we enter into the consideration of these things, and contemplate all the difficulties which the holy attributes of God inevitably threw in the way of man's recovery, and the impossibility that any created wisdom should devise a way in which they could be reconciled, we see the wisdom of the gospel the more wonderfully displayed. Here divine wisdom interposes; here the wisdom ordained in the councils of the Eternal Trinity, before the world began, is exhibited; and the intelligence of God's own determination unravels every obscurity and doubt, and throws new and infinite honour upon his own character.

Behold this glorious plan. God's co-equal, co-eternal Son, shall undertake for us. A body shall be given him. In the fulness of the time before appointed, he shall be born as man; as the substitute and surety for our souls, he shall bear our burden of sins in his own sacred body upon the cross. By his own obedience unto death, he shall work out an everlasting righteousness commensurate with the utmost claims of the law for all who believe. Thus every attribute of God shall be honoured, and God shall be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Christ Jesus.

Contemplate this "wisdom of God in a mystery." A mediator! That mediator God; that God man! That Deity incarnate, suffering! Those sufferings borne in the stead of man! His whole obedience, too, accepted for sinful man, and imputed unto him! Sinners by this rescued and reconciled to God. Sinners so reconciled, restored to the divine image, approved of God, justified before the assembled universe, exalted to the thrones of endless glory! and all this in perfect consistency with the honour of God; yea, glorifying in the highest degree, the divine perfections! This is God's plan for the salvation of a ruined world. This is the intelligence which the gospel brings. Surely in the contemplation of it we can only exclaim with the apostle, "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" And with him also, we may declare in reference to all who are ignorant of this wisdom, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard; neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Would to God we could all say also with him, "God hath revealed them unto us by his spirit, that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God."

III. The wisdom of the gospel is displayed in its perfect adaptation to the accomplishment of the great purpose which it designs. The mark of true wisdom is in the best arrangement of means to obtain a desired end. The great object of the gospel is to seek and to save that which is lost, to convert sinners unto God, to make a time of restitution throughout the world, in which God shall return to bless his creatures, and men shall return to submit themselves to God. It operates upon a lost and ruined world; and from it, it wishes to bring many sons unto glory.

Its wisdom is manifested in its being perfectly adapted to accomplish this whole end.

The provisions of the gospel are the evidence and fruit of God's reconciliation to man. The one great offering for sin which it presents has made up every breach, has taken away every obstacle, has opened to the sinner a path of glory and blessedness. God is able to forgive and save every transgressor on earth in consistence with his own honour; and therefore as our last head showed, so far as *he* is concerned, the wisdom of the gospel is proclaimed in his acknowledgment that it is sufficient, and that he is willing that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth.

But man is yet alienated, and must be brought home to God; and the gospel shows the wisdom of its plan in its perfect adaptation to the great end of converting him. The great fact of the gospel, the incarnation and sufferings of a glorious Saviour, is the one great instrument of good to the rebel sinner; and the continued exhibition of this one great fact is the means, and the only means, of bringing back to God the hearts of his creatures.

Take the instance of the individual sinner converted unto God, and what has produced the effect upon him which is so manifest?

He was dead in his sins; cold, heartless and unconcerned. The one object, then, was to rouse him to reflection, and to produce a true sorrow for sin in his heart. But what could do it? No remonstrance of moral precepts, no appeal to the dominion of reason, no arguments founded upon his own ability to rise. No. Had these been all the instruments employed, he would have remained eternally, as multitudes do under such instruments, a dead and ruined sinner. But he heard of a crucified Jesus. He was made to look upon him whom he had pierced. He saw an agony and bloody sweat drawn out by his transgression. His conscience felt and owned the guilt. A crucified Jesus! This planted thorns in his pillow; this made him water his couch with his tears; this agitated his breast with grief and anxiety. The preaching of the gospel, the exhibition of the great fact of the gospel, convicted him of sin; ingratitude to a Saviour, contempt of his blood, neglect of a soul for which *he* died, filled him with anguish, and compelled him to ask forgiveness from him who had borne his sins and carried his iniquities. In this effect the wisdom of the gospel was displayed. It awakened and convinced a sinner who could resist every thing but this one instrument of God. It brought down into the dust of humiliation, a rebel who could harden himself against every other instrument and power, who could mock at all other solicitations as the horse mocketh at the battle.

When this rebel was awakened, convinced and made to cry out in the bitterness of his anguish, the next object was to elevate his affections to God, to bind him eternally to a Saviour, and to save him from going back to the captivity of Satan; but no instrument could do it save the same gospel. The same great fact which had aroused him, gave him peace. It was not the moral or natural perfections of the Deity; it was not the beauty of his service nor the holiness of his habitation that bound his heart to heaven, and led him to seek the inheritance of the saints in light. It was a bleeding Lamb, a suffering Emanuel, a Redeemer crowned with thorns, that took away the anguish of conviction, gave him peace in believing, and filled his soul with love to God. He was made alive by receiving Christ to live in him. He was brought to glorify God in his body and spirit, which were his, by feeling that he was bought with a price, and that Jesus had died for him. The life he now lives is sustained by the gospel alone; and being made one with Christ, through a cordial acceptance of his salvation, he brings forth fruit of holiness unto God.

This has been the one course of proceeding from the beginning; and millions of rebellious beings have been awakened, convicted and bound in an everlasting covenant to God, by the operation of this single instrument of good. Here the gospel has displayed its wisdom, and God has been infinitely honoured in the operation of this plan.

This is not the wisdom of this world. It appears to be foolishness in the carnal eye. Unconverted men can see no beauty in Jesus, no reason in the simple preaching of what he has done, no connexion between this and any change to be accomplished in the human character. In their proud language it is unphilosophical and absurd. But in spite of all their objections, and contentions, and pride, it does produce the effect desired when nothing else can do it; and thus shows itself to be the wisdom of God, though from the men of this world it is hidden in a mystery.

The apostles went out to tell the simple fact of the crucifixion and exaltation of the Son of God for the salvation of sinners; and though all the wise men derided them, their preaching made multitudes cry out together, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and added multitudes to the church who should be saved. They feared no repetition; they expected no weariness; they provided for no love of change; they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ, and God confirmed his word every where by its glorious results. We have the same gospel, and it still produces the same effect. Though disputers of this world still deride, the more exclusively and entirely we preach Jesus Christ, the more abundant are the effects upon the hearts and characters of men. When we are willing to trust God's wisdom and to throw ourselves altogether upon the great fact of the gospel, to preach, not ourselves, but Jesus Christ the Lord, we are blessed; sinners are awakened and converted, and God is honoured in spite of all the exclamations of proud and captious men: "How can these things be?"

The gospel is the only possible instrument for this end. There is no sinner converted but by its power; and the wisdom of God is thus unceasingly displayed. Every song in heaven, and every true prayer and thanksgiving upon earth, unites to utter the same truth; we are washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb; and mysterious as this wisdom is to the princes of this world, it is wisdom ordained before the world to our glory.

These three views display the wisdom of the gospel as an expedient for man's salvation; the difficulty which it meets, the glory which it brings to God, and its adaptation to produce the end which it designs: "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world to our glory."

How vain are the objections which men make to the system of grace and salvation! This is God's plan. It is marked with the wisdom of his character. It has glorified him, in an amazing degree, in the effect which it has produced throughout the world. Though many of you may see no reason in this system, and may persuade yourselves to believe that there is something in it which is contrary to your reason, rest assured, if you will throw yourselves with faith upon it, you will find it to be the power of God unto salvation to your souls. You have not a want which it will not supply. It will meet your whole necessities. It will abundantly answer your prayers.

This is the true and proper test of the fitness and wisdom of the gospel; the test of experience. Try this system. Taste and see that the Lord is gracious. To this point would I lead your affections and plans. I cannot stop to argue about the externals of this plan before the tribunal of man's wisdom. You may be speculatively believers, while you are practically unbelievers. You can know nothing of the wisdom or the fitness of the gospel, unless you are willing to receive it and try it under the shape in which it comes to you as a remedy for your diseased and ruined souls. If you are willing to be convinced of your necessities; if you are ready to acknowledge that you have deep and fatal spiritual wants, and are willing to lay yourselves down as a free offering to a crucified Saviour, this gospel will tell you all you can desire to know, and give you all you can need to possess.

Your purblind reasons may urge a thousand questions which God has not answered, and which man cannot answer, about this heavenly system; and you may be persuaded to say, I cannot accept it because I cannot understand it. This is no fair or accurate test of any remedy for evil. Go with a deep conviction that you are guilty, and deserve condemnation; that you are ruined, and have no help. Go with a penitent and sorrowful spirit, in remembrance of your sin, looking upon the load you have heaped upon a dying friend. Go with the language of unfeigned humiliation, with a sincere desire to obtain pardon and peace in the relation between your soul and God. Go thus to the feet of Jesus, and ask for the remedy which he bestows. If, then, you are sent back empty, if you find that the gospel can do nothing for you, that your load of guilt is unremoved, and your souls have no peace with God, then may you, with much greater show of reason, pronounce upon the unfitness of the gospel to answer your necessity. But until you have tried and found the trial vain, you cannot, with the least propriety, urge a single objection to the terms and operation of the gospel.

Are you willing to make this trial? Are you ready to test, by experience, the sufficiency of Christ? He invites you; he advises you; he warns you; he encourages you; he intreats you all to submit your wills, your desires, your characters, to him; and by his Spirit he will enable you to know and understand the things which are freely given you of God; and this acceptance of the gospel shall furnish you a salvation that can be obtained by no other instrument or method.

LECTURE XIV.

THE POWER OF THE GOSPEL TO SAVE.

It is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.—ROMANS I. 16.

This is the reason which the apostle gives why he was not ashamed of the gospel of Jesus. Of an instrument of such power and so much good among men, he might well glory wherever he went.

In the eyes of the self-righteous Jews the gospel of Jesus was a stumbling-block, because it allowed nothing to human merit. And with the conceited Greeks it was accounted foolishness, because it paid no deference to the arrogant claims of human reason. But, notwithstanding it was inconceivable to those who confided in their own wisdom, that the salvation of man should be effected by any means apparently so unsuited to the end, St. Paul hesitated not to affirm, in the face of all opposition, that the gospel would be powerful for the production of the end which was intended, that it would operate as the power of God unto salvation to every one who believed.

The *power of the gospel* as an *instrument* of salvation, is the subject which I desire to present to your attention at this time.

It may be regarded under the two aspects of the power which is exercised *for* us, in the personal work of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the power which is exercised *in* us, by the operations of the Holy Spirit.

I. Consider the gospel as the great instrument of salvation in what it does *for* us.

The law held us in bondage, kept us under condemnation, bound us over to endure the everlasting wages of sin. This bondage the gospel has broken; it has released us from all condemnation; it has provided a sacrifice which can answer every claim of the law, and given a new and glorious hope to those who were without hope. In the obedience which Jesus has rendered to its precepts, and the satisfaction which he has made to its penalties, the law has been silenced in every demand, and the power of the gospel for salvation has been exhibited. And under the gospel, by this work of the Redeemer, as our substitute, God can exercise mercy to those whom the law has condemned, without setting aside, in any degree, the authority or sanctions of his law.

Again, Satan held us in captivity; we were under the power of the god of this world; and he exercised over the hearts and habits of all a ruinous dominion. From his power the gospel rescues us. The Lord Jesus has destroyed him that had the power of death. When he hung as a bleeding man upon the cross, and was to all appearance subdued and destroyed, then he triumphed over Satan and spoiled his principalities and powers, and made a show of his conquest openly. And this one fact, the death of Jesus upon the cross for sinners, has been the single great instrument by which Satan's kingdom has been demolished, and the Saviour's empire has been established throughout the world.

The power of the gospel for us is exhibited in heaven, in the accepted sufficiency of the Lord Jesus, in his prevailing intercession as our great High Priest, and in the continual crowning of the subjects of his redemption for his sake.

It is exhibited on earth in the providence which causes all things to promote the salvation of sinners; in the continual progress of truth, and its conquest over error throughout the world; in the justifying of innumerable multitudes of sinners, and giving the guilty consciences of men peace with God; in the unceasing triumphs which it accomplishes over death, and in the ransomed souls whom it brings to eternal glory.

It is exhibited in hell, in the restraint which it has put to the power of Satan; in the limits which it affixes to his designs of malice; in the subjection which it compels him to acknowledge to the Lord Jesus, as the head over all, and in the triumphs which it is attaining over him among men from day to day.

To the universe, the gospel is thus presented as the power of God for salvation in behalf of sinners. For them it has provided a satisfaction and righteousness sufficient for the whole world. For them it has opened a new and living way of salvation, abundant for their universal acceptance. For them it is daily finishing its works of grace, and adding new beings to the triumphant hosts of heaven.

This power of the gospel, as exercised for us in the offering and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, I pass over thus cursorily, because my chief object is to display the power of the gospel unto salvation, as exercised within us. Under this view,

II. It is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.

When we consider the whole progress of the gospel in the world, and reflect upon the innumerable multitude of souls whom it has actually rescued from the bondage of sin by the power of the Holy Ghost, we behold the power of God more remarkably displayed in this than in all the works of creation.

We have seen the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands, as the gospel is called in the book of Daniel, grow into a mighty mountain, and establish itself in all the kingdoms of the earth. We have seen millions of sinners submitting their hearts to a doctrine, at first every where spoken against, upon the testimony of a few poor and despicable persons; to a doctrine diametrically opposite to the propensities of their own natures; involving unceasing self-denial, and the assumption of a severe and painful cross. We have seen this submission made in hope of a reward from one whom they have never seen, and in whom, if they had seen him, they would have found no beauty by a natural eye for which he should be desired; and this reward, too, whatever it might be, deferred for a long time, and offering, in the meanwhile, no ground of assurance to expect it, but a faith in his power who has promised it, and requiring a perpetual contest with persecution and suffering and death.

Having seen all this, how elevated is the view which is presented of the power of the gospel of Jesus. How many souls have been rescued from the power of that wicked adversary who leads men captive at his will! And by what means have they been delivered from its chains? Not by human eloquence or the powers of moral suasion in a single instance. Nothing but the gospel has ever emancipated a single soul, or brought one to the enjoyment of lasting peace. But this has been, in every age, quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, and has turned thousands from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. There have been multitudes in every age who were living witnesses of its power; who by its enlightening, comforting and sanctifying efficacy, have been created anew, and filled with joy and peace in believing.

These effects the world still beholds. It wonders at them, and is unable to account for them. They are seen wherever the gospel is faithfully administered. The simple exhibition of Christ crucified is still as truly and effectually as ever a hammer which breaks in pieces the rocks, and a mould which forms into the likeness of Christ those who are subjected to its divine influence.

Wherever you look abroad upon the Christian church, you see the power of the gospel displayed. In every year miriads are converted by its influence unto Christ; angels look with joy upon its operations, and the name and character of the Lord Jesus are glorified in its results. Extensive revivals of religion, under the simple preaching of its truth, show upon a large scale its power unto salvation.

With false systems of doctrine, all the talent and eloquence of men convert no sinner's soul, while the lifting up of a crucified Jesus, though feebly done by the talent of the preacher, is drawing all unto him. Under other preaching, religion dies, and hardly the form of godliness remains. Under the preaching of the cross, grace, mercy and peace are multiplied among men, and God confirms his word with the demonstration of his Spirit and with power.

III. The power of the gospel is displayed in that gracious operation which brings back every individual sinner to holiness and peace.

1. In the awakening and conversion of sinners, in the turning of their hearts from the power of Satan unto God, the gospel displays its power unto salvation. The natural mind of man refuses all subjection to the will of God. The strong man armed keeps his palace, and his goods are in peace. Without concern for himself, and in a determined conflict with his Creator, the sinner sets himself to oppose the grace of Jesus; and it is only as he is subdued by a power stronger than he, that his soul is spoiled of its rebellion, and renovated in love. In the accomplishment of this conversion, the gospel is mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, and every imagination which exalteth itself against God. When Jesus stilled the tempest with two words, "Peace, be still," men wondered at the exhibition of his power, and exclaimed, "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" The conversion of the sinner is a far greater work than the stilling of the ocean. The sea will sometimes be calm of itself; but the wicked are always "like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt." To still the raging sea, and to subdue the sinner's soul into the calmness and beauty of a spiritual life, the gospel, as the word of Jesus, is the chosen instrument. It is made the savour of life unto life, and new-creates the sinner, not by the will of man or the will of the flesh, but by the power of God.

The minister of Jesus speaks in the ears of a dead man, whom no thunder could have awakened, and he rises up to give glory to God. Christ calls upon men to deny themselves, to part with their sins, which they have esteemed their ornament and subsistence; to stand at defiance with the allurements and opposition of the world, and to rejoice if they are counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ's sake, and they obey him without consulting with flesh and blood. Those affections which are bound to the earth are lifted up to heaven. That spirit which boasted in rebellion against God, yields to him with the submission of a lamb; and the same man who proudly said, "I will not have this man to reign over me; who is Lord over me?" now says, in an humble dependance upon Christ, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" This change of character and heart the gospel has accomplished; and thus, in the conversion of the transgressor, shows itself the power of God unto salvation.

2. In the free justification of the sinner before God, and giving him acceptance and peace of conscience, the gospel

displays its power unto salvation. It comes to the penitent transgressor as a ministration of righteousness, as a word of reconciliation and peace. It opens the prison doors and bids the captive go free. The power of the law was great, as represented in the mighty thunderings with which it was given; but in comparison with the gospel, the law was weak, and could make nothing perfect. The power of the law was for destruction. The power of the gospel is a life-giving power. The law could only hold down the man who was down before; it could never give him life again. But the power to give life is far greater than the power to kill. The gospel is thus mighty to pass by transgressions and sins, to set at liberty the souls that are bound, and to give boldness in the presence of the King of Saints to the poor captives of Satan.

When the sinner's heart is brought under the influence of the gospel by the power of the Holy Ghost, it takes away the burden of guilt; it silences every accuser; it fills the believer with the confidence of hope; it forbids every weapon to prosper which is formed against him, and condemns every tongue which rises up in judgment against his soul. The justification which the gospel gives is a perfect and entire one. The sins of a life, however accumulated, however aggravated, are blotted out in one moment, and that for ever. A new and perfect righteousness is bestowed upon the pardoned sinner; and he stands before God, not only without a stain of guilt, but with a character as perfect, and a title to an inheritance of glory as entire, as if he had never transgressed against God.

In the justification of the believer, the gospel makes every thing sure. "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again; who is at the right hand of God for ever." And where he is his followers are also to be. In this total change in the relation of a sinner towards God, the gospel shows its power; it turns aside the edge of judgment, and rejoices in a victory over condemnation; and relieving a soul from fear, from danger, and from death, it shows itself to be the power of God unto salvation.

3. The gospel displays its power unto salvation in its progressive sanctification of those whom it has converted unto God, and justified in the righteousness of Jesus. It is the great and only instrument of making men holy. Thus the Redeemer says in his intercession to the Father, "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth." In the progressive exercise of its power to give life, it leads the converted soul every day nearer to the image of God. There is a heavenly teaching by the Holy Spirit, accompanying the word, which forms Christ in the believer's heart more perfectly; which writes upon his heart the divine law, and makes it his delight to do his will. There is here a continual exhibition of the power of the gospel. The impression upon an adamant, from a simple touch of the seal, would not be more wonderful than this transformation of an earthly and degraded soul into the divine image, by the preaching of the word of truth.

In the gospel we behold, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, and are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord. The application of the great truths of the gospel to our hearts, by the power of the Spirit, destroys the temptations of sense and appetite; overcomes the allurements and terrors of the world; bruises Satan under our feet, and makes us, after the image of the Lord Jesus, holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners; and in this daily progress of our souls to God, we see new displays of the power of the gospel, and rejoice in him who, by its instrumentality, can make all grace abound in us.

4. The gospel displays its power unto salvation, in upholding and preserving those who are brought to a knowledge of its truth.

It is the great instrument of keeping every child of God through faith unto salvation. By the divine power attending its ministrations, it is able to keep us from falling, and to present us before the throne of divine glory with exceeding joy. For this it is styled an incorruptible seed; an abiding seed in the heart, and brings forth permanent and increasing fruit. It is a tree with perpetual fruit, without any variation for the difference of seasons. Like that tree which St. John saw in Paradise, which brought forth its fruit every month, of twelve different kinds. Thus Jesus promises that every branch in him which beareth fruit shall be purged and made to bring forth more fruit, and they who live in him shall have life more abundantly. This preservation of divine grace in the heart of man, is a glorious exhibition of power. It is like keeping a spark alive in the midst of the ocean, and sustaining a hope, even against hope.

The follower of Jesus is encompassed with innumerable difficulties. Many heavy loads are united in their pressure upon his soul. He must bear the weight of a wounded spirit; the sorrows of indwelling sin; the burden of a decaying body; the load of scorn and reproach from Satan and the world. But amidst all these, the gospel gives him beauty for ashes; the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. When fearfulness and trembling come upon him, and his steps are almost gone, this is his comfort in his affliction, that the word of God hath quickened him, and that God will perfect that which he hath wrought for his servant. In the midst of all his difficulties, the gospel leads the Christian not to lean upon any created strength, nor to look for the help of man, but to trust only in the word of divine promise, and to cast his whole care upon him who has begun a good work in him, and will carry it on, unto the day of the Lord Jesus.

This preserving power of the gospel is displayed in many instances through a long course of years, and in circumstances of great trial and distress. "Eighty and six years," said Polycarp upon the day of his martyrdom, "have I served Jesus of Nazareth." And what can be a more delightful testimony to the worth and power of the gospel, than that of an old man who has passed through all the sorrows of life, and at the period of gray hairs, when all the charms of earth have lost their power, can say, "I have been young and now am old, yet saw I never the righteous forsaken," to me Jesus is still precious. This testimony is given every day, and God is honoured in the power which his gospel exhibits, to sustain and preserve those who have entrusted themselves to it.

5. The gospel exhibits its power unto salvation, in the final crowning of the saints in glory. For every child of God before me, its work of grace shall be fully and eternally accomplished. As the ransomed of the Lord, they shall return to Zion, with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads. They shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Then, how wonderful is the display of power which has brought a child of wrath and sin to be an heir of everlasting glory! The sufferings of Jesus shall then have received their full reward. He shall be glorified in his saints, and admired in all that believe. He shall rejoice forever over the vast multitudes whom he hath redeemed and washed from their sins in his own blood. Countless armies shall assemble before him, with his mark upon their foreheads; all the fruits of his redemption, plucked out of the jaws of the lion; begotten again through his word, to the enjoyment of a lively hope, an everlasting possession, and permitted to dwell in the presence of the Lamb forever.

Then the salvation of each redeemed soul is finally accomplished, and the gospel has displayed its full and proper power in the conversion, the justifying, the sanctifying, the preserving, and the crowning every subject of the redemption of Jesus. The work in each instance has been the same. A vessel of wrath fitted for destruction has been brought to glory for the master's honour and use; and unnumbered millions who were by nature poor and miserable, and blind and naked, for whom, while they were without strength, Christ died, will be found rescued by the power of the gospel, and made to shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars, forever and ever.

This text teaches us the proper ground of hope. The power of God as promised and exercised in the gospel of Jesus. If you look upon your own characters, you find yourselves utterly weak and unworthy. All reflections upon yourselves will inevitably be of the most humiliating and painful character; and if you were compelled to receive the wages which you have earned by your own conduct, you could not sustain the load. You have nothing which you can offer unto God. There is no part of your lives which could furnish you a sufficient hope of acceptance before him, and if he should call you into judgment, it must be to condemn and destroy you. But while you are thus entirely deficient in yourselves, there is offered to you in the gospel of Jesus, a sufficient and abiding hope. There the divine power presents itself to your acceptance, as all-sufficient for your wants, and invites you to lean upon it, as a staff which can never be broken.

Will you then be persuaded to cast out all idea of trusting in yourselves; to renounce all dependence upon your own character and conduct, and to seek a righteousness beyond yourselves, in the perfect and spotless obedience of the Son of God. You are simply invited to *accept* the provisions of the gospel, and as Noah, believing God's word, sought refuge and protection in the ark; and as the persecuted Israelite, trusting the divine command, found a shelter in the city of refuge; so to flee to the work which the Lord Jesus has finished, and plead nothing but that for your acceptance before God. If you are convinced of your wants, and of your total inability to save yourself, and are ready to be freely justified, and freely saved by the power of Christ, every thing is ready for you. The sacrifice and obedience of Jesus have been accepted in your behalf. God is well pleased in him, and well pleased to save you, for his sake; and nothing is wanting, but that you, with a penitent and humble spirit, should receive the blessings which are so freely offered you in Christ Jesus. The gospel presents you all a foundation upon which you may securely build. Without fear of doubting you may embrace this glorious hope; and when you do embrace it in your hearts, all your guilt shall be removed, all your dangers shall pass away, and everlasting light and glory shall rest upon your souls.

Do not trust yourselves before a heart-searching God with any other ground of hope, for plead what you will, you will be inevitably condemned. When God riseth up in judgment you cannot answer him, or stand before him, but in the all-sufficient and prevailing merits of an incarnate and suffering Saviour, which have been thankfully embraced and dwelt upon by you.

You see to whom all the *praise* is to be given for the work of salvation. In this work man is nothing. He brings to it no strength, no merit, no claim of any kind. You are to ascribe the whole glory to that mighty Saviour who loved you, when you were dead in trespasses and sins, and interposed his power and his worthiness for you, when you were perishing, without strength and without hope. To him let your thanksgivings be every day addressed, as you are led on from strength to strength. In him let all your confidence be placed, for what he has promised to do for you, while you are passing the wilderness of life; and when you are brought to rest, in the presence of his glory, to him will you find yourselves constrained to offer all the honour and praise for what he has been pleased to undertake and finish in your behalf.

He is the great object of universal praise; all the angels of God worship him; all the spirits of just men made perfect, ascribe honour unto him; and from our hearts he asks the same tribute of thanksgiving and honour.

Give him glory before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and he turn the light which you look for into the shadow of death. Be wise in making him your friend while his mercies are offered you in his word, and let the power of the gospel be for you a power to save.

For reflect, I pray you, in conclusion, that the same power which the gospel has to save, it has to *destroy*. It increases the condemnation and misery of those who reject it, and it were far better, never to have heard its gracious invitations, than having heard them, to cast them voluntarily away. To this destroying power of the gospel, to those who reject it, Jesus refers when he says, "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." It has an irresistible energy. It comes with an overwhelming force upon those who have despised its mercies, and makes it better for such persons if they had never been born. This gospel must appear in the great day, as a witness for or against every child of man. It will bear testimony for all who have accepted its invitations, that justice is satisfied, and all condemnation must pass away; that the Lamb is worthy, and infinite honour and glory must be bestowed. It must witness against all who have refused its mercies, that they are without hope; the law must take its course, while their condemnation and ruin have been awfully increased, by choosing death rather than life. With a destructive weight it falls upon such, to grind them to powder, to consign them over to everlasting ruin, and to bind them in chains of eternal darkness and death.

Happy will it be, for all before me, to have this powerful gospel a witness of approbation and not of condemnation in that solemn day.

LECTURE XV.

THE GRACE OF THE GOSPEL AS A DIVINE GIFT.

The unsearchable riches of Christ.—EPHESIANS III. 8.

By this expression, I understand the unsearchable provisions of grace, which are contained in the gospel of Christ. These provisions the apostle Paul was sent to offer to the gentiles; and in the whole of his ministrations, he shows us the remarkable difference which there is between that view of the gospel which is the result of speculative examination, and that view of the gospel which has been formed from an experience of its life-giving power. The man who examines the gospel upon its exterior, sees much in it to admire, for its beauty of moral precepts, its attractive examples of personal character, and its peculiar revelations of the existence and character of God; and upon this ground he advocates and enforces the system of religion which he conceives the New Testament to contain.

The man who has experienced the power of the gospel to convert and sanctify, forgets these peculiar reasons for valuing the gospel, in his wondering admiration of it, as a system of unsearchable grace for the chief of sinners. Our minds will naturally dwell upon that aspect of this system, with the most constancy and delight, which we feel to be most suited to our individual wants; and if we have felt ourselves to be ruined sinners, and have sought the gospel as a remedy for our necessities, we shall pass over every minor characteristic, and adore the exceeding riches of grace which Almighty God has been pleased here to exhibit.

This view of the gospel occupied the thoughts and affections of the Apostle Paul. He seldom speaks of Jesus or his dispensation, except under the idea of a scheme of glorious salvation; of which, in infinite mercy, he had been made a subject, though he was before a persecutor, a blasphemer, and injurious. Paul's knowledge of the truth was the result of an experience of its power, and to the same experience he desired to bring all to whom he addressed himself, as an ambassador of Christ.

No view of the gospel is so honourable to God, or so comforting and suitable to ourselves, as this to which your attention is now to be directed: the riches of its grace as a divine gift to man. The apostle states to the Ephesians, that God especially designed, in the salvation which he had provided in the gospel, "to show in the ages to come, the exceeding riches of his grace in Christ Jesus;" and to further and promote this design, had commissioned him, though less than the least of all saints, to preach among the Gentiles "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

I have selected these words of the apostle as a text, because they show the fact, which it is my design to exhibit in this discourse, that the provisions of grace offered to sinners in the gospel, are truly unsearchable. They are adequate to supply every want; they are adapted to every circumstance and relation of man; they are sufficient for the necessities of the whole race of men.

I. The unsearchable grace of the gospel is displayed in the *freeness* with which it offers every blessing to man. It requires nothing to be done by us in order to merit its blessings. It never puts us upon earning an interest in the mercies which it has provided. To the utmost meaning of the terms, every blessing of the gospel is a free gift of God to man. They are as much so as the manna which was rained from heaven upon the Israelites, or the water which followed them from the rock in their wanderings through the wilderness. Under this character as free and unmerited gifts, the privileges of the gospel are presented through the whole inspired volume. The first promise of a Saviour is a remarkable illustration of this fact. That promise was not given in answer to any solicitations on the part of our first parents. They could hardly be supposed able to conceive of the possibility of such a promise. Indeed it was not literally given to them at all. It was included in the threatening which was denounced by God against the serpent who had deceived them, and not personally addressed either to Adam or Eve, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The Saviour was thus a free gift of God, a gift unthought of by man; and every blessing which the Saviour brings is as entirely a free gift as himself. "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." The whole amount of mercies and privileges which the gospel bestows, are unclogged with any conditions. The gracious invitations which it addresses to men, are entirely unlimited in their application. "Ho! every one that thirsteth," it says upon the high places of the earth, "and he that hath no money, come buy and eat; yea, buy wine and milk without money and without price." And again, in the conclusion of its book of grace, it says again, "The spirit and the bride say come, and let him that heareth say come, and let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him take of the waters of life freely."

Now here is exhibited the unsearchable riches of the gospel. It comes to creatures who can do nothing to deserve its blessings, or to acquire an interest in its glorious promises, and presents itself as perfectly suitable to their wants, by offering freely and unconditionally to their acceptance all the mercies they can desire. Fallen creatures can do nothing to restore themselves. The angels who are confined in chains of darkness can do nothing to obtain salvation from their ruin. They are utterly incapable of meriting God's favour, and we are equally so. No salvation would avail us any thing which required us to do any thing to deserve its bestowal upon us.

The whole scripture unites to caution us against the thought of earning grace: "Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down from above; or who shall descend into the deep? that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead. But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

Yes, *we* do preach, as the Holy Ghost preaches throughout the whole Bible, that to receive every divine blessing by faith freely as it is freely offered, is the only office assigned to any child of man. After we have embraced the invitations of the gospel, we have much to do to honour and adorn it in all holy conversation and godliness; yet our first reception of its blessings must be altogether free, and we must stand indebted for them solely to the sovereign grace of God.

But while I merely say the gospel shows its riches of grace in offering every blessing freely, I say too little. St. Paul expresses the greatest jealousy upon this subject. He declares that if we attempt to do any thing, however good in itself, expecting by it, either in whole or in part, to *merit* our salvation, we make void the whole gospel. "Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Salvation must be wholly of works, or wholly of grace. If salvation were of works, in ever so small a degree, there would be room for boasting; for we should have done something for ourselves. Whereas, under the gospel, boasting must be utterly excluded; and salvation from first to last must be received as a free gift of God for Christ's sake.

What unsearchable grace is this! and still more so, if you consider to whom such offers are freely made. The invitations of the gospel are presented and pressed upon the attention of beings universally depraved; beings who perversely reject all that has been done for them, who stand out to resist its gracious influence, and to fight against God until they are subdued and led captive by a power stronger than themselves. These gracious invitations of God follow these creatures through all the wanderings of their sinful lives, still pressing upon their attention the solemn call, "Turn ye, for why will ye die." The gospel of Jesus, in the tenderness of its compassion, literally persecutes the sinner with its entreaties that he would be saved. It will not give him up. It is like a rich and noble prince who follows a mendicant up and down, beseeching him to accept the assistance which he offers; and thus freely offering, and perseveringly offering, unsearchable riches to sinners who could deserve nothing, who despise and reject the mercies which are presented, and weary the patience of the Most High with their perverseness, the gospel displays its unspeakable grace as a gift of God to those who are really perishing in their sins.

II. The unsearchable grace of the gospel as a divine gift, is displayed in the *full* and *perfect* manner in which it communicates its blessings to man. There is not a want in the sinner which it does not abundantly supply. Are we by nature wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked? It gives us, without money or price, gold tried in the fire, that we may be rich; and white raiment to cover us, that the shame of our nakedness may not appear; and it anoints our eyes with eye-salve, that we may see. It fills the hungry with good things, and exalts those of low degree. How beautifully, and in what lively colours, is this fulness of gospel provisions exhibited by the Spirit of God, speaking through the prophet Isaiah in that passage which our blessed Lord applied to himself in the first public discourse which he ever delivered: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified."

Now this passage precisely illustrates the aspect of gospel grace, which is before your minds, the fulness with which it supplies every want of man; because it takes a view of mankind in a vast variety of conditions, in every stage of sorrow and distress, and represents the gospel as adapting itself to every different state, and as supplying every want under which men are suffering.

Look then upon the fulness of these provisions; conceive of miserable man in every condition in which he can be imagined; conceive of him bowed down with a sense of guilt, or harassed with the temptations of Satan, or sinking under persecutions from men, or under the hidings of God's favour, or in the prospect of immediate dissolution; and in every condition the gospel presents him with all that he can want: pardon for all sin, strength against every temptation, support under every trial, comfort under every affliction, and life everlasting by the simple exercise of faith in Jesus, as life was given to the dying Israelite by looking upon the brazen serpent. If there were a possible situation for which the gospel would not yield a supply, if there were a single thing which it required us to furnish from our own store, it would display no *unsearchable* riches of grace, nor would it be adapted to our necessities.

When the Israelites wandered in the wilderness, if they had been provided with bread and water, but had been left to their own guidance, or no miracle had been wrought to preserve their clothes, or to keep their feet from the effect of long and wearisome toil, how evident is it that the want of any one blessing would have rendered all the others nugatory and useless. God must supply *all* their wants, for they had no ability to supply one themselves. Just so is it with us. Should the gospel leave a single necessity unsatisfied, all its other provisions, however rich and abundant, would be in vain. Go, for instance, to the bedside of a dying sinner, and say, "You must render such and such services to the Lord before you can be accepted by him," what hope or comfort would such tidings inspire? How cruelly would such a message mock the anguish of a man who feels that he can do nothing; who is conscious that he is sinking into perdition, and must be plucked by some powerful arm from the gulf which stretches beneath his soul! But tell him, or any other sinner, that "Christ died for the chief of sinners; that those who come to him he will in no wise cast out; that sins like scarlet may be made as white as snow; that there is a fountain which cleanseth from all sin;" and you offer hope and comfort which are entirely abundant; you present a foundation upon which the soul may build without fear, and may see a sinner made a precious jewel in the Redeemer's crown for ever.

Thanks be to God! there is not a desirable blessing for man which the gospel does not impart to us in our hour of need. Pardon, peace, holiness and joy, are all offered freely, and bestowed abundantly for the Redeemer's sake. We find all fulness to dwell in Jesus Christ. He is made our wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption; and receiving from him grace upon grace, we stand complete in him. When our hearts have embraced his sufficiency, we are rich, we are full; we drink of a fountain which destroys all thirst for every other one, and have no disposition to go from him to draw elsewhere. Jesus is all in all, an answer to every accusation, a remedy for every evil, a supply for every necessity, an eternal antidote to despair. In him we have life abundantly, and feel assured in the hope of treasures passing man's understanding, which he has laid up for us.

In this wonderful fulness of supply, the gospel displays riches of grace truly unsearchable; for ages have past, and no want has ever been found which it could not answer; and the Christian must still exclaim at the close of the longest experience of its power, "O the length and breadth, and height and depth of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge! How unsearchable! how past finding out!"

III. The unsearchable grace of the gospel is exhibited in the perfect *security* with which it bestows its mercies upon the sinner. The cordial embracing of the invitations of the gospel finally secures to every believer the everlasting possession of its inestimable blessings. The gospel offers us salvation with all its attendant benefits, as the matter of an everlasting covenant, in all things well ordered and sure, confirmed to those who truly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. It represents that covenant as confirmed by God himself with an oath, in order that by two immutable things (that is, the certain faithfulness of divine promise and the additional solemnity of a divine oath), in which it is impossible for God to lie, we may have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge, to lay hold of the hope set before us. It represents the Lord Jesus Christ as the mediator of that covenant, and all its blessings as treasured up in him for our everlasting benefit. It states these blessings to be treasured up in him, that they may be made finally secure; because if they were entrusted to the mutability and perverseness of our wills, they would be inevitably lost.

The statements of the scripture upon this treasuring up of a believer's hopes in Christ, and their infallible security, as laid up in him, are remarkably strong and expressive. The Lord Jesus Christ is said to live in the believer, and the believer to have died with him. "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." If this be our character, and Christ lives by his spiritual presence and influence in our hearts, while Christ lives we shall live also. But the apostle speaks in yet stronger language in another place, addressing himself to the Colossian Christians, "Ye are dead;" *i. e.* to the world and the flesh, "and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." Here Christ is not only called *our life*, but our life is said to be "hid with Christ in God;" and because it is so, we may hope that when he shall appear, we shall also appear with him in glory.

Let us examine, for a moment, the real meaning of these words.

When God first made man, he committed the life of the whole family to Adam as their head and representative, that they might stand or fall in him; but, notwithstanding Adam was made perfect, and had but a single restraint imposed upon him as a test of his fidelity, he fell; and by this one apostacy brought death and ruin upon his whole posterity. Now, in restoring men to his favour under the gracious system of the gospel, God says, "I will not commit your eternal interests into your own hands; if I do, so weak are you, so encompassed with temptations, so prone to disobedience, what can I hope but that you will cast them all away and perish. I will give you another covenant representative and head, even my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, and commit all your interests to him. *He* shall be your hope. *He* shall be your life. Your life shall be hid with Christ in God; then shall I be sure that no enemy shall prevail against you, for he is mighty to save, and none can pluck you out of his hands."

This I believe to be the true meaning of the passage referred to.

But this full and final security of a believer's hopes does not depend upon any single passage of the scriptures. I consider it the statement of the whole scriptures, and inseparably connected with the gospel as a system of unsearchable grace. Every truly believing soul is given into the hands of the Redeemer, that he may keep it by his own power, "through faith unto salvation." In his intercession to the Father, recorded in the 17th of John, he affirms, that of those who had been given to him, he had lost none; that they had kept his word, and he had bestowed eternal life upon them, according to the divine covenant.

St. Paul, in addressing the Philippians, was confident that he who had begun a good work in them would carry it on unto the day of the Lord Jesus. He knew that the same Lord would be the finisher who had been the author of every true faith; and from this confidence he pressed upon every believing soul the assurance that the Lord would never leave or forsake them, so that they might boldly say, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me;" and all might trust that what God had promised he was able also to perform.

This security which the gospel offers to every sinner who flees to it for refuge, gloriously exhibits its unsearchable riches of grace. It gives us an inestimable hope. It assures us that if we are ready to commit ourselves to Jesus "he is able to keep us from falling, and to present us before the throne of his glory with exceeding joy." It bids us be careful for nothing, but live the life we now live in the flesh, by faith in the Son of God, "who loved us and gave himself for us," to know and remember in whom we have believed, and to be assured that he is able to keep that which we have committed to him unto that day, and to preserve us blameless unto his heavenly kingdom.

Thus are the unsearchable riches of gospel grace displayed. It offers with the utmost freedom to every sinner, all the privileges and mercies which the Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased. If he is willing freely to accept them, it bestows upon him fully and perfectly a covenant title to salvation, and all things which accompany salvation; it communicates every holy habit and grace, and enables him to walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing; makes him humble, and watchful, and persevering; and to show its ability to save unto the uttermost, it secures to him finally and unalterably, the blessings which it has freely promised, and for the enjoyment of which it has fully prepared him.

These unsearchable riches of grace I desire with my whole heart and strength to press upon your acceptance. I would have you experience in your souls the worth, the unspeakable worth of the gospel of Jesus, and be able to comprehend with all saints, that love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that your souls may be filled with the fulness of God. These provisions of the gospel are sufficient for you all. They are perfectly sufficient for the comfort, the holiness and the full salvation of every soul in this assembly.

They are sufficient for your comfort. If there be any of you brought by a view of their own sinfulness to the very borders of despair, what can they need more than to hear that God himself has undertaken their cause, has assumed their nature, and expiated their guilt by his own sufferings unto death? What could they wish to add to this? What can, by any possibility, be added to it? If this be not sufficient, what can be? Your sins, though they were more and more aggravated than those of any human being, are but finite still; they are many, but they may be numbered. The atonement which is offered for you, and the righteousness which is wrought out for you are of value infinite. The blood of Jesus Christ will cleanse from *all* sin, and all who believe in him will be justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses. Let a man's sins be of ever so deep a die, they cannot be more red than scarlet and crimson, and these can be made as white as snow. We can hardly conceive of greater guilt than David's, after all the mercies which he had received; and yet he prays, and prays with success, "Purge *me* with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash *me*, and I shall be whiter than snow;" and then he acknowledges the abundant efficacy of the remedy. "Thou hast made the bones which thou hast broken to rejoice." What abundant instances the history of the church has given of the sufficiency of the gospel for the sinner's comfort. Behold three thousand Jews on the day of Pentecost, whose hands were yet stained with a Saviour's blood—scarcely one hour had they believed in this crucified Lord, before they "all ate their bread with gladness and singleness of heart, blessing and praising God." Thus, wherever Christ is preached and received, true joy springs up in the heart. "Though we see him not, yet believing in him, we may rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." This is, and is to be, the invariable effect of a proper acceptance of the gospel throughout the earth. "Sing, O ye heavens," says the prophet, in looking forward to this day, "for the Lord hath done it; shout ye lower parts of the earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein, for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel." Only let the gospel descend as the dew upon any place, or upon any soul, and "the wilderness will be glad, and the desert will rejoice and blossom as the rose;" for the Lord, by the ministrations of its unsearchable riches of grace, will comfort Sion; he will comfort all her waste places; he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found in every habitation, and in every soul which receives this gospel, thanksgiving and the voice of melody. There is not a human sorrow which it cannot console; and if you will accept its invitations and offers, it shall be found an abundant source of comfort to you all.

These unsearchable provisions of grace are sufficient for the holiness of every sinner before me. Nothing can ever change the heart of man but the gospel of Jesus. Philosophy and moral precepts labour in vain to renew the character of the sinner. But where the gospel is truly preached, and truly received, the passions of men are subdued, their lusts are mortified, their habits are changed, their dispositions are made new, and they are turned from the power of Satan unto God. The gospel can make you all holy; it reveals to you a dying Saviour in all the wonders of his love, and thus will create in your souls a desire to love and serve him. It shows you that you are bought with a price! and then, for this reason, gives you a desire to glorify God in your bodies and spirits, which are his. To carry these new desires into effect, it brings down the Holy Spirit into your souls, and thus strengthens you with might in your inner man, and works within you every good work; sanctifies you in soul, body and spirit, and renders you meet to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. It will fill you with new principles, and impart to you new powers, and give you purposes and dispositions to which you have been entire strangers. Your characters may be entirely purified and cleansed if you are willing to embrace these unsearchable riches of mercy which are offered you in the gospel of Jesus.

And finally, these provisions of grace are sufficient for your full and complete salvation. You cannot be placed in a situation in which they will not afford you strength equal to your day. They will make you conquerors, and more than conquerors. They will render your very troubles a source of joy, and your conflicts an occasion for more exalted triumphs. Like Paul, you may glory in infirmities while the power of Christ rests upon you. Like him you may rejoice in the prospect of death, when to depart is to be with Christ. Like him you may triumph in the inseparable love of Jesus, and the complete salvation which he affords, if you are ready to count every thing but loss for his sake; and with him the gospel shall so carry you through things temporal, that you shall in no wise lose the things eternal.

And now let me beseech you to receive these unsearchable riches of Christ. Here is bread from heaven for the famishing, and living waters for the weary and thirsting soul. Would to God you all felt your need of them, and would hunger and thirst for no other supplies than these! O let none despise this gracious supply. Whether you are old or young, learned or unlearned, rich or poor, Christ is alike needful for you, and will be alike sufficient for you. Do not persuade yourselves that he is unnecessary to you. Do not pour contempt upon him, as unsuitable. Do not attempt to add to him, as insufficient; but accept him, and live upon him as all your salvation and all your desire. Gather this bread of heaven as your daily portion, and refresh yourselves by this living fountain as your whole delight; and in the strength of this food, go on your way rejoicing. And as ye have received Jesus Christ the Lord, so walk ye in him; rooted and built up in him, and stablished in the faith as ye have been taught, abounding therein with all thanksgiving.

LECTURE XVI.

THE GLORY OF THE GOSPEL AS A REVELATION OF GOD.

And Moses said, I beseech thee show me thy glory. And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee.—Exodus xxxiii. 18, 19.

The privileges granted to Moses in his communications with God were altogether peculiar. It is said the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend; and the testimony is added after his death, that there arose no other prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the sight of all Israel.

God revealed his will to other prophets before and after the time of Moses. But no one had the same view of the divine character, and knowledge of the divine purposes which was allowed to him.

This difference in his communications, God refers to in the controversy which arose from Aaron and Miriam against Moses. "And he said, hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house; with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold."—*Num.* xii. 1—8. This "similitude of the Lord," or the apparent glory of the divine presence, Moses saw continually while he was receiving the law from God on the mount. The cloud into which he then entered was the cloud of divine glory that overshadowed the mountain. The request of our text was made after his having been forty days in the mount. It was presented at the door of the tabernacle.

Moses had pitched the tabernacle without the camp; and when he went forth to enter into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle; and the Lord talked with Moses, speaking to him face to face, or in the most free and intimate communication as a man talketh with his friend.

The conversation which was then held, includes the request of our text.

"And Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people, and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me, yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.

"Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, show me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight, and consider that this nation is thy people.

"And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

"And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.

"For wherein shall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? Is it not in that thou goest with us? So shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken; for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.

"And he said, I beseech thee show me thy glory."

Moses' petition here, pointed to some more clear and significant exhibition of the divine character than he had yet received. What he had seen of God's purposes and government, in the revelations which had been made to him, impressed the conviction upon his mind that there was to be a further manifestation of God to man than any which he had yet distinctly understood, and excited the desire in him to behold these peculiar exhibitions of divine glory which should be made to God's people in subsequent ages. All that had been made known to him was in preparation for some future development of the glory of God; and that glory to which his institutions were thus an introduction, he longed to witness: "And he said, I *beseech* thee show *me* thy glory."

In answer to this prayer God promised to give him the exhibition of his glory which he desired; and in complying with his promise, he revealed to him, as the highest possible manifestation of his glory, those purposes of grace and love which were to be made known and accomplished by the gospel.

These remarks naturally lead me here to announce the particular subject which I design to consider, as connected with the prayer of Moses.

The glory of the gospel as an exhibition of the divine character. That I do not here go aside from the real intention and meaning of the passage, it will be my object first to show.

Moses' desire was for some fuller exhibition of the character of God. In promising compliance with this desire, God does not direct him to the *works of creation;* although, from them the invisible things of him are clearly seen, even his eternal power and Godhead. He does not tell him to look upon the sun as it shined, and the moon walking in brightness, and there behold the glory of the Lord who hath created these things; who bringeth out their hosts by number; who calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, and not one faileth.

He does not tell him to look upon the awful thunders and earthquakes, and unearthly sounds with which the *law* had been given upon Mount Sinai, still trembling beneath the footsteps of a descending Deity; upon the solemn and awakening displays which were there made of the holiness of a God who cannot look upon iniquity; although here, as well as in the wonders of creation, it had been often declared that God had shown his glory to men.

Neither the glory of divine power displayed in the creation, nor the glory of divine holiness exhibited in the law, was that manifestation of the Deity, which God chose to style peculiarly his glory. And, passing by both these, were there no notice of what he did intend, we should be left to settle upon the gospel as the only remaining manifestation of the divine character which has been made to man.

But the Lord describes his purpose and design most significantly. He says, "I will make *all* my goodness pass before thee." But where has *all* the goodness of the Lord been exhibited, but in that wonderful dispensation in which was manifested the love of God, in that he sent his Son to die for us? and how could *all* the goodness of the Lord pass before any mind, from which the riches of gospel grace were concealed? "And I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and I will be gracious on whom I will be gracious; and I will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." But the name of the Lord, as bestowing sovereign grace and mercy, can be proclaimed only in that gospel which announces God manifest in the flesh for sinners, and the fulness of the Godhead dwelling bodily in a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Under no other dispensation can God be gracious and merciful to sinners, for no other one makes atonement for sin.

Still more minutely describing his purpose, God assures Moses, that it would be impossible for any mortal to behold the full glory of his presence. "No man can see my face and live." He dwells in light inaccessible which no man can approach unto. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son that dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, he hath manifested him; and referring to this new and lasting way of intercourse between himself and sinful men, God says, "There is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a *rock*, and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, I will put thee in the cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by." That rock was Christ, and here is presented the perfect security with which the glory of God is beheld under the gospel. The believer is hidden in a cleft of the rock; while even there, but partial displays are yet made of divine glory. "I will take away my hand, and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen." We know not yet what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is; and even now, though we see him not, yet believing in him, we rejoice with unspeakable and glorified joy.

Thus in answer to the request of Moses, the Lord promised to make known to him the rich grace which he had prepared and designed to reveal to men, in the gospel of Jesus, as the peculiar glory of his character, and thus made known that all-important truth, which angels united to repeat on the eve of the incarnation, that the dispensation which brings peace on earth, and proclaims good will to men, brings "glory in the highest," to the character of God.

This was the promise to Moses. It was to be fulfilled on the ensuing day; and early in the morning Moses rose up and went up unto Mount Sinai, as the Lord had commanded him. "And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation. And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped."

Here the Lord proclaimed his name and his glory, and to do it he revealed his purposes of grace, which were to be accomplished in his Son Christ Jesus, recording it forever, that in nothing is the glory of the Lord so wonderfully displayed, as in the grace which passes by transgressions and sins, according to that exclamation of the prophet, in looking forward to the gospel revelation, "Who is a God like unto thee that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again and have compassion on us; he will subdue our iniquities, and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea."

If then God preached the gospel to Moses as the peculiar manifestation of his glory, which I think has been made apparent, I am warranted in speaking from this passage of the glory of the gospel, as the clearest and most glorious exhibition of the Deity which has been made to man. The Old Testament is filled with predictions and types, all pointing to the same glory in the gospel of Jesus. The temple of the Lord is called a glorious rest; a glorious high throne; a house of glory, of beauty, of holiness; and it is said, that at the dedication of it, "the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord." This glory was the *cloud* which manifested the especial presence of the Lord. But yet the glory of the latter house was to be greater than the glory of the former house, because there the sun of righteousness was to arise, with healing in his wings, and the gospel was to be preached, with the Holy Ghost, sent down from heaven.

In the gospel of Jesus, the dispensation of grace and mercy which has been made through him to man, God has revealed his character and will to us, in a peculiar degree, and therefore it is styled, in the highest possible language of honour, "The glorious gospel of the blessed God."

In all the works of God there is glory, because they are his. David for this reason employs the terms *glory* and *handywork*, promiscuously for the same thing. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork." Whatever he does is glorious from his own character. But the more he communicates of himself to any of his works, the more glorious they are; and therefore, in the very passage in which David celebrates the glory of creation, he shows the higher glory of the divine revelation and law. "The law of God is perfect, converting the soul; the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart."

Men stand in higher rank than brutes, and the angels in heaven mount up in loftier grades than men, simply upon this principle, that the more of his own image God has bestowed upon any of his creatures, the higher in station and the more glorious in appearance they are.

Now, of all the manifestations of himself which the Deity has made, there is none in which he may be so fully known, communicated with, depended upon and praised, as the gospel of Jesus. This is a glass, in which the angels who surround his throne, see and admire the unsearchable riches of his grace; and in which they behold, in his mercy to men, a revelation of his character, that they never elsewhere witnessed.

In creation and providence, God is seen clearly and wonderfully; but it is only as a God of power and wisdom, producing and upholding all things to promote the glorious end for which he has designed them.

In the law, God is displayed solemnly and truly; but it is only as a God of vengeance and recompense, threatening and executing wrath upon those who offend against him.

But in the gospel he is exhibited as a God of boundless compassion, as a God of love; and his power and his wisdom, and his faithfulness, all come in as subservient to his bounty and grace. Here we behold his glory, full of grace and truth. We see him humbling himself, that he might be merciful to his enemies; suffering in himself, that he might bear the punishment of their transgressions; and removing every obstacle to their forgiveness and acceptance, that he might not only offer them pardon, but beseech them to be pardoned and reconciled to him again.

In the creation, he is a God above us; in the law, he is a God against us; in the gospel alone, he is "Emanuel;" God with us, God like us, God for us.

It is the gospel which reveals God to us as he is. He is invisible in himself; we cannot see him but in his Son. He is inaccessible in himself; we cannot approach him but through his Son. Would we therefore behold his glory, we must seek it in the acceptance and study of that dispensation which proclaims him to be "the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin!"

But while I make these general assertions of the gospel, as a revelation of the character of God, and proclaim its glory as a dispensation, on this account, it will be more satisfactory to look into its contents more minutely, and see how the gospel exhibits in their full glory the different perfections of the divine character.

The great object which God designed to secure by the gospel, was the salvation of men. To the attainment of this object, the attributes of God interposed serious obstacles. In the dispensation of the gospel, these obstacles have been removed, and the attributes of God displayed in consistent and glorious operation. Just in proportion in which there was difficulty in reconciling the divine perfections, does the gospel which has accomplished this reconciliation display their glory and manifest its own excellency.

By it the perfections of God are far more gloriously exhibited than they could be in any other method. For instance, suppose that man, with all his descendants, had been consigned to misery as the consequence of his sin. The justice of God would have appeared, and his truth would also have been seen; but it would not have been known that there existed in the Deity any such attribute as mercy; or that if it did exist in him, it could ever find a fit scope for exercise, since the exercise of it must necessarily involve in it some remission of the rights of justice, and some encroachments upon the honour of the law.

On the other hand, if free and full remission of sins had been granted unto man, it would not have been seen how such an act of grace could be consistent with the rights of justice and holiness and truth. In either of these alternatives, the character of God would have been but partially displayed, and his creatures would never have seen him as he is. But in the method of salvation which the gospel reveals, not only are all these perfections reconciled, but they are all enhanced and glorified; and a tenfold lustre is thrown upon them from the gospel, beyond what could ever have beamed forth in any other way. We will consider some of these distinctly.

The gospel exhibits the *divine justice* far more gloriously than it would have been displayed in the condemnation of the whole human race. Behold the view of justice which it presents. The Lord Jesus Christ, "God over all," puts himself in the place of sinful man, and undertakes to endure for man all that the sins of the whole world have merited. But will justice venture to seize on *him?* Will it draw its sword against *him* who is Jehovah's fellow? Will not the sword of justice, stretched out against him, refuse to execute its appointed work? No. Sin is found on our incarnate God. It is true, it is in him only by imputation; yet being imputed to him, he must be answerable for it, and endure all that it has merited from the hands of God. Behold, then, for the honour of God's justice, the cup is put into the hands of our blessed Lord, and the very dregs of its bitterness are given him to drink; nor is he released from his sufferings until he can say, "It is finished. I have completed the work thou hast given me to do." Contemplate this mysterious fact. The God of heaven and earth becomes man. By his obedience and death, he satisfies the demands of law and justice, in order that God may be just, and yet the justifier of them that believe in Christ Jesus. With nothing less than this could justice be satisfied. It could not consent to the salvation of a single human being on any other terms. Behold, then, how exalted is its character! how inalienable are its rights! how inexorable are its demands! In all that it inflicts upon men and angels, it is not so highly glorified as in this stupendous mystery.

But if the gospel so gloriously exhibits divine justice, see how it displays the *divine mercy*. This attribute would have been displayed, if man, by a mere sovereign act of grace, had been pardoned. But it would then have triumphed over the concealment of all other attributes of the Deity. It shall be brought to light, but only in such a way as shall consist with the honour of every other attribute, in a way by which God may be "a just God and a Saviour." God's dear Son shall be substituted in the place of sinners. The Creator of the universe shall become a man. He shall have the sins of a rebellious world laid upon him, that man, worthless man, may be spared. Shall mercy be exercised with such a sacrifice as this? Yes. Every thing but God's honour shall give way to it; and when *that* can be secured, no sacrifice shall be esteemed too great to save a perishing world.

Go now to Bethlehem, and see that new-born infant, your incarnate Lord, "God manifest in the flesh." Who sent him thither? Who brought him from his throne of glory into this world of wretchedness and sin? It was mercy struggling in the bosom of Almighty God, and prevailing for its development in this mysterious way.

Go again to Gethsemane and Calvary; behold that innocent sufferer prostrate upon the earth, bathed in a bloody sweat, suspended on the cross, agonizing under the load of his creatures' guilt, crying, in the depths of sorrow, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

Who has brought him to this state? It was mercy. Mercy would not rest; it would break forth; rather than not exercise itself towards mankind, it would transfer to God himself the penalty due to them; and write, in the blood of an infinite and holy Saviour, the pardon it designed for sinful man. How glorious is this display of mercy; and where but in the gospel of Jesus could it be beheld so honourably and so clearly exhibited.

Add to this glorious exhibition of justice and mercy, the manifestation which the gospel makes of *divine faithfulness and truth*, and you will see sufficient reason why, in answer to the prayer of Moses, "Show me thy glory," God should preach to him the unsearchable riches of Christ.

God had surely threatened death as the punishment of sin. When therefore man had sinned, what remained but that the penalty denounced should be executed immediately? The word had gone forth; it could not be revoked, nor could its sentence be reversed, consistently with the sacred rights of truth. What then shall be done?

If the sentence be *executed* on man, the veracity of God is undoubtedly displayed and honoured. But how can man be *spared*, and God's truth be preserved inviolate? In no other way than the substitution of God's own Son in the sinner's place. This proposal truth willingly accepts, gladly transfers the penalty to him, and joyfully inflicts on the voluntary sufferer the sentence denounced against the offender: Here "mercy and truth have met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." All the perfections of God are made to harmonize in the salvation of man, and all are displayed in a more clear and glorious manner than they could be in any other method. Justice is exercised in a way of mercy; mercy is exercised in a way of justice; and both of them are manifested in the way of holiness and truth.

This is one view of the glory of the gospel as a divine dispensation. The clear and sublime manifestation which it makes of the character of God. While all his works praise him and his saints give thanks to him, it is this dispensation which proclaims his name and his honour: "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin;" and for this revelation of his character, it is well called "the glorious gospel of the blessed God."

While this glory of the gospel should lead *us* to speak with all boldness, and never to be ashamed to declare its power and its worth, it should lead *you* to remember how worthy it is of all men to be received. This faithful saying is worthy to be accepted with all readiness of mind; worthy to be welcomed, like the star of the wise men, with exceeding great joy; worthy to be enamelled in the crowns of princes, and to be written in the soul of every Christian with a beam of the sun, "that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." The faithful have ever been ready to unite in the exclamation of the inspired prophet, "How beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth." What man of sorrow would not open his heart and welcome the embraces of that messenger who was coming to him with more lovely and acceptable news than the very wishes of his heart could have framed for himself?

When Joseph was sent for out of prison to Pharaoh's court, and when Jacob saw the chariots which were sent to carry him to his long lost son, their spirits were revived and comforted after their long distress. When Caligula, the Roman emperor, sent for Herod (that Herod who was afterwards smitten by an angel of God), whom Tiberius had bound in chains and cast into prison, and placed a diadem upon his head, and for his chain of iron gave him a chain of gold of equal weight, the historian says, "Men could not believe the reality of a change so wonderful."

Now what are all good tidings to the gospel, which is a word of salvation, which opens prisons and releases captives, and gives a joy with which the world intermeddles not? "Your joy no man shall take from you." O how worthy is such a gospel to be accepted and improved.

If we suffer the loss of every thing for Christ, godliness is great gain after all. In a shipwreck, I throw my goods overboard, and count myself happy to get my life in exchange. O how willingly, then, should the man who is convinced of the danger of his soul, cast off every thing which presses him down; and rejoice, with unspeakable joy, to have his soul saved from an eternal shipwreck, and to be brought before God in peace!

Have *you* no desires to see the glory of God displayed in the face of Jesus Christ, or to enjoy the presence of God, made peaceful and happy for you by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus? Can you deliberately make the choice, that while hereafter myriads of ransomed sinners rejoice in the glories of a full salvation, your souls should see God only as an avenger of blood? It is a painful alternative which is presented to you, but it is the only possible one.

God is dwelling among you in the riches of gospel invitations and in the fulness of spiritual strength. In the persons of the Son and the Spirit, he would be received into your bosoms, and rule over all your affections and purposes. But if he be rejected by you to the end, you will be constrained to see him appearing in the glory of his government, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The glorious gospel which is offered you now, forms the highest honour of your souls. It brings you a king having salvation, and makes you with him, kings and priests for ever. Happy are the people that know the joyful sound, they shall walk in the light of his countenance; and blessed will you be, though in the midst of reproaches and tribulations, if you are led to welcome salvation to your hearts, and to wash your robes and make them white in the blood of the Lamb.

LECTURE XVII.

THE GLORY OF THE GOSPEL FROM ITS METHOD OF PUBLICATION.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth.—ISAIAH LI. 7.

No one would be led to doubt, probably, in the most cursory reading of this text, that it was intended to refer to the publication of the gospel of Jesus Christ. But if there should be such a doubt, St. Paul has decided the proper application of the passage in his epistle to the Romans, by adducing it as a reason for sending preachers of the gospel throughout the world. Speaking of the messengers of the gospel, he says, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" as it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things."

It is then the gospel of Jesus, the ministry of which is said to be so excellent and desirable. This gospel, in its very name, is glad tidings; it is a publication of peace between God and his alienated creatures. It is good tidings of everlasting good through the mediation of a crucified Redeemer to those who return unto God and live. It is salvation, full, free, eternal salvation to every one who accepts its tidings with a thankful heart; salvation from present despair and misery; salvation from everlasting sorrow and punishment, the just wages of sin. It is a glorious annunciation to Zion, or the people of the living God, that their God, an incarnate God, a justifying God, reigneth for ever more.

He who proclaims to a ruined world that Jesus reigns as a Prince and Saviour, to give repentance and forgiveness of sins, in the proclamation of this one great truth, tells the whole system of gospel grace, publisheth salvation, bringeth good tidings of good, publisheth peace. The people who hear the joyful sound are a highly privileged people; the heart that embraces the glad intelligence is a converted and thankful heart. The man who welcomes the precious truth, finds it all his salvation and all his desire. And the community and nation upon which its beneficial influence is exerted, is converted from a wilderness into the garden of the Lord, a place in which the Lord delights to dwell.

In the text the prophet rejoices in a view of their happiness and glory who are allowed to minister this gospel of peace. He derives the figurative expression, "how beautiful upon the mountains," from the local situation of Jerusalem. That city was surrounded by mountains, which were considered alike its glory and its defence. The Psalmist adduces this peculiarity of its location as an illustration of divine protection to the people of God. "As the mountains stand round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people, from henceforth, even for ever." From whatever direction a messenger came to this city, his path crossed the mountains. In the text the prophet is carried forward to hear the publication of gospel mercies; and in the glorious prospect of this publication of grace, the circumstances of his own city furnish him an illustration of his feelings.

As the sight of a bearer of any joyful tidings to Jerusalem was delightful to those who watched him crossing the surrounding mountains, so in a still higher degree, beautiful upon the mountains, *i. e.* beautiful at the most distant point from which they can be seen, are the feet of him who comes with more joyful and valuable intelligence to men than they have ever heard before, who comes to proclaim to the waiting people of God, the tidings that their God, Emanuel, reigns as the Author of salvation, and the Prince of everlasting peace.

The text contains an extensive exhibition of the excellency and glory of the gospel, as a dispensation of God's goodness to man. The particular view of this glory, however, which it leads me to propose to your present consideration is,

The glory of the gospel arising from the method of its publication.

In considering this subject, I shall speak

I. Of the character of its various preachers.

II. Of the providence which has attended its publication.

III. Of its triumph over every species of opposition.

I. In speaking of the preachers of the gospel in various ages, the exclamation, "how beautiful, how glorious," may be most equitably applied.

The gospel has been at all times highly glorious and exalted in this aspect of its publication.

God himself, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, who created the world, visible and invisible, by the word of his power, was the first preacher of these good tidings of good. On the very day of man's transgression he descended with a promise of grace. In that promise he held forth to view a Saviour who should be miraculously conceived as man, and should be a bruised and yet a finally triumphant Saviour. This promise contained the elements of the whole gospel dispensation. And while Adam, as a sinner, trembled before the visible glory of his Creator, as a believer he was enabled to see with rejoicing a glory in this exhibition of the gospel far more excellent.

Through the whole patriarchal and prophetic ages the gospel was administered to the faith of men, by those who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and was glorious in its ministry from its being the peculiar subject and end of all intelligence from God to man.

In the personal ministry of Jesus, a Saviour miraculously born, a God incarnate for man, the most exalted glory was connected with the gospel. "Never *man* spake like this man," said they who were sent to apprehend him for punishment. All wondered at the gracious, or becoming and ennobling words which proceeded from his mouth.

All creation listened to his voice and obeyed his irresistible commands. Things animate and inanimate alike yielded to his control; the sea heard him, and was still; the earth heard him, and opened; the dead heard him, and awoke to life; the blood-thirsty multitude of the Jews heard him, and went backward and fell to the ground; the spirits of darkness heard him, and departed from men.

All this exercise of power elevated the character of the gospel dispensation, because it displayed his rank and glory who had come to the earth solely to declare it. Jesus appeared simply as the great preacher of gospel grace, and all the honour which appertained to his character as a messenger, was reflected upon the message with which he was charged. And highly glorious and excellent indeed was that dispensation which brought the Deity to earth, as a preacher of its truth.

His ministry was honoured by the annunciation of angels, and by the proclamation of a divinely appointed herald; and though he was despised and rejected by a portion of men, yet honour was paid to him in his humiliation by heaven and earth.

But during his earthly ministry he was comparatively in a cloud. His real glory was eclipsed by the burden of man's afflictions, temptations and sins; and it was in the subsequent ministry of his apostles that his divine power and sufficiency were really displayed.

Then, when the gospel was preached with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, and the Lord confirmed his word with wonders and signs following, the honour of the Son of man was gloriously exhibited. The apostles acted in the name of Jesus of Nazareth; and this name was every where the signal of divine and unlimited power. The miracles which Jesus wrought in person, while on earth, they wrought in his name after his ascension to glory. And in addition to all these mighty signs and wonders, the conversion of myriads of immortal souls from the power of Satan unto God, did honour to that dispensation of the gospel which had been committed unto them.

How beautiful, *then*, in the eyes of the multitudes throughout the earth, who were asking the way to life, were the feet of those who published with such authority and effect, glad tidings of peace and salvation through the merits of a crucified Lamb! And how glorious in their ministry was that gospel of the blessed God which triumphed over error, pardoned sin, consoled the disconsolate, and gave life from the dead, in the name of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, to every believer in its truth.

But while through all these periods of time the glory of the gospel was displayed in the character and rank of its preachers, can we adopt the same assertion of the present ministry of the gospel? Now, the excellency of this divine treasure is committed to fallible, weak and sinful men; they have no miraculous powers entrusted to them; they have no signs and wonders to follow their utterance of the name of Jesus; they have no power to overrule or punish the disobedience of those who obey not the gospel; and, generally speaking, they have no excellency of speech or of wisdom to command the attention of those who cannot be attracted by the truth.

Is the gospel still glorious in the character of its preachers? And are the feet of those who publish it still beautiful upon the mountains?

Yes, there is still a preacher of the gospel among men, without whose influence, signs and wonders would be powerless, and the tongues of men and angels utterly unprofitable. He follows the sinner with a boldness which is always undaunted, and tells him hourly in his face, "thou art the man." He carries glad tidings with a forbearance which will not be wearied, and beseeches, "to-day, after so long a time, if ye will hear, harden not your hearts." He grasps the conscience with a hold which will not be shaken off, and awakens the transgressor with a solemn cry, "escape for your life." He binds up the heart which he has broken, with more than a mother's tenderness, while he leads the soul to Jesus, and says, "believe, and he will give you rest."

There is none who teacheth like him; and while we preach the gospel with the Holy Ghost and with much assurance, its ministration is glorious, and brings honour to the truth which it declares. This divine Spirit will be the great preacher of Christ crucified unto the end of the gospel dispensation. His power is unceasingly displayed in the instant conversion of the man who came under the word, cold and ignorant and careless; in the extensive revival of the power of godliness, in the community which has settled down into a dark and lifeless state; in the spreading before an individual sinner the startling view of his own iniquities, and in causing great searchings of heart among those who have held the truth in unrighteousness. And while the ministry of the gospel has such power, though the earthly minister be weak and ignorant, the gospel is glorified in the character of its preachers.

For nearly sixty centuries God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, have united to publish these glad tidings of peace, of good, and of salvation. In this divine ministry, great honour has been brought to the gospel dispensation, and it has been made glorious in the method of its publication.

II. The glory of the gospel in the method of its publication is exhibited in the *Providence which has always attended it.*

It is perfectly evident from scripture, that the existence of the human race, after their apostacy from God, was permitted only as a display of God's grace in their redemption; and the whole divine government of man has been a comment upon that promise, which was given to Adam, of a coming Saviour. Four thousand years were employed in preparing for this manifestation of God in the flesh. During this period the Divine Providence was unceasingly displayed in watching over the great purpose of redemption, and making provision for the fulness of time.

The division of nations in preparation for the final triumph of truth and grace; the call of Abraham to be the father and spiritual representative of all believers, the depositary of that everlasting covenant, which was in all things well ordered and sure, and the head of the earthly line from which the desire of all nations should be born; the separation of the Israelites, to keep those precious truths and promises, which constituted so much the treasure of the world; the various dispensations and revelations which were made to them, all pointing to more excellent things to come; the diversified events of their history and their relations to other nations of the earth; all these were arrangements of Divine Providence to prepare the way of the Lord and a highway for our God.

When the fulness of the appointed time was come, the same Providence was displayed in the subjugation of the temporal power of the Jews, that there might be no rival to that kingdom not of this world, which the Lord God designed to set up among them; in the universal empire which Rome had been permitted to establish through the known world, giving such free course to the divine word, and such opportunities and protection to the preachers of the gospel, as no age before or after could have afforded; in the establishment of a general language through all civilized nations, and that the language in which the New Testament was written; in the great literary cultivation and wisdom of that period, affording the most certain and scrutinizing examination of the claims of the new religion, which made such large demands upon men; all these are remarkable arrangements of that Providence which was ordering events to co-operate for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ among men.

In the whole period of time which has since elapsed, all human changes have been made to work together to promote the same intended results. The gospel of Jesus, its progress, its establishment, its triumph in the world, have formed the all-sufficient reason for the most wonderful alternations among the children of men. In the embracing and cultivation of this gospel, savage nations have been raised to civilization, prosperity, and temporal happiness and power. In the neglect and contempt of it, civilized nations have been reduced to degradation, barbarism, and ignorance. All desirable earthly blessings have been made to follow in the train of the Redeemer's gospel; and while no nation has been exalted without it, the sin of its rejection has been a permanent reproach to every people who have been guilty of it.

The great commotions of the world, the wars and tumults which have agitated the sons of men, have all been made to prepare the way for Jesus, as the fire, and the wind, and the earthquake in Horeb, introduced to Elijah the still, small voice of divine commands.

The present overturning of the nations of the earth, though feeding the plant of liberty and virtue with human blood, are overruled to establish the more widely the kingdom of the Saviour. Men fill the atmosphere with noise and confusion to gratify their own ambition. God rides upon the storm, and makes the clouds the dust of his feet, to bring to pass his great designs. They think to destroy nations not a few; he purposes to establish a dominion under another King, one Jesus, from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.

This same Providence is to carry on the gospel to a final triumph. The north and the south are to give up the victims of ignorance and idolatry, that they may be made the children of God; and even now commerce has for this purpose brought together the ends of the earth, and the peaceful galley of the merchant has carried the ministers and the books of truth to most of the remotest nations of men.

This continued providence of God, watching over the gospel, preparing the way for its propagation, establishing it upon the ruins of human ignorance and vice, has thrown unceasing honour upon it as a dispensation from God to man. That God, by whom and for whom all things were made, is for this reason a glorious God, and that gospel for which the earth has been preserved and governed, and the promotion of which among men has been the object of a sleepless Providence, is for this reason a glorious gospel, and is honoured and made beautiful in the method of its publication.

III. The glory of the gospel, in the method of its publication, has been displayed in *its constant triumph over every species of opposition.*

In every age Satan has sought to destroy it among men, and to defeat the divine purpose to redeem and to bless them. His triumph over our first parents led to the promulgation of this glorious scheme of grace; and from that period his purpose has been to pervert its operation, and to destroy its saving efficacy.

He buried the nations in ignorance and vice in the antediluvian world, until the Creator was provoked to cleanse it with an universal deluge.

He involved the Israelites in the deepest and most degrading idolatry, until sometimes, as in the reign of Josiah, the divine law had become quite forgotten. He led them to a repeated forsaking of God, and despising of his ordinances, that he might annihilate the truth which had been entrusted to their keeping.

But notwithstanding all his power, the purpose of God to accomplish man's redemption kept on a steady and undeviating course; all things were made ready for its development in the appointed time; and though the heathen raged, and the people imagined a vain thing, God did set his King upon his holy hill of Zion.

When the Saviour was manifest in the flesh, he attempted to destroy him. He excited the jealousy of Herod to cut him off in his infancy. He attempted to persuade him to his own destruction. He arrayed against him the whole power of Jewish and Roman governors, so that in the expression of the apostles, "against the holy child Jesus, both Herod and Pontius Pilate and the rulers of Israel were gathered together." He finally succeeded, as he supposed, in his destruction, by nailing him to the cross. But still the gospel triumphed; and the very death which was to show the weakness and falsehood of the professed Messiah, was his full and perfect triumph over the gates of hell, and his open spoiling of the principalities and powers of darkness.

Foiled and defeated in this attempt, the enemy has pursued the gospel in every succeeding age like a flood. He raised the arm of temporal power and wealth, so that the most dreadful and bitter wasting of human lives was exhibited in the persecution of the apostles and all successive preachers. But the gospel triumphed over power, and in the reign of Constantine seated itself upon the very throne of the persecuting empire. Millions of lives have been sacrificed by the enmity of Satan because they were Christians, and yet increasing millions have risen up to supply their place.

He has inspired the wisdom and genius of man to write down the religion of Jesus in the books of infidelity, so that some of the mightiest efforts of the human mind which the world has ever seen have been displayed in hostility to the gospel. Age after age has furnished the same display; and yet this despised gospel has triumphed over the arguments and writings of infidelity, and still stands the monument of God's Almighty power, while the names and the former existence of many of these opposers, are known only by the answers which Christian writers have made to them.

He has in different ages thrown corruptions and heresies in practice and doctrine into the body of the church; has raised up secret enemies in the very camp, until the word of God appeared almost buried under the wickedness of men. But the gospel has thrown off successively corruptions and heresies, and still stands, after all these attempts, precisely the same living and life-giving truth, as when it was first revealed.

He has sent his agents and ministers to assume the Christian garb; to array themselves among the followers of Jesus, and thus to betray the cause which they professed to espouse. But though the tares have grown together with the wheat, there have been continually succeeding harvests in which they have been separated, and the gospel is still offered in its simplicity and purity to man, and embraced in its true character by thousands, while these false pretenders and preachers have gone to their own place.

No species of opposition which could have been aroused has been omitted. Every possible instrument has been called in requisition, and every instrument in its highest possible power; and yet over all, truth has prevailed. The gospel has set its foot upon the necks of its enemies; and still triumphs, and still will triumph, until its full dominion has been attained.

Opposition probably was never stronger or more serious than in the present day. The truth is every where spoken against. The doctrines and ordinances of the gospel are reviled by thousands. Bitter terms of reproach are appended to the names of those who maintain its truth, and the most unfounded calumnies are circulated in reference to their character and conduct; and yet the gospel establishes its throne in the very midst of those who hate it, and converts its enemies into friends.

Such triumphs reflect high honour upon the gospel of Jesus, and show its glory in the method of its publication. Men may raise insuperable difficulties, as they suppose; but beautiful in their triumphant march over all these mountains, are still the feet of those who publish the gospel of peace and preach glad tidings of good things.

From this view of the glory of the gospel, we may learn,

1. That whatever men may think of the dispensation of the word, the rejection of the gospel is really a rejection of God himself. Whoever may proclaim to you this message of grace, and however weakly and infirmly he may proclaim it, provided he be faithful, speaks the word of the Lord; and he that despiseth, despiseth not man but God. From God himself to you is the word of this salvation sent; and let all take heed that they receive not the grace of God in vain. In his name we demand the submission of your hearts to him. We offer you the fulness of mercy for perishing sinners, which is laid up in the Lord Jesus Christ; and by his authority require you to repent and believe the gospel. We leave it not to your choice whether you will accept the provisions of divine mercy or not. You may reject them indeed, but you will reject them to your eternal ruin. Brethren, Almighty God demands his own. He made you not to be destroyed; he has bought you with an inestimable price; he commands you to return to him and live; and you will answer it before him in a solemn final judgment, how you have received and improved the precious opportunity of salvation which he has so long allowed you.

2. The way in which you should receive it, not as the word of man, but as it is in truth, the word of the Lord, which worketh effectually in you that believe. The word of God profits you not if it be not mixed with faith in them that hear it. Listen to the gospel as a personal message to yourselves; hear it describe your necessities and offer you a full and perfect remedy, with the humble acknowledgment of your want, and a cordial embracing of the mercy proposed; appropriate with thankfulness the privileges which God offers here to sinners, and learn to come with your whole heart to the fountain of blessedness and mercy which he has laid open. The Lord Jesus invites you in great kindness to receive his love. By his ministers he calls you, and by his spirit he strives with you, that you may not be permitted to destroy yourselves. Believe in him with your hearts, and it shall be well with you; he will pardon your unrighteousness, and your iniquities will he remember no more. He brings you this day good tidings; he publishes to you peace and salvation. O let your thankful hearts rejoice that there is a Saviour so worthy to be received, admired and loved, presented to your embrace; and come unto him and he shall give you rest.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE GLORY OF THE GOSPEL FROM THE SUBJECTS WHICH IT PROCLAIMS.

> How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth.—ISAIAH LI. 7.

Such we have seen is the divine description of the ministers of the gospel of Christ. Whether men justly appreciate their office or not, they are sent as messengers of God's chief blessing to a fallen world. Coming with intelligence of pardon from on high, to the penitent and contrite their approach is welcomed, their feet are beautiful. God is pleased to put high honour upon their office, and to show himself personally interested in the acceptance and respect which they receive.

But why are they thus styled beautiful? Not for any personal merit or worth in themselves. They are infirm and imperfect. Not for any dignity or power which they possess or which they can exercise. They are like other men, altogether weak, sinful and unprofitable. God honours them, and they are welcomed by man, altogether on account of the message which they are commissioned to proclaim. This message contains the highest possible benefit to man, and reflects unceasing glory upon God. The text exhibits this message at large, and introduces to your notice the subject of the present discourse.

The glory of the gospel, arising from the intelligence which it communicates to man.

1. It brings "good tidings." This expression is a general designation of the revelation made by Jesus Christ. It is the title by which we know this glorious system, and which is thus called the gospel, because it is altogether a communication of good tidings to man.

The good tidings of the Christian system of truth involve many particulars, adapted to all human circumstances and conditions. It appoints every where to them that mourn, to give them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. It speaks in language of consolation to all who suffer, of security to all who are in doubt, of encouragement to all who fear, of promise to all who seek for mercy. There is no condition of man under the Providence of the God of Truth, for which the gospel of Christ will not bring relief and comfort. He cannot be placed under such circumstances as shall shut him out from security and hope, if he be willing to accept the offers which are here made. Whenever the sinner is destroyed, he has destroyed himself, though God has offered him abundant help.

But the good tidings of the gospel may all be comprized in its one offer to man of universal pardon for sin. It exhibits a Saviour, who has accomplished in his own person a full salvation for the sinful posterity of Adam, and the riches of whose grace are truly unsearchable; and it offers simply through him, and in the acceptance of him, universal forgiveness to those for whom he died. I say *universal* forgiveness, for not a single sinner is personally excepted from the offer which it makes. Whosoever will, may come and drink freely of the water of life: Jesus has offered himself once for all. And there is not a man living who can say with truth, "for me there is no redemption, God has shut me out of life." No, brethren, we do injustice, great injustice, to the free and unbounded grace of God, if we suppose that it is not honestly proposed to all, and proposed with a sincere desire on the part of its great author that all should partake of it and live. Whatever theoretical difficulties may be imagined in reconciling God's purposes of love defeated, with his unlimited and resistless power to do his will, we cannot lay the blame of man's destruction upon him. Nor in searching through the whole catalogue of offenders against him, can we find one to whom we are authorized to say, that no atonement has been made for him, and no pardon is offered upon his return to God.

This offer of forgiveness is *universal* in regard to the transgressions of each individual. No sinner can be too guilty to be pardoned. No man can have fallen to a depth which is beyond the reach of Almighty grace. Is he the *chief* of sinners? Has no one *ever* passed beyond the limits of his transgression? Then is the faithful saying true for him, that Christ Jesus came into the world for his salvation, and is able to set him forth as a pattern of divine long suffering. All the offences of previous life are pardoned, when a sinner embraces the provisions of grace in Christ Jesus; one act of divine mercy restores him to the favour of his God, and removes forever all charge of guilt against his soul. It is true that the sinner's forgiveness is dependant upon his return to God. If he continue in a persevering rejection of the Holy Spirit, and determine to sin because grace abounds, he commits indeed a sin for which there is no forgiveness, either in this world, or in the world to come. None in this world, because he thus casts finally away the only possible means of pardon. None in the world to come, because all exercise of pardon is confined to the present life. This sin against the Holy Ghost cannot be forgiven, not because its guilt is too great, but because it is final impenitence; and no impenitent sinner can be pardoned. But for all classes and degrees of guilt, if the sinner truly repent and submit himself to God, there is forgiveness offered in the gospel. And thus the gospel is a message of good tidings to man, bringing him back to God and restoring him again to the divine favour and love.

2. It "publisheth peace." The transgressions of men have excited the just anger of God against them, have exposed them to necessary punishment, and made it the inflexible rule of his government, that there should be no peace to the wicked. This is the relation in which by nature you stand to God; your souls are forfeited to his divine justice. Should he carry forward his anger against sin to final execution, and cast you all into everlasting ruin, no one of you could have the right to complain. Your own consciences would unite with his holy determinations, and proclaim that God was just though he thus took vengeance. You could make no offering to him which should purchase peace, or deserve the remission of the punishment denounced against sin. Under such circumstances the worth and glory of the gospel are displayed. God has accomplished and proposes reconciliation, and his gospel declares it to you in his name. It is an offer of peace altogether worthy of God; it compromises not the justice or integrity of his character, but confirms and glorifies his whole government of man.

Peace between yourselves and your Creator is thus proclaimed. You are allowed to come before him with your prayers and offerings without fear. He looks upon you in the righteousness of his Son with acceptance and favour. He invites you to become united to him in the spirit of new and holy obedience, and to forget that there has been any separation between you in your experience of the future manifestations of his love. The gospel exhibits the character of God to you under the most attractive aspect. It shows you that he is desirous to pardon and save you; and invites you to commit all your cares and ways to him in the assurance that he will be a friend and beloved to you forever.

Beside this relative peace between your souls and God, the gospel publishes peace in the experience of your own hearts. When you receive by faith the Saviour whom it offers, and he is allowed to dwell in your hearts as your hope of glory, there is then bestowed upon you the peace which passes understanding. Your troubled and anxious minds have rest. Tranquillity and assurance forever establish their dominion in your souls. The accusations of guilt are hushed by divine testimonies of pardoning love. Your hope is fixed calmly and surely upon the promises of God; and resting thus in love for him, and in his love for you, you are filled with peace in believing through the power of his spirit. Peace is thus thrown over all the changes and prospects of mortal life. All things work together for good to those who love God; and he keeps them in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on him. There is real worth, beloved brethren, in this gospel offer of peace to the sinner's soul, and you will exhibit true wisdom in embracing it for your own comfort in the present world, and your eternal joy in a world to come. God makes it his glory to pass by transgressions, and gives glory to his gospel in constituting that the instrument of proclaiming his riches of love to every sinner truly repenting and believing in his Son.

3. The gospel brings "good tidings of good." It not only restores the sinner by the offer of free forgiveness to the condition of an innocent man, removing all penalty, and rescuing him from condemnation, but it adds also positive and infinitely valuable benefits. It offers him in the righteousness of God his Saviour everlasting life and glory. It bids him lift up his eyes and his hopes, for God hath provided for him such good things as pass man's understanding. The present good which results from a cordial acceptance of the gospel is important, but it is partial. The following of Christ may involve, with all the peace and comfort which it promises, the endurance of much suffering and trial. The Christian may pass through many and great tribulations in entering into the kingdom of God. But the future good which is set before him is all-sufficient, and the final result of his obedience will make abundant reparation for any conflicts by which he must be tried. But what is this future good? What offers are made to be fulfilled in a world to come? Continuing life to beings who deserve to die. Unceasing enjoyment for those who merit only sufferings and woes. Perfect acceptance with God, for rebels against him, with whom he was justly angry every day. Everlasting honour and glory for those who have been degraded and destroyed by sin. The fellowship of Jesus and his saints, the society of all who are holy and perfect, the approbation of the Ruler and Judge of all, for beings who were cast out in their sins ready to perish. Such is the good which the gospel offers. It is a spiritual and permanent good, which, like its author, has no variableness nor shadow of changing. Such honour, such recompense have all his saints.

This everlasting provision of good answers all the reproaches of the world, while it shows that the Christian, in counting all things as loss for Christ, acts with wisdom and prudence, and that he lays up his treasure securely where moth and rust do not corrupt, nor thieves break through to steal, and builds his house upon a rock which shall stand the assault of every tempest and abide firm forevermore. It answers all the temptations of the world, while it presents more than a counterbalance for every sinful joy, and excites a faith and hope which shall overcome every allurement to transgression. It applies itself to all the changing circumstances of life, bringing encouragement and treasure from God, wherever its possessor may be placed. It is so satisfying, that its messenger is always welcome to those who understand its worth. To the poor, the afflicted, the sick, the dying, the glorious gospel brings good tidings of good. It takes man by the hand when all others forsake him. It can speak with power when all others are silent. And shows itself thus useful and desirable, however low and desperate may be the condition of the individual to whom its gracious offers come.

4. The gospel "publishes salvation." It proclaims to every believer final security from the punishment of sin, and from the power of Satan. It encourages him with the assurance of victory, even while he is in the midst of his warfare. It bids him remember the Almighty power which is engaged upon his side, and under whatever circumstances of danger, to be not faithless but believing.

The salvation which the gospel offers is a salvation already finished and completed. Man is invited to partake of that which God has freely provided for him; and the great office of the gospel is to publish to man this glorious salvation, and to invite him to an enjoyment of the bounties which have been thus prepared. This salvation it proclaims in exhibiting an all-sufficient sacrifice for sin offered by God's dear Son. It shows that the burden of human guilt was actually laid upon him, and that his death upon the cross was borne as a required punishment in the sinner's stead.

In such an exhibition of the death of Christ, it displays a full and final atonement made to God for human transgressions, and publishes salvation in the assurance that every barrier which unexpiated guilt interposed to the acceptance of man has been thus removed. It proclaims this salvation in displaying the resurrection from the dead, and the subsequent exaltation of the glorious Redeemer who had humbled himself even to this death upon the cross for man, and thus shows that Almighty power is enlisted in behalf of all who come to him, and that he is able to save them unto the uttermost, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. While the gospel proclaims the united exercise of the power of God and the sufferings of man, in the person of Jesus Christ the Lord our righteousness, it publishes salvation in a method which removes every difficulty and commends itself to the enlightened judgment of man as perfectly adequate to his wants, and precisely suited to his condition as a guilty and helpless being.

But though it thus publishes to man a complete salvation, it does not leave him to obtain for himself, and by his own power, a personal interest in this salvation. It comes to him attended by the same Spirit who has proclaimed its intelligence to the world, as a personal gift to his soul, to enable him to see his dangers, and to take advantage of the mercies which are offered to his acceptance. It brings this Holy Spirit to dwell within his heart as a comforter and guide, to encourage and to lead him in the path to life eternal. By the ministration of the Spirit, it applies to him the salvation which it publishes abroad, and thus completes the gracious design of God of bringing the sinner from the power of Satan to himself and glory everlasting.

It displays the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost united in the work of man's redemption; shows the office which each person of the Deity exercises to attain this end; and having proclaimed the whole scheme of grace, it publishes as the result a full and eternal salvation to all who believe the intelligence which it communicates.

5. The gospel "saith unto Zion," to the people of God, "thy God reigneth."

This personal designation of God as connected with his people, shows us that Emanuel, God manifest in the flesh, is especially referred to. Of him, the righteous are by the same prophet represented as saying, "Lo, this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will save us." The God of Zion is an incarnate God, our "great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The gospel declares his reign, his everlasting dominion as God over all, blessed for ever. It proclaims his exaltation as head over all things for the church, as LORD OF LORDS AND KING OF KINGS, making his enemies his footstool. It declares this reign of Christ as joyful intelligence to his people, assuring them that their cause is safe under his extensive and resistless dominion.

He reigns in the government of the present world, ordering all things according to the counsels of his own will, and constraining all beings and all events, to promote his glory and the good of his people. In this assurance Zion rejoices in the prospect of a final victory for his truth, and fears not that his cause is safe, whatever may be the assaults of the ungodly. However men may fill the earth with confusion and sin, he rides upon the whirlwind and the storm, and makes the clouds the dust of his feet. He brings light out of darkness, and makes crooked things straight. And he will accomplish his purpose of the universal dominion of righteousness and peace among men, through whatever opposition and conflict he must pass to gain the end.

He reigns in the heart of every redeemed sinner, and will keep each one, therefore, to the enjoyment of his eternal glory. In this intelligence, too, his people rejoice; they have put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and they stand complete in him. Whatever may be the temptations of sin, and the difficulties of obedience while he reigns in their hearts, they shall be made more than conquerors through his divine power. The world shall be overcome, Satan shall be bruised under their feet, self shall be crucified and destroyed, and grace shall triumph finally and eternally, because Christ rules in those whom he has redeemed.

He reigns amidst the hosts of heaven, and Zion rejoices in the prospect of reward which his dominion there ensures. His presence constitutes the happiness and glory of his people. They look forward with delight to another world as an everlasting home, because he is there. The single promise of recompense which the gospel makes is an enjoyment of his favour and a dwelling together with him. In the hope of this the believer's heart rejoices with joy unspeakable and full of glory; and having counted all things as loss for Christ's sake, he looks forward with triumph to the day when he shall be like him and see him as he is. Jesus reigns in heaven, and, therefore, for those who love him, heaven must contain a desirable and ample reward.

Such is the glorious intelligence which the gospel brings you; such are the communications which it makes to a world of sinners. It brings good tidings, it publishes peace, it brings good tidings of good, it publishes salvation, it declares to Zion, thy God reigneth. These gracious communications throw a glorious light over the whole message, and constitute it, by their excellency, the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

How important is the obligation which arises from such intelligence to constrain sinful men to accept with thankfulness these heavenly offers! The immediate duty required of you all is the reconciliation to God which the gospel proposes, and for which it has made provision. All things are ready for the return of sinners unto Christ, and I would beseech you, brethren, to welcome the ministers of reconciliation, to receive the pardon which is offered, and to place yourselves under the dominion of this glorious and merciful King. Kiss the Son in token of your cheerful submission to him, and let not his wrath be kindled against you, even but a little, lest you perish from the right way, and lose for ever the hopes which are offered you through his grace.

How important also is the obligation upon Christians to press upon all others the acceptance of these messages of divine love! To you who have believed, the Lord has committed the treasure of his grace, that you may offer it to others. In your conversation and your conduct, and in direct efforts to lead sinners unto Christ, much influence is to be exerted to publish this salvation, and to spread abroad the knowledge of the truth. The worth of this glorious intelligence marks the amount of your responsibility; and while it teaches you what Christ has done and suffered to open the way of salvation, it impresses upon you how much you should be willing to do and to suffer to make this way plain and profitable to others. Let no effort be spared which can be made effectual to bring men from the darkness of their sins, to the light of the glory of God which is seen in Jesus Christ.

LECTURE XIX.

THE GOSPEL MAGNIFYING THE LAW.

The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness sake, he will magnify the law and make it honourable.—ISAIAH XLII. 21.

THE connexion of the different divine revelations with each other, forms an important subject for our consideration in closing this series of lectures.

Faithfulness and immutability are attributes inseparable from the divine character. With God, there is no variableness, nor shadow of turning. He illustrates the unchangeableness of his own nature by contrasting with it the transitory existence of the most splendid of all his works. Like a vesture and a garment, they are to change, and to be folded up, but he is the same for ever, his years have no end.

This immutability of his character and purposes he adduces as the reason of all his forbearance towards those who have disobeyed his commands. "I am Jehovah, I change not, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed," and again, "I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim, for I am God, and not man."

The same unchangeable character, is asserted in the New Testament to be the attribute of God manifest in the flesh. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever." And Jesus says of his own revelation, "heaven and earth shall pass away; but my word shall not pass away."

This immutability appertains to all the divine purposes and plans. He is from everlasting to everlasting, ONE GOD. He does not change the purposes which he forms; nor is he frustrated in the accomplishment of his own designs.

The connexion of this attribute with our text, will become immediately apparent.

God has made successive revelations to men, and has placed them by these revelations under distinct dispensations of government. Now are not these dispensations contrary the one to the other? and is not the divine immutability compromised and destroyed in the various declarations which he has thus successively made?

This is the important subject or thought which I would present before you at this time.

Is the law against the promises of God? or do we make void the law, through faith? To each of these demands the apostle returns the same answer, "God forbid," and asserts the same fact, that the law and the gospel are designed not to destroy, but to confirm and establish each other.

Our text declares, that God was perfectly satisfied with that everlasting righteousness which the Messiah has brought in, under the gospel; and that in the acceptance of this righteousness for man, he would magnify the law, and make it honourable.

The honour which the grace of the gospel reflects upon the divine law is the subject here presented to you.

In remarking upon this subject:

I. Our first object must be to recall the distinct and clear views which we have already taken of the law and the gospel. And then,

II. To consider the assertion of the text, that the righteousness of the gospel magnifies and makes honourable the law.

I. We must first recall the clear views which we have taken of what the law and gospel are.

1. The law of God, is simply the revealed will of the Creator. It was first made known, when the first creature was formed. It required in every creature unqualified submission to the Creator's will, whenever and however that will should be proclaimed. By all the angels in heaven who delight to do their maker's will, it is fully obeyed. It was communicated to man at his creation, requiring from him simply this entire submission to God, and fixing the trial of his obedience upon a single and comparatively unimportant precept. It was revealed anew to the Israelites upon Mount Sinai, with many additional particulars, some of which were entirely national and local. It is as much binding upon every soul, under the gospel, as it was before Jesus appeared as the Saviour of men.

This law governs throughout the universe. It will govern forever. There can be no creature exempted from obedience to it; nor can its authority ever be annulled. While the Creator reigns, every created being will be bound to submit unconditionally to his will, which is his law, however and whenever that will shall be published.

So soon as any being disobeys this law, he comes immediately under condemnation, and is at once a lost and ruined being. He is without protection and without hope. God is turned against him, and none can be on his side.

Thus it was with the angels that sinned. Thus it was with Adam, and thus it is with every man born into the world. None of us are keepers of the law. And therefore the whole family of man have come under the curse, and every man living is condemned by the divine law, as a transgressor against God.

Let it be further remembered that this law cannot be set aside or annulled. It demands an obedience and satisfaction adequate to its own character, and it will not release from condemnation any transgressor who does not produce them. If no such obedience and satisfaction can be obtained by sinners, whether men or angels, no fallen being can be restored or saved.

This is the view which we have taken of the divine law. It is not the Jewish law, nor the command given to Adam particularly. It is the original, divine will of God, requiring simply unqualified submission in his creatures under all the circumstances which he shall see fit to place them.

It was made known in some precepts to Adam, and in others to the Israelites, and in others still by the Lord Jesus. So far as now revealed, it is contained in the Scriptures, which are given by inspiration of God. It may be made known in new precepts, to the creatures of God, throughout eternity: and to whatever labour or duty God shall ever direct,—this universal law will require unconditional obedience.

Neither the gospel then, nor any other dispensation from God, can make *void* or *annul* this law,—because whatever is revealed or commanded by him, becomes from that moment a part of his law; and comes to man with the same authority which has attended all previous revelations.

They cannot be *inconsistent* with the law, because God cannot deny himself; he is always the same, and changes not, nor can his purposes contradict each other.

2. The gospel is a free offer of salvation to man under the condemnation of the law, it was designed as a remedy for existing evil, and was intended to restore the transgressor of the law to his former situation of security and peace. It makes its gracious proposal of salvation, through the sufferings of a divine substitute; it is the annunciation of a Saviour, who has assumed the sinner's place, and rendered for him the obedience and satisfaction which the divine law required.

It is not, then, a system which has originated from another being than the one who gave man his law, and which was intended in its operation to set aside that law: but one which has flowed from the divine lawgiver himself, to restore the violated majesty of his own government, and to provide for man that satisfaction to the law, without which he could never have been saved.

The intelligence of the gospel was first revealed to man after his transgression, as his all-sufficient remedy. It provided salvation for him, and offers it to him freely as a lost creature. But it does not and cannot give him salvation, in opposition to the demands of the law; it first satisfies the law, and makes it perfectly whole, and then freely and fully justifies and saves the sinner whom it had condemned.

Here then is no opposition, but a perfect unity of action, and mutual agreement: As if a creditor should imprison his debtor for default in payment, and another individual should come forward voluntarily to discharge the claim and set the prisoner at liberty, the latter could not be said to be opposed on this ground to the former, or in any way to deny or destroy the legal justice of the claim which he thus discharged, but both would unite in releasing the man whose debt had thus been paid; so while the law of God held man in bondage, as a transgressor of its precepts, and the gospel provides a full discharge of the penalty, and bids the ransomed soul go and sin no more, it does not on this account show itself opposed to the law's demands. It honours the justice of the law by satisfying it fully, and in no degree annuls it.

The same divine being has given the law as the rule for all his creatures, and the gospel as the hope for fallen man. In both these dispensations he is the same, and there is in him no shadow of turning.

When he first created man, he placed him under his law, as he had done all other beings, and when man transgressed the law and sinned against him, and of necessity was condemned by the law, then he revealed his gracious purpose to save him in perfect consistence with the majesty of his own law, and provided and offered a righteousness in the Lord Jesus, with which he was well pleased, and which would magnify the law, and make it honourable.

II. We now proceed to consider the assertion of the text: That the righteousness of the gospel does magnify the law, and make it honourable.

This part of our subject deserves peculiar consideration. In preaching the gospel of the Lord Jesus, we offer a free and full salvation to those whom the law condemns, and *that* to be obtained simply by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. In such a system we appear to many to set aside the claims of the law, and still more so, when we further state that the law cannot justify any man; that it is not to be observed with any view to obtaining justification by it; that we must not so much as lean upon it in the slighest degree, and that our placing the smallest dependence upon it will invalidate our whole interest in the system of the gospel. In these assertions, we are supposed to be Antinomians in our principles, and our doctrines are thought to be subversive of moral obligations.

It will be remembered that the apostle Paul was obliged to contend with the very same difficulties, and that his doctrines were obnoxious to the very same reproach, and against this reproach he was compelled to vindicate himself in repeated instances.

But what is the real ground which we occupy in this matter? The law you will remember requires perfect obedience to all its commandments. It denounces a curse against every one who shall violate them in the smallest degree. Now it is manifest, that every man living has violated them in ten thousand instances, and is consequently obnoxious to the heaviest judgments. And yet, in preaching the glad tidings of the gospel, we say to those who believe in Jesus Christ, that they have nothing to fear, for there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. Do we in this system of preaching set aside the law, or act in contrariety to its established principles?

This is the point before us. In reply, we say, by no means; we establish, and confirm, and honour the law, to the utmost possible extent. We announce a salvation which God has provided, and in which he is well pleased; which satisfies every legal demand, makes the sinner perfectly secure, and, at the same time, infinitely glorifies the majesty and character of God.

1. The gospel honours and magnifies the law in the voluntary *obedience* of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It would have been honoured by the personal obedience of man, had he continued upright, as it *is* by the obedience of the pure spirits of heaven. In the universal submission to God, which is there displayed, the cheerfulness with which all unite to glorify the divine Creator, and the love and communion which is maintained among themselves, the purity and glory of the divine law, are unceasingly beheld. Had man remained in his first estate, such would have been the character of earth; and here, in all the intercourse of men with each other, the perfect law of God would have been the controlling principle. This obedience would have magnified the law, and displayed its wrath. But the voluntary submission of God the Son to its commands, has magnified it far more highly. He over whom it had no control, and whose will constituted the law itself, yielded himself to be commanded by the law, for those who were under its condemnation. His perfect obedience to every precept, is the righteousness with which God declares himself well pleased. As man, he fulfilled every command; from childhood to death he was constituted under the law: he thus wrought out a spotless righteousness, by which the majesty of the law is perfectly sustained, while the subjects of its condemnation are released and set at liberty.

Now, how can the law be more glorified, or set upon higher ground, in the view of the intelligent universe, than by this voluntary humiliation of God himself? With what authority and sanction must it have pressed itself home, upon the thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, in heavenly places, when they beheld such regard paid to it by the Creator himself! The personal obedience of Jesus honours the purity and holiness of the law from its undefiled and spotless character, showing how holy must be that law which was made the rule of such perfection in one who was governed by it. The same obedience also honoured the majesty and authority of the law, because it was the voluntary submission of a being so elevated and glorious, over whom it could have had no necessary control.

2. The gospel honours the law, in the voluntary *sufferings* of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The righteousness which the law required was not only a righteousness of obedience to its precepts, but of satisfaction also for past transgressions. Had the law been violated, and the transgression remained unpunished, its authority would have been utterly overthrown; instead of being magnified and made honourable, it would have been dishonoured and despised. Had the transgressors of the law all been punished, it would have been honoured, and the Creator would have been seen to be a being glorious in holiness and justice.

But it is far more highly magnified, when the mighty God himself consents to bear its penalties, rather than it should be despised. The sufferings which he sustained were a satisfaction to the violated law. They were the wrath of God against sin. How far they were the same which sinners unpardoned must sustain for themselves, and how far they were only a full equivalent for their sufferings, we cannot precisely determine.

The bodily suffering, the darkness of mind, and the violent death which the Lord endured, were certainly parts of that express penalty which the law had denounced against transgression. While the hatred of God, and the unquenchable despair which are also parts of the sinner's own punishment, were not found in Christ. This question it is not necessary for us to decide. The infinite dignity, and the infinite capacity of the Saviour, affixed a worth and an extent to his sufferings, which made them an equivalent for man. They answered the demands of the law. They made it whole and honourable, and thus opened a way for the salvation of a single sinner, or for all sinners, as one or all should accept the offers of salvation.

Thus the Lord Jesus honoured the justice of the law, and its faithful character, in submitting both to obey and to suffer for man, under its requisitions.

3. The gospel honours the law in the acknowledgment of guilt which it requires every sinner to make, on whom it bestows a pardon. The honour which Jesus gave it, is but a part of that which it receives. The gospel offers mercy to man in a method which requires him to acknowledge the justice of his condemnation under the law, before he can receive it. Every one who asks for pardon, must confess himself a sinner ready to perish. He must not only declare in words, but feel it also deeply in his conscience, that he deserves to be cast into outer darkness, amidst weeping and gnashing of teeth, and if God should avow that he had no pleasure in him, and should refuse for ever to accept him, it would be just and right. He must go to Christ, as one who feels himself exposed to imminent and awful danger, and cry to him for mercy, as a cast-away sinking into destruction everlasting. He is to plead nothing for himself, but the full satisfaction which the obedience and sufferings of the Lord Jesus have made to the demands of the law, and must found his whole hope upon the perfectly sufficient and honourable offering which was thus made. He must not desire that the demands of the law should be lessened even for his salvation. But while he feels condemned, and acknowledges himself to be condemned, he must still proclaim that the commandment which destroys him is just and good. He must acknowledge, that without a righteousness which fully answers the demands of the law, he cannot be, and ought not to be, accepted before God. And while he laments his own inability ever to render this righteousness, he must plead the merit of his incarnate God, as all his salvation and all his desire. Thus, in the very entrance on the way of salvation, the gospel provides for the honouring and magnifying of the law, in the acknowledgments which the sinner makes. It will save none who do not feel and will not confess this guilt and danger under a previous condemnation. There must be a deep humiliation for sin, and conviction of his lost estate in the sinner's mind, before he can obtain pardon in Jesus, and receive the gracious blessings which the gospel offers. Where this state of mind is found, and the sinner comes to plead the obedience of his Saviour for himself, the Lord is well pleased for his righteousness sake, and the law is magnified and made honourable. No precept has been set aside, and no principle has been overturned. The sinner acknowledges the justice of God in his condemnation, while he sues for the exercise of mercy in his forgiveness. And God is consistent with himself, in hearing and answering the penitent's supplication.

4. The gospel honours the law in the new obedience, through which it leads every one whom it has pardoned. It allows none to sin, because grace abounds; but forgives all who seek for pardon, that, as the result of their forgiveness, they may serve God in newness of life, and walk according to his holy will. It is true, the man who has embraced its offers of pardon does not expect that he shall perfectly obey the commands of God; still less does he expect by any such obedience to commend himself to the favour of God. But he has in his heart as a divine gift, the love of holiness, and the desire for holiness; he approves of the precepts of the law in his inner man; he has the law written upon his heart, and the grace of God, which has brought him salvation, teaches him to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world. His whole effort and object in regard to himself is, that he may perfect holiness in the fear of God, and walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. Thus the law is magnified and made honourable in his experience and in his character. He has been made free from guilt, that he may be a servant to holiness, and delivered by the gospel from the condemnation of the law, that he may obey and honour it in its precepts; and while he is accepted solely for the righteousness sake of God his Saviour, his whole life is an exertion to be holy as he is holy.

Under these four aspects of the work of the Saviour for the sinner, and of the Spirit in the sinner, we see how perfectly united are these two holy systems from God, and that the later one has established and honoured in a high degree, the one previously revealed. The views which I have given you of these dispensations in the discourses which have now been brought to a conclusion, and the outlines of which I have here recalled, have exhibited this perfect agreement between the divine revelations, as well as the everlasting benefit which arises from them for man, and the glory which they bring to God.

The subjects which we have considered in these lectures, are such, that their importance cannot be overstated; and the more you reflect upon the statements regarding them which I have made, the more will you become convinced, I am sure, that these have been scriptural and just. I have desired to avoid all points of needless controversy among true believers in the gospel, while at the same time I have desired to state most clearly and decidedly what I believe to be the truth of God, however it may be opposed by those who would set aside the spiritual, heart-changing character of the religion of Jesus. I pray you to compare the views which I have presented to you, with the declarations of the divine word; if they speak not according to its testimony, I shall allow there is no truth in them. But the more studiously you make this comparison, the more will you see the accordance of all you have heard with the Lord's sacred communications, and I trust, also, experience their convincing and renewing power in your own souls.

These are the truths which the apostles preached in the demonstration of the Spirit, casting down all man's native pride and wisdom, and exalting the Lord alone, as his righteousness and salvation. They are the truths for which the venerable reformers of the church sacrificed themselves under the hatred of antichristian bigotry. They were embodied by them in the formularies of the whole protestant church, as the doctrine of the oracles of God. In every land in which the power of the reformation was felt, the same system of doctrine was simultaneously drawn from the divine word, and that system is the one which I have attempted to display to you in these discourses. They are, further, the truths which, by all faithful teachers of the gospel of Christ, are proclaimed now in the various denominations of orthodox Christians; the truths by which the doctrine of Christ is triumphing among men, and under which alone the souls of sinners are or can be converted unto God. They are, finally, the truths which our church every where teaches, and by her fidelity in declaring which, she shows her worth to us, and the honour she gives to God. May they be the truths which in this house you shall always hear, as the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation. Prize them as your treasure; cling to them as your hope; proclaim them as the blessed instrument of universal good, and may God cause them to bring forth in you the abundant and eternal fruits of holiness for his sake. And all the glory be to the BLESSED TRINITY, the FATHER, the SON and the HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD, world without end. Amen.

A GENERAL VIEW

OF

THE GEOLOGY OF SCRIPTURE,

IN WHICH

THE UNERRING TRUTH OF THE INSPIRED NARRATIVE OF THE EARLY EVENTS IN THE
WORLD IS EXHIBITED, AND DISTINCTLY PROVED, BY THE CORROBO-
RATIVE TESTIMONY OF PHYSICAL FACTS, ON EVERY
PART OF THE EARTH'S SURFACE.

BY

GEORGE FAIRHOLME, Esq.

PREFACE.

In presenting the following pages to the judgment of the world, I have reason to fear, that the very *title* of the work will excite, in the minds of some, feelings by no means favourable to an unprejudiced perusal of it.

I am fully aware of the objections which have frequently been raised to the endeavours to connect physical facts with the details of scripture; and I am, also, aware of the mischief that has sometimes ensued to the cause of religion, from the imprudent or unskilful defence made by those whose wishes and intentions were the most friendly to it.

The course of every science must be progressive; beginning in faint attempts to dissipate the obscurity of ignorance, and gradually advancing towards the full light of truth. To this usual course, the science of geology cannot be considered as an exception, having already passed through some of its early stages, which were avowedly marked with obscurity and error. During these stages of geological ignorance, I am free to admit, that the attempt to connect the supposed discoveries in the physical phenomena of the earth, with the truths announced to us in the sacred record, could not but tend to injure either the one cause or the other; because, it is impossible that any concord can exist between *truth* and *error*. In this case it unfortunately happened that the assertions of philosophy were uttered with such boldness, and so supported by *the deceptious evidence of physical facts, seen under a false light*, that it was difficult for the supporters of revelation, ignorant, as they generally were, of the nature of these facts, to hold their ground with success, or not to weaken their own cause by an apparent failure in its support.

The necessity which has, however, been acknowledged, of rejecting the geological theories of those days, opposed, as they were, to the Mosaical History, was, therefore, a fair source of hope and encouragement to such as advocated the *unerring* character of Inspired Scripture. It, at least, left that Mosaic Narrative uninjured by the assault; and encouraged a hope, that, as in all other cases, the *truth* would finally *appear* and *prevail.*

It has been well remarked, by the able author of a work which has lately appeared, full of information, and written upon the soundest principles,—"It is now thirty-five years since my attention was first directed to these considerations. It was then the fashion for science, and for a large part of the educated and inquisitive world, to rush into a disbelief of all written Revelation; and several geological speculations were directed against it. But I have lived to see the most hostile of these destroyed by their own as hostile successors; and to observe, that nothing, which was of this character, however plausible at the moment of its appearance, has had any duration in human estimation, not even among the sceptical."*

Of late years, accordingly, fact after fact has been gradually accumulating; each tending to temper the wild character of an hypothetical philosophy; and every day produces some new evidence of the hasty and erroneous conclusions from physical facts, to which the friends of Revelation had found it too often necessary to succumb.

Each of these *errors* in philosophy has been a source of triumph to the cause of *truth;* and the time is gradually approaching, if it be not yet fully come, when the trial must be brought to a positive issue, and when those undeniable physical facts, *seen in a new and more correct light*, will lend their aid to the *support* instead of to the *destruction* of our confidence in scripture; and when the *simplicity* and *consistency* of the geology of Scripture, will make us regard with astonishment and contempt, schemes that could so long have exerted so powerful an influence over our reason and understanding.

I am not vain enough to suppose that I am myself qualified to bring about so desirable an end: but, as it is the duty of every one to lend a hand to the demolition of ERROR, and to the encouragement of TRUTH, I propose, in the following pages, to endeavour, in as clear and concise a manner as the subject will admit of, to account for the geological structure of the upper surface of our earth; taking the Mosaical History for my guiding star, to be kept constantly in view throughout my course.

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* Sacred History of the World, by Mr. Sharon Turner.

A great part of my object will be attained, if I can succeed in bringing any one of those able minds, who are now so influential in the geological world, to view, in the same light as myself, the phenomena presented to our examination on the earth. I am persuaded, that many of those individuals, so distinguished in science, are not so wedded to a party or theory, as not to acknowledge and retract an error in judgment, if they are convinced of its existence.

Amongst the many unquestionable physical facts, therefore, which I hope to be able to produce in the course of this treatise, supporting, in a remarkable manner, the Sacred History of the early events in the world, should any thing be found sufficiently strong, and sufficiently pointed, to shake the foundations of many of the present received opinions in geology, I hope that some one, or more, of those gifted individuals, may be found with sufficient candour to retrace his steps, and to lend the aid of a powerful and active mind to the cause of Revelation.

It is, however, to be feared, that there are many geologists, (if indeed they are deserving of the name,) whose great delight in this subject arises from the *play of fancy* its consideration, under a false view, gives rise to; and who would, consequently, be unwilling to yield so pleasing a source of argument and hypothesis to the plain and simple course of events which the Mosaical History unfolds.

Notwithstanding, however, the opposition I may meet with from such theorists, and in the absence of more able advocates for the support of this view of the subject, I propose to follow the course I have laid down; and I feel perfectly confident, that any failure in the proposed plan will not arise from the defective nature of the plan itself, or from the materials within my reach for the completion of it; but merely from the inability of the *builder*, which defect may, at any time, be remedied, by the same materials being placed in the hands of a more able, though not more zealous advocate for the cause of *truth*.

It must, however, be kept in view, that it is not the object of this treatise to enter minutely, or in detail, into the nature and history of each particular formation in the upper strata of the earth. We must first lay a solid foundation for our views, by an enlarged and general *system;* and when this great and primary object has been perfectly attained, we may then, with safety, examine in detail the many interesting objects presented to our inspection, without, at any time, however, losing sight of the great first principles by which we had found it expedient to be guided in our course. We may thus hope to be led, by the full light of day, through those devious paths, over which so complete a twilight has hitherto been spread; and we shall, undoubtedly, have the gratification of finding, that the same dignified simplicity and truth which have always been remarked as the characteristics of the other parts of Inspired Scripture, are not less remarkable, in the concise but emphatic details of the early events of the world.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The very high interest and importance of the history of the globe which we inhabit, will be admitted by all whose minds are capable of entering beyond a mere superficial consideration of the objects around us; and the principles of curiosity, and the innate love of truth, so inherent in the human mind, lead us, step by step, from the consideration of objects themselves, to the Great First Cause from whence all things have originally sprung.

I have always felt an ardent desire to study, and endeavour to follow up, the theories which, from time to time, have been formed by philosophy, respecting the original formation and subsequent changes of the globe which sustains us; and for many years of my life I have regularly studied almost every thing that has been advanced on those important subjects. In the course of repeated travels over a great part of Europe, I have also had many opportunities of practically forming a judgment of the more visible and tangible evidences adduced in support of those theories. I have never felt, however, either on the subject of the *primitive* or *secondary* formations of geology, that firm conviction of the truth of the doctrines taught by the great leaders in science, which is the necessary consequence to be looked for in sound and truly logical reasoning. In the very opening of the subject, in treating of the *mode of first formations*, and in the *numerous revolutions* which are said subsequently to have left unquestionable traces upon the earth, I have never found any argument advanced which did not leave the mind in a bewildered and uncertain state; and in but too many of the theories of philosophy on these subjects, we find opinions broached by the very ablest men, so extraordinary, and so repulsive to our reason and common sense, that we are compelled at once to reject them, and not without losing, at the same time, some portion of that high respect, with which a sound philosophy ought always to inspire us.

In the course of these studies, I have never been able to exclude from my mind those lights and beacons held out, as it were, for our guidance, in tracing the more obscure portions of the history of the earth, by the inspired writings, of the truth of which, on *other* subjects, the unprejudiced mind can entertain not a shadow of doubt, strengthened as they are by the great and wonderful events which have been foretold in prophecy, and, subsequently, literally fulfilled in *history*.

"The great problem of creation has been said to be, 'Matter *and* Motion *given*, to *form a world;*' and the presumption of man has often led him to attempt the solution of this absurd problem. At first, philosophers contented themselves with reasoning on the traditional or historical accounts they had received; but it is irksome to be shackled by authority, or for the learned to be content with the same degree of information on so important a subject as the most ignorant of the people. After having acquired, therefore, a smattering of knowledge, philosophy began to imagine that it could point out a much better way of forming the world, than that which had been transmitted by the consenting voice of antiquity.—Epicurus was most distinguished among the ancients in this work of reformation, and produced a theory *on the principle of a fortuitous concourse of atoms*, the extravagant absurdity of which has alone preserved it from oblivion. From his day to the present time, there has been a constant succession of *systems and theories of the earth*, which are now swallowed up by those of a chaotic geology, founded on chemistry; the speculations of which have been attended with many useful results, in so far as they proceed on the principles of induction; but when applied to solve the problem of *creation*, or the *mode* of first formations, will only serve, like the systems of their forerunners of antiquity, to demonstrate the ignorance and presumption of man."[*]

Unfortunately for the cause of truth, and of sound philosophy, the study of geology was begun, at no very distant period, in a school where the only *history* which could be consulted on such a subject was neglected and despised, on points incomparably more important than scientific inquiries. We cannot, therefore, feel surprise, that the philosophy of that period should have excluded from its view the concise but most important geological information given us in the first part of the Mosaical history.

Misled by the theories of the earth set forth by the continental philosophy and infidelity, theories so wild and absurd, that sober reason now looks upon them with contempt; many zealous and able men of our own country have been hurried away by the torrent, and have been induced to follow out their own researches, under the delusive and prejudiced impressions of their early studies.

Even some of the most learned divines, without any knowledge of geology, have considered themselves bound, in translating and explaining the sacred record, to submit to the dictates of philosophy, and by taking liberties with the original text, which would not be tolerated in translating any classic author, have thus unintentionally aided the cause of scepticism and unbelief. They have admitted a doubt upon a great and fundamental point, in which the inspired history, fairly translated, directly opposes them; viz. in conceding to the theories of philosophy *the duration of the six*

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[*] Edinburgh Encyclopedia.

days of the creation. As it was contrary to these theories to admit the *perfect* CREATION of all things, at the first, by an Almighty Power, it became necessary to search for such *secondary causes*, as would, *by the mere laws of nature*, as they are called, have produced the primitive rocks, as we now find them.* These supposed *causes* were discovered in *chemistry*; and as it was found by chemists that various substances, under certain circumstances, formed themselves into crystals, and, by geologists, that granite, and other primitive rocks, had a crystalline appearance and formation, it was assumed as a *fact*, assisted by the heathen notion of a *chaos*, that all matter once existed in a confused and imperfect mass, from which, in the course of some indefinitely long period of time, our globe, in all its crystalline beauty, must have *formed itself.* We are no where informed by this chaotic philosophy whence the *material atoms*, of which this imperfect compound was formed, were produced; how the liquid mass was held together before the laws of attraction and of gravity were ordained; or by what power the laws of *nature*, by which crystallization takes place, were first instituted.

By some philosophers of the French school, this theory of *gradual* perfection was extended even to animated beings. They considered that life, in its lowest shape, was first generated in this fermenting mass, and that the present variety and perfection, so remarkable in the animal world, gradually arose from those species of marine creatures called zoophytes, resembling, as their name denotes, the order of plants. It is not easy to determine the original ground-work for so extraordinary and impious a theory; but it probably arose, in some degree, from the erroneous conclusions from fossil remains, which have been the fertile cause of so much misconception during the last century. It has been remarked by geologists, that the only fossil remains of animated beings to be found in the earliest secondary rocks, are of this description of zoophytes; and it has therefore been concluded as a *positive fact*, that zoophytes were the first and most imperfect of animated beings, from which, by a living principle in nature, all other improvements have gradually sprung up. It may easily be imagined to what absurdities such theories must have led, and from them we may trace the systems of Lamarck, who held, amongst others, the following extraordinary opinions. He considered that all the forms of animated beings, as they now exist, must have been gradually developed, as their wants and necessities demanded. For instance, the deer, and the antelope tribe, had not originally the delicate forms and nimble activity they now display; these qualities were produced by the *necessity* of flying from their enemies, and of seeking safety by rapid flight. The aquatic birds and beasts having *webbed feet* to assist them in swimming, had no such helps in their primitive condition, but by constant action and exertion of the toes, the membrane connecting them at length became extended. But one of the most whimsical of these ideas, perhaps, relates to the unusual length of neck exhibited by the cameleopard, which is described as being originally much like other animals; but by the habit of feeding on branches of trees, it gradually assumed the form we now look upon with admiration. Such glaring absurdities as these have long ceased to find supporters; but it is no less certain that the idea of gradual creation, or production of successive species of animated beings, is still to be found in the principles of our modified philosophy; and that the tribe of zoophytes, or sea animals, resembling plants in their form, is still looked upon as the first link in the great animated chain. It will, therefore, not be considered unworthy of our attention, if we take a more extended view of the argument, and endeavour to show that such an arrangement in nature is not only derogatory in the highest degree from the Almighty power and wisdom, but completely at variance with a correct view of the animal kingdom. We find it correctly stated in the following extract from one of the most instructive and able works of our times, that the various tribes of zoophytes subsist upon the minute species of animalcula, so abundant in the sea as well as in all the other waters of the earth, and which have been called *infusoria*, from the well known circumstance that scarcely any vegetable substance can be infused in pure water, without, in a short time, exhibiting, under the microscope, myriads of such wonders of the creative power and wisdom. "Zoophytes appear to feed principally on infusoria, (or sea animalcula,) *and they required* ONLY *the existence of that class to prepare the sea for their creation.* Their remains form the oldest fossil animals met with in the strata of the earth."*

The latter part of this passage, from the pen of a learned professor, shows that its author directly pointed towards the above mentioned notion, grounded on French philosophy, although the case is not expressly stated in words; but, as in all similar doctrines of an unsound philosophy, this passage contains the antidote as well as the poison, for it fixes upon a class of animated beings as *food* for this *first link* of the animated chain, of all the wonders of creative wisdom, that which is, perhaps, best calculated to excite our most profound admiration.

That all created beings present to our admiring view a great chain of various parts, each link connected with its fellow by easy shades of similarity of structure, is a fact admitted by the most cursory student in this wonderful book. But what link of this chain is to be looked upon as less wonderful, or incomprehensible, in its origin, than another? And if, which it would be difficult to do, we can discover one more imperfect than another, for the performance of the great ends to which it is decreed, are we to fix upon this apparent imperfection as the first attempt and *failure* of the Almighty hand? The wonders displayed by the microscope ought for ever to obliterate from our minds any such impious and unworthy notions. That instrument exhibits to us the great fact, that if *perfection of design*, combined with what we consider *difficulty in formation*, is to be looked for in the creation, it is amongst the minutest of the insect tribe that we shall find displayed the most wonderful wisdom of the Creator. All that the most profound genius is capable of inventing, presents but a feeble image of the structure and actions of these minute creatures; and yet the tribe of zoophytes, as the most imperfect of created animals, "ONLY required the existence of the class infusoria to prepare the sea for their creation!" Such ideas of imperfection in the works of the Almighty, are quite unworthy of our enlightened times; and the streams of knowledge flow to little purpose, if the head-springs are tainted with such impurities.

Our notions of the power of the Creator never can be more elevated than in contemplating the more minute portions of the animated chain, the wonders of which make it appear as if he wished to veil his most perfect works from human eyes, and to lavish them on beings the most obscure, and, in appearance, the most vile; for, according to our finite and imperfect ideas, there would be less difficulty (if we may so speak of the works of the Almighty,) in forming the large members of the whale, or of the elephant, than the delicate fibres and minute vessels of the gnat or of the spider. But as we *descend* in the scale of magnitude, we seem to *ascend* in that of perfection and incomprehensible difficulty; for by the aid of the microscope, we discover new wonders at every step of our investigations, and find that our unassisted vision can perceive but one half of the living beings which adorn the earth. The mind is lost in wonder, and is incapable of conceiving what the tongue can so easily express, that there are, in almost all fluids, animals as perfect as ourselves in bodily structure and action, so minute, that it would require *millions* of them to form the compass of one single grain of sea sand?* But when we thus arrive at the verge of power in our instruments, we have still no reason to conclude that we have reached the utmost limit of animated creation. Future instruments may possibly exhibit wonders as great as those we are now considering; and we thus find, as astronomers have done in the opposite extremity, that we can discover no bounds to creative power and wisdom.

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* In the understanding which has, in a manner, been tacitly agreed upon in science, carefully to exclude every allusion to the Deity, in the contemplation of his works, we constantly find the unmeaning name of *nature* introduced, even in pages where the admiration of HER *works* would make it appear impossible to avoid an acknowledgment of *him* from whom all things have arisen. In a posthumous treatise by Milton, we find the following just reflections on this subject.—"Though there be not a few who deny the existence of God, for 'the fool hath said in his heart, there is no God,' (Psal. xiv.) yet the Deity has imprinted on the human mind so many unquestionable tokens of himself, and so many traces of him are found throughout the whole creation, that no one in his senses can long remain ignorant of the truth. There are some who pretend that *nature*, or *fate*, is the supreme power; but the very *name of nature* implies that it must owe its *birth* to some prior agent; and *fate* can be nothing but a Divine decree, emanating from some superior power."

We must, however, in justice admit, that, in the minds of many, the *exclusion* above alluded to has been acceded to with the very best intention, though this admission may be looked upon as a proof of that very tone in philosophy in general, which is so often opposed to the great truths of Revelation; for, in the obscurities under which many of the phenomena of creation are still viewed, and under the impression of such obscure and erroneous theories as have been put forth by philosophy, men of the soundest faith must have found themselves so constantly involved in contradiction to the records of inspiration, in the course of their scientific researches, that it would be found more advantageous to the cause of religion to accede to this entire exclusion, than to confound and shatter *both*, by such continual collision as must occur, till the views of creation become more enlightened, and complete concord is established between Revelation and the phenomena of the world around us. This desirable and *inevitable* concord is every day advancing with rapid strides; for, however the theories of philosophy may change, the Rock of Revelation stands for ever immovably fixed.

* Edinburgh Encyclopedia, vol. xviii. p. 843.

It may also be remarked, that the balance of animal and vegetable productions is so admirably arranged, that the removal of any *one link* would serve to throw the whole chain into confusion. We come, then, in conclusion, to the same point from whence we at first set out, viz. that zoophytes could not exist without the animals on which they feed; and as the same may be concluded, with regard to any other individual species, that *all* must have been the spontaneous creation of an Almighty power, at one and the same period, and not a gradual production, by the *mere laws of nature*. We shall have a future opportunity of showing why zoophytes could not but be the earliest fossil productions found in the secondary strata of the earth.

The supposed *chemical* process, however, which we were before considering, must have required a much longer period than the inspired writings have given us, to bring it to perfection. The *days* of the Mosaical history, (which history never could be entirely excluded from the minds of men,) with their *evenings* and their *mornings*, were, therefore, forced into the *indefinite periods* necessary for the operation.

Geologists, without any knowledge of the original text, and learned men, without any knowlege of geology, have, therefore, unintentionally formed a species of coalition, the effects of which strike deep into the very root of our confidence in scripture, and sap the foundation on which our belief in the *Omnipotence* and *Omniscience* of an Almighty Creator ought to be founded.

With whatever pleasure and interest, then, we may follow the more plausible theories of *secondary* formations on the surface of the earth, it appears impossible for our reason to enter, even in the slightest degree, into the hypothetical systems taught by the highest scientific authorities with regard to *first formations*. We are taught, both by scripture and by our reason, that the earth, as but a small part of an immense sytem, was intended as a temporary abode for *immortal souls* in their *mortal bodies*. We have no reason to suppose that we are misled by history, when we are informed that but a very few thousands of years have elapsed since the creation of mankind: we are taught to believe, from what we read in a part of scripture, which it is not so much the object of science to dispute, that a very considerable portion of the historical events of the world has already passed away, and, consequently, we may infer, that the scene on which we now act a part, will not be of *immense* duration. Now, in considering the laws by which events are brought about, and the changes of this world are effected, we never discover so great a disproportion between the *means* and the *end*, as would be the case, if we admit, with but two many geologists, that *millions of years* may have been necessary for the preparation and *ripening* of this earth from *chaos*, to fit it up as a stage on which so brief a drama was to be acted. This is one of the first difficulties our reason has to encounter in considering the *gradual* formation of the globe from secondary causes: but our difficulties are only then beginning, for even if we admit this theory, we do not, in the least degree, advance towards the object of our search; we are as far as ever removed from a Great First Cause, to which our reason is as true as the magnet to its pole. We cannot close our eyes upon the great truth so deeply impressed upon our minds by every thing around us, that, even admitting a *chaos*, *that chaos must have been* CREATED in all its component parts. The chemist, in his laboratory, may compound the various substances and fluids, from the qualities of which he is aware that crystals will be formed; but he is obliged to exercise the knowledge acquired from study and experience, and to apply the heat necessary for their formation. Although he may thus form the compound, *can he create the materials of it?* Though he may produce crystals, *can he enact a law by which these beautiful forms shall be arranged?* No. The potter may *form* the vessel, but he cannot *create* the clay.

Amongst the many inextricable difficulties in which we become involved, by a departure from the guidance of the sacred record, and by supposing, with the continental philosophy, that the solid globe was a *chemical crystalline deposit* from an *aqueos* chaos, we have to overcome this certain fact in these *same laws of nature;* viz. that as we know of no other source of *heat*, and, consequently, of *fluidity* on our globe, and, probably, in the other members of the solar system, than *the sun;* as we know that there are parts of our planet around the poles where no water can exist in a fluid state, for the greater part, if not the whole of the year, from the absence of that sun's influence, nor, indeed, ever *could have existed* since the solar system was arranged; and as we know that without that *solar influence* no fluidity could exist on any part of the earth's surface, *by the mere laws of nature*, (as even mercury becomes solid at a higher temperature than exists at the poles,) how are we to suppose a *chaotic* AQUEOUS *fluid*, held together in empty space, and without the melting influence of a sun, which, consistently with this philosophy, we must conclude was not yet *precipitated* or *crystallized* into perfection within its own *chaos;* for if we adopt the chaotic principle, with regard to our own planet, we cannot, in fairness, refuse it to the other heavenly bodies.

In adopting *secondary causes*, then, or the theory of the formation of the earth by the *mere laws of nature* from an *aqueous chaos*, we must account for *fluidity* without *heat*, an *effect* without a *cause*, and directly opposed to all the known laws of nature.*

In advocating, then, the chaotic philosophy, we must account for the *creation* of the crude materials of which that chaos must have been composed, and also for those wonderful laws to which matter has been subjected, and by which it is forced to assume those crystalline forms which we so much admire; and being thus forced to acknowledge a *Creator* so wise and powerful as to be able to form *even a chaos* out of *nothing*, ("for if God did not create the first thing, then there is something besides Him that was never made, and then there are *two* Eternals,"†) we come to the consideration of his power to create things in a more *perfect* form. We find that created matter is divided into three kingdoms, as they have been called, of *animal*, *vegetable* and *mineral:* there are few who would now dispute that the first and second of these great divisions must have been at first formed in a perfect and mature state, although both have since been submitted to laws, through which they must pass from the embryo state to perfection. We cannot for a moment suppose the first man to have been once an infant, or the first oak tree to have sprung from an acorn, though all subsequent individuals, in both species, must now pass through these stages. If this perfection of form is admitted, then, in the first creation of the *animal* and *vegetable* world, are we to suppose that the *mineral* productions of the earth were exceptions from this rule? or that a Being so wise and so powerful as to be able to *create* a *man* or a *tree*, with all the wonderful contrivance and design discoverable in each, and above all, endued with a *living principle*, was yet obliged to form an *imperfect* mass, and to wait the fermenting or crystallizing process from which its more perfect form was to arise? The idea is revolting to reason; and when we have rejected it as *improbable*, as *impossible*, then comes inspiration, with its lofty and imposing simplicity, to assist our weak understandings, and to assure us that "in the beginning God *created* the heaven and the earth."

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* The author has lately had an opportunity of demonstrating, in the most unequivocal manner, that it would require from *one* to *three millions* of some active animalcula to form the bulk of a grain of sand. This distinct measurement is made by means of a vegetable graduated fibre, accidentally discovered in a greenish scum on a gravel walk.

* The greatest degree of natural cold that has hitherto been observed in the open air, is about 50 degrees below zero; but at the actual poles, and more especially at the south pole, which is surrounded by ice, and inaccessible by ships for upwards of 1000 miles on all sides, is, probably, at a much lower temperature. Mercury freezes at 39 degrees below zero, and then becomes malleable like any other metal. Thus, at the poles, *mercury* never could have existed in a fluid state, any more than *water;* and the strongest spirits are frozen at a still higher temperature.

"All substances in nature, as far as we know them, occur in one or other of three states; that of *solids*, of *liquids*, or of *elastic fluids*.

"In a vast number of cases the same substance is capable of assuming each of these states in succession. Thus, sulphur is usually solid, but at 218 degrees it becomes a liquid, and at 570 degrees it boils, and is converted into an elastic fluid. *Water is a liquid, but at 32 degrees it freezes into a solid*, while at 212 degrees it boils into an elastic fluid.

"All solids (a very few excepted) may be converted into liquids by heating them sufficiently; and *almost all liquids by cooling them sufficiently*, may be converted into *solids*. The law of nature then, is, that solids by heat are converted into liquids and elastic fluids; *while elastic fluids and liquids by cold are brought into the state of solids*."—*Edin. Encyclop. Chemistry*, p. 36.

"From what has been advanced respecting the situation, properties and manner of formation of the ice surrounding the pole, we may naturally conclude that *a continent of ice-mountains* may exist in regions near the pole, yet unexplored, the nucleus of which may be as ancient as the earth itself, and its increase derived from the sea and atmosphere combined."—*Scoresby's Arctic Reg.* vol. ii. p. 319.

† Letter from Jeremy Taylor, to John Evelyne, Esq.

"To your question, 'How if appears that God made all things out of nothing,' I answer, it is demonstrably certain, or else there is no God. For if there be a God, he is the one principle: but if he did not make the first thing, then there is something besides him that was never made, and then there are *two* Eternals. Now, if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing.

"Your obliged and affectionate servant,
"Jeremy Taylor."

Having, by this line of reasoning, come to the conclusion that the theory of a *chaos*, or imperfect formation of the earth, is not only contrary to our *reason*, but also in direct opposition to *history*, our belief in the truth of the inspired writings is strengthened and confirmed; and we feel equally disposed to question those theories of philosophy which account for the present appearances and stratifications on the earth's surface, by a numerous succession of *accidents* and *revolutions* which are supposed by some to have occurred previous to the creation or production of mankind, but subsequent to the earth's having assumed that perfect crystalline form we now discover in the primitive rocks. The demand for *time* is here again advanced by geologists, who support this theory of alternate revolutions; and as *time* is as nothing in *eternity*, they make whatever draughts they have occasion for upon this inexhaustible fund. It appears that history, as well as the consideration of the present course of things upon the earth, are equally considered as nothing in this philosophy. The minerals of the earth have been likened to coins stamped with unknown or difficult characters; and it is the business of the geologist, as of the antiquary, to decipher and arrange them in chronological order. But as it may safely be presumed that the antiquary would make little advance in his work, if he neglected to consult such histories as were within his reach, so we may come to the same conclusion with regard to the geologist. Ancient *coins*, *minerals* or *fossils* are all equally unintelligible, if we have no guide from history to lead us to an explanation of them.

In entering, then, upon our geological inquiries, it appears the more natural course to proceed upwards, from material things as they are now presented to our senses, to the First Great Cause, by which alone they could have been produced; and then, consulting such history as may be within our reach, to retrace our steps downwards, from the beginning of all things to the present time.* We may thus entertain a confident hope that all the appearances on the surface of the earth, upon which the theories of philosophy have been founded, may be accounted for by an *attentive* and *unprejudiced*, and above all, a *docile* consideration of the three great events recorded in history, viz. the *creation of the earth; the formation of a bed for the primitive sea, with the natural causes acting within that sea for upwards of sixteen centuries;* and, lastly, *the deluge*, with its crowd of corroborative witnesses, together with *the subsequent action of natural causes from that time to the present day*, or for upwards of four thousand years.

With regard to the character of Moses himself, and the books of scripture which were written by him, under the guidance of inspiration, by which alone he could have pronounced the remarkable prophecies which were afterwards so strictly fulfilled, it would not be to my purpose in this place to enter into discussion. It is enough to say that he is acknowledged by all as the most ancient historian whose works have come down to our times; and that the frequent notice taken of him by ancient writers, would serve to confirm the truth of his own narrative, even if *events foretold* did not vouch for his veracity.

If the great events thus recorded in the inspired writings, with all their necessary consequences, were as studiously adopted as foundations to build upon, as they have hitherto been studiously set aside in geology, we should soon find in all classes, ardent students in this most interesting science. But when an ordinary mind, anxiously searching after *truth*, finds itself launched into a sea of clouds and thick darkness, without star or compass as a guide, it must either desperately proceed from *doubt* to *infidelity*, under the guidance of *unassisted reason and philosophy*, or must give up the subject in despair of ever reaching the desired object; happy if it escape the too common taint of unbelief on points incomparably more important than geology. For if the sacred scriptures are the unerring dictates of divine inspiration, which prophecy so fully determines, we must consider them as *infallible* in *every* point. If, on the contrary, we find at the very threshold a statement *demonstrably* FALSE, we should have the strongest possible ground for refusing our belief to the subsequent history.

"Infidels have always imagined, and believers have too generally conceded, that the Mosaic account of the early ages of the world is the weakest of the outworks of Christianity. But, on the contrary, we may be persuaded that the firmest ground which even a philosophical believer can take, is the Mosaic record."—*Edin. Encyclop. Antediluvian.*

It is in vain we look for this line of reasoning in the works of those who are generally considered the great leaders in science. Both parties into which geologists have ranged themselves, the supporters of the theories of *fire* and of *water*, are equally opposed to the simple and unadorned narrative of the sacred historian; and both parties have, consequently, led themselves and their followers into an *inextricable maze* on the subject of *primitive formations*. It is, indeed, a melancholy proof, if any such were wanting, of the natural turpitude of the human mind, that notwithstanding the bright instances which have been and still are found in the opposite scale, so large a portion of those who search deepest into, and who ought, therefore, to be best acquainted with, the works of the Creator, have been so little inclined to give him the credit due to his omnipotence and wisdom, that *philosophy* and *scepticism* have been but too often and too justly looked upon as almost synonymous terms. What advances have been made in every branch of science and of arts since the days of Newton, and even since those of the great Linnæus! yet we do not always find a proportioned increase either in faith or in religious zeal. Any attempt to mix up science with religion has, indeed, been openly condemned by many able writers; yet the time, it is to be hoped, will come, when the Linnæan systems will be followed, as well in religion as in its union with the knowledge of the works of the Creator. The great and good Linnæus lost no opportunity of expatiating on the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty. In such expressions of admiration his breast seemed to glow with warmth, and he became truly eloquent.*

"Awake, upon the earth," exclaims he, "I have contemplated an immense, eternal, all-powerful, and omniscient God! I have seen him, and fallen prostrate in astonishment at his very shadow. I have sought out his steps in the midst of his creatures, even amongst the most imperceptible. What power! what wisdom! what inexpressible perfection! I have observed the animals nourished by vegetables; these, again, by earthly bodies; the earth rolling in its unalterable orb round the sun, the burning source of its life; the sun itself, turning on its axis, with the planets that surround it, forming, with the other stars, indefinite in number, an immense and boundless system. All is ruled by the Incomprehensible Prime Mover, the Being of Beings, as Aristotle has called him, the Cause of Causes, the Eternal Architect of his magnificent work."

Even the heathen philosophers have set us an example on these great and important points, which the most humble Christians must acknowledge with admiration. "Do you call him *Fatality?* you are not wrong," says Seneca, "as every thing depends upon him. Do you prefer him under the name of *Nature?* you are right; all things are born from him. If you name him Providence, you are equally right; for by his orders and councils the world displays its wonders. He is all eye, all ear, all soul, all life; and human intellect is incapable of comprehending his immensity." "That Being," says the same heathen, "that Cause of Causes, without whom nothing exists, who has constructed and organized all things; who is every where present, and yet escapes our view; has veiled his August Majesty in a retreat so holy and impenetrable, that it is in *thought* alone that we can reach it.

In a beautiful hymn of Cleanthes, as preserved by Stobæus, we find the following sublime address to the Deity, under the title of Jupiter:

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* In the sixteenth century, the astronomer, John Kepler, of Wirtemburg, presented a work full of wild theory, to the great Tycho Brahe, who, after perusing it, returned it with the following advice:—"First, lay a solid foundation for your views by actual observation; and then, by ascending from these, strive to reach the causes of things." The whole philosophy of Bacon was thus compressed, by anticipation, into one short sentence.

* This great naturalist and philosopher inscribed over the door of his lecture room at Upsal:

"Innocui vivite, Numen adest."

"O God, from whom all gifts descend, who sitteth in thick darkness, dispel all ignorance from the mind of man; deign to enlighten his soul, draw it to that eternal reason which serves as thy guide and support in the government of the world; so that, honoured with a portion of this light, we may, in our turn, be able to honour thee, by celebrating thy great works unceasingly in a hymn. This is the proper duty of man. For surely nothing can be more delightful to the inhabitants of the earth, than to celebrate that Divine Reason which presides over the world."

To such magnificent acknowledgments of a true God, by those whom we call heathens, we may add the beautiful creed of the great Pliny: "We must believe," says he, "that there exists an Eternal, Infinite, and Uncreated Divinity."

The light of day, however, begins to dawn upon this philosophic night; and there are many whose eyes begin to be opened, by the very excesses of hypothesis which have been promulgated by their scientific leaders. The great end of the study of geology ought to be, a *moral*, rather than a *scientific* one; the numerous practical and economical uses to be derived from it, should be, comparatively, subordinate, and would be fully gained in the course of the inquiry. The study carried on upon this principle in the present day, when science has made such rapid advances, as to have, as it were, shed a new light upon our benighted minds, would have the effect of settling our fluctuating opinions, which may have been shaken by the suggestions of a false philosophy. Let but a small portion of the brilliant talent be displayed on the science, viewed in this light, that has been expended and lost in hypothetical reasoning for the last half century, and we may confidently trust, that the coalition thus formed between *science and religion*, will bid defiance to the utmost efforts of infidelity and scepticism.*

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this work was completed, the "Principles of Geology," by Mr. Lyell, have appeared; a work of very great talent, and full of interesting research and information on the *secondary causes* in constant action upon the earth. This able writer has, however, taken, in some respects, a new line of theory, and is as desirous of accounting for the phenomena on the surface of the earth, without the aid of any unusual or preternatural convulsion, as other geologists have been to press into their service a constant repetition of deluges and disasters. He sets out upon the principle of Playfair, "that amid all the revolutions of the globe, the economy of nature has been uniform, and her laws are the only things that have resisted the general movement. The rivers and the rocks, the seas and the continents, have changed in all their parts; but the laws which direct those changes, and the rules to which they are subject, have remained invariably the same."—*Title Page.*

Thus we find, that while Cuvier inculcates the doctrine of numerous deluges, alternately of salt and of fresh water, Mr. Lyell endeavours to account for all things without the aid of any general deluge, though he considers local deluges as amongst the ordinary occurrences of nature, and producing violent local effects. The Mosaic deluge appears to be looked upon either as a fable, or as a less general catastrophe, than it is usually conceived to have been; and, as a supporter of the Mosaic account of it, it is probable that I shall be classed among those "*physico-theological writers*," who, in the early days of science, wrote, it is true, but little worthy of saving them from the contempt with which they are here treated.

As may easily be conceived of a theory wherein all things are to be accounted for by the slow and gradual march of natural secondary causes, Mr. Lyell's system requires an unlimited period of time for its completion; and in tracing the errors into which other philosophers have fallen, he thinks there can be no wonder if such should be the case, when *hundreds* of years are often reckoned instead of *thousands*, and thousands instead of *millions*. Mr. Lyell accounts for the elevation of mountain ridges, by successive up-heavings of volcanic force, small in degree, but of frequent repetition; and, having time at command, he finds no difficulty in this process.

But notwithstanding this theoretical argument in the "Principles of Geology," so distinctly opposed by so many facts in nature; and, with regard to at least *one deluge*, so totally opposed to history, and the traditions of all nations, Mr. Lyell has taken a very learned and extended view of *secondary causes* and of *secondary formations*. On the evidences to be derived from the fossil remains of quadrupeds, however, he has encountered the same difficulties as professor Buckland, without having succeeded in throwing any greater degree of light on the obscurities of that subject. His mode of accounting for the remains of elephants in the icebergs of the polar seas, and for the other tropical remains of animals and vegetables over the temperate and polar regions, proceeds upon the same principle, and is open to the same glaring objections as the theories of Dr. Buckland and baron Cuvier.

With regard, however, to the actual age of the world, and the actually short period during which secondary causes have been in action on the portions of the globe we now inhabit, we may safely refer the subject to the powerful evidence produced in such abundance, and with so much industry, by this author himself. I have had occasion in a note, in another part of this treatise, (see Chapter V.) to notice the startling facts produced by Mr. Lyell, with respect to the quantity of mud *daily imported into the sea by the single river, the Ganges:* it is there admitted by Mr. Lyell, that even at *the lowest estimate*, viz. *one part in a hundred, of mud*, in the waters of that river, there is imported *daily* into the Bay of Bengal, "a mass more than equal in weight and bulk to the great pyramid of Egypt."* It does not suit the theory of Mr. Lyell to admit the correctness of major Rennell's estimate, in which it is shown, with much clearness, that the *daily deposit of that single river*, in the flood season, instead of only *once*, is nearly equal to SEVENTY-FOUR times the weight of that gigantic monument. If we even divide the difference between these two authors, and admit the amount to be not more than *than from thirty to forty times the size of the pyramid per day*, and if we extend our view of a similar action *to all the rivers of the earth*, and then consider the comparative actual extent of the whole mass of secondary formations over the surface of the primitive globe, we shall at once perceive that such violent transporting powers, acting *for a million of years*, must have produced a mass of secondary formations, infinitely greater than what actually exists upon the earth, which may, probably, be considered as of not greater medium thickness than about one mile. But one million of years is not sufficient for those who advocate the view of the subject adopted by Mr. Lyell; no author of that school has ever yet been able to bound his views within any nameable period; and we may, with much truth, transpose their own animadversion, and consider it as not very wonderful if they find themselves involved in inextricable confusion and difficulty, when they calculate upon *thousands* of years, instead of *hundreds*, and *millions* instead of *thousands*.

CHAPTER I.

Our ideas of the real extent of objects on the Earth's Surface often erroneous.—True height of Mountains.—Depths of the Ocean.—Of Mines.—Of Volcanic Foci.—Eruptions of Mud containing Fish.—Volcanoes only in Secondary Formations.—True Scale on which to view the Earth.—Form of the Earth.—Newton's Demonstrations.—Gravity and Centrifugal Force.—False inferences drawn from Newton's Hypothesis.—True Primitive Creations.—Density of the Earth.—Reflections arising from the Subject.—The Days of Creation.

On entering on a subject so extensive as the consideration of the entire globe, and with the intention of first viewing it in a general way, before we proceed to the examination of its particular parts, our first object ought to be to attain the necessary elevation from whence this full and general view may be obtained.

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* It may be said of this, and of all other philosophical inquiries, as has been eloquently observed with regard to christianity. "It is delightful to have every doubt removed, by the positive proof of its truth; to feel that conviction of its certainty which infidelity can never impart to her votaries; and to perceive that assurance of the faith which is as superior in the hope which it communicates, as in the certainty on which it rests, to the cheerless and disquieting doubts of the unbelieving mind. Instead of being a mere prejudice of education, which may be easily shaken, belief, thus founded on reason, becomes fixed and immovable; and all the scoffing of the scorner, and speculations of the infidel, lie as lightly on the mind, or pass as imperceptibly over it, and make as little impression there, as the spray upon a rock."—*Keith's Evid. of Proph.* p. 4.

* Principles of Geology, vol. i. p. 284.

Man, in his little sphere of action, on a minute portion of its surface, finds his ideas so confined, that he is constantly misled by them, in forming conceptions of objects beyond common, every day observation. Thus, when traversing the stupendous Alpine regions of the earth, the mind of a stranger is overcome with the unusual appearances of things; and it is in such scenes that the geologist but too often forms erroneous notions of the "*fracture* and *ruin of the solid crust of the earth.*"[*] In like manner, an idea of *immensity* is attached to the *fathomless abysses* of the great deep, or to the *profound sources* of volcanic fires. These objects, however, great as as they may appear in the common scale of human comparison, almost vanish when the larger and more correct scale, on which the whole globe has been framed, is applied to them. The entire diameter of the earth is computed at about 8,000 miles. Now, the loftiest peak upon the earth's surface,[†] though it rises to the enormous elevation of upwards of *twenty-six thousand feet*, is but *five* such *miles* above the general surface of the ocean. In like manner, the greatest depths of the ocean sink into comparative insignificance, when this scale is applied to them. For although the actual measurement of these depths is, and ever must remain, beyond the reach of human art, yet we have the strongest reasons (almost amounting to certainty) for supposing, from analogy, that the form and surface of the bed of the sea have no greater variation from the general level than those of the surface of the dry land;[‡] and, consequently, that while there may be depths in the ocean extending to four or five miles, by far the greater portions of it, as of the dry land, do not vary more than from a few hundred feet to half a mile, from positive smoothness.[§]

The greatest depths that have ever been reached by actual soundings, have seldom exceeded one mile. Captain Parry, however, in latitude 57 degrees 4 minutes north, longitude 24 degrees 34 minutes west, and about one hundred leagues from any land, found no bottom with the deep sea clamms, and a line of 1020 fathoms, or one mile and 280 yards, being more than a quarter of a mile deeper than was reached by lord Mulgrave.

Mr. Scoresby sounded in latitude 75 degrees 50 minutes north, longitude 5 degrees 50 minutes west, with 1058 fathoms; and in latitude 76 degrees 30 minutes north, longitude 4 degrees 48 minutes west, with 1200 fathoms of line, or one mile and 640 yards, in neither instance finding the bottom. This last is, probably, the greatest depth of soundings ever attempted.

The deepest mines that man has yet been able to form, do not reach, in perpendicular depth, much beyond two hundred fathoms, or not more than about a quarter of a mile. M. Humboldt saw, in 1803, a mine, in Mexico, which was to be sunk to the great depth of 1685 feet, or 280 fathoms, and which was to require twelve years for its completion, which, however, appeared very doubtful.

In viewing even volcanic action on the same great scale by which we have measured the *mountains* and the *depths*, we cannot consider these awful phenomena of burning mountains as more than superficial *pustules* on the mere *skin* of the earth. It is now pretty generally understood, and acknowledged, that *water* is one of the most active agents in the production of volcanic fires; and when we consider the number of volcanoes in the interior of our continents, which have, to all appearance, become extinct from the want of that communication with the waters of the sea, which obviously must, at one time, have existed; and that almost all the active volcanoes now known are situated near the sea coast, and rarely, or never, far in the interior of large continents, we have very great reason to conclude, that the utmost depths of volcanic action are not much, if at all, greater than those we have found reason to assign to the ocean itself, that is, from *one* to *five* miles.

Catopaxi, in South America, is, perhaps, of all volcanic mountains, the most distant from the sea; and yet it is only 140 miles from the shores of the Pacific. This remarkable volcano, which is nearly 19,000 feet above the level of the sea, presents us with a very strong corroboration of what has been said, that *water* is the great agent in volcanic action; and that the deepest source of this activity is not greater than has been above supposed. This volcano, from time to time, throws up, not only great quantities of *mud*, but also innumerable *fish*. The almost extinct volcano of Imbarbara, has also frequently thrown up fish in such quantities as to cause putrid exhalations over the whole neighbouring country. The species of fish thus thrown up, is that called by the natives of Quito, *permadilla;* it is about four inches in length, and is almost the only fish found in the lakes and waters of Quito: but the great numbers occasionally thrown out, give us reason to suppose that there must be very considerable subterraneous lakes in the calcareous caverns of that country in which these fish are bred, and from which the volcanic action of these mountains so far from the sea, is supplied with the necessary quantity of water. In this case we are certain, that those lakes cannot be at any very great depth below the general surface of the country, as the fish could not exist deprived of atmospheric air.

According to Humboldt, the volcanoes of America scarcely ever threw out *lava*; but chiefly slag, ashes, pumice, and vast quantities of *water* and *slime*. We consequently never hear of *burnings* in the tremendous eruptions of Quito, but only of overflowings of slimy mud. During the great earthquake of the 4th of February, 1797, 40,000 human beings were destroyed by the water and mud that issued from the mountains. In the description of the mud volcanoes in the island of Trinidad, given by Dr. Furguson, in the Edinburgh Transactions, one of the party who was examining them picked up *a white sea shell* of the turbinated kind, in the act of being thrown out along with the mud; a very sufficient proof of a subterraneous communication with the sea.

It has been remarked, that no known volcano is seated in *granite*, nor is it found near any volcano, except in very low situations. The same may be said of primitive rocks in general. The volcanic formation of Iceland is, probably, the most extensive in the world, covering a space of, at least, 60,000 square miles; yet there is no appearance of primitive rock in the whole of that island, though the mountains reach an elevation of nearly 6000 feet above the sea. One eruption of Ætna covered a space of fifty leagues in circumference, and one hundred and twenty feet in thickness, with calcareous sand or dust; and as calcareous earth enters very sparingly into the composition of what are considered primitive rocks, though it forms a large proportion of the secondary, we have thus another strong reason for supposing that volcanoes are not very deeply seated in the earth.

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[*] "In the midst of such scenes, the geologist feels his mind invigorated; the magnitude of the appearances before him extinguishes all the little and contracted notions he may have formed in his closet; and he learns that it is only by visiting and studying these stupendous works, that he can form an adequate conception of the great relations of the crust of the globe, and of its mode of formation."—*Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Mineralogy.*

It has been well observed, that greatness is only a comparative quality. It is true, that Alpine scenery is well calculated to enlarge the mind, and to extinguish notions, formed on a more contracted view of the earth's surface. But even this enlarged view becomes contracted in its turn, unless the earth be viewed upon its own proper scale.

[†] Dhawalageri, in Asia. Mount Blanc is not quite three miles above the same level. On taking the mean height of twenty-nine of the greatest elevations in the Old World, it is found to be only one mile and three-quarters. The mean height of an equal number in the New World is nearly two miles above the level of the sea.

[‡] We find it a general rule, probably without any material exception, that where a country is low, and the shore flat, the neighbouring sea is shallow in about the same proportion. On the contrary, where a coast is mountainous, and the cliffs high and precipitous, there we find the sea of very considerable depth, and nearly of the same form under water as above. We have this point ably illustrated in the survey of the German Ocean, with sections of the depths, in six different lines, from the shores of Great Britain to those of Holland, Denmark, and Norway, by Mr. Stevenson, in 1820. We come to the same conclusion on a small, but generally correct scale, by considering any fresh-water lake, the shores of which present a variety of scenery. In all the Swiss lakes it is very striking; and in some, where the immediate shores are of great elevation, the bottom of the lake has not yet been found.

[§] In the course of some late experiments at sea, on board H. M. sloop Trinculo, captain Booth, by order of the lords of the admiralty, in order to find soundings at unusual depths, Mr. Massey made use of several newly invented machines for this purpose.

He sunk a copper globe, capable of sustaining great pressure, with a line of 840 fathoms. The globe was enclosed in a strong net of cord, and was fixed close on the line, at about 40 fathoms from the lead. Neither globe nor lead returned to the surface; the globe had exploded, by the high pressure, and the line appeared as if blown off by an air-gun. A second globe was sunk, with a greater weight, and the same quantity of line, and it was inclosed in a still stronger netting, made of log-line, and not fixed so close to the line as in the former trial. In this instance the lead returned without having reached the bottom; but the globe had exploded, and the net was blown to pieces. These experiments proved, to the satisfaction of Mr. Massey and captain Booth, the impossibility of counteracting the effects of high pressure offered at great depths in the sea.

The whole volcanic formation of which Vesuvius forms the focus, reposes upon the secondary lime stone, of which the Appenine range is there formed. Of this we have various direct proofs, the most remarkable of which is the frequent projection of calcareous bodies from the crater, either in an unaltered, or in a modified state. When we connect this fact with the probable, and almost obvious communication with the waters of the neighbouring sea, we cannot but consider it as highly probable that the focus of this volcano is at a depth below the surface of the land, not much, if at all, greater than the thickness of the secondary strata, or the depth of the adjoining sea.

When we have thus reduced to their true and proper scale those objects on the earth's surface which we consider *greatest;* and when we further consider that the theories of philosophy on the formation of the *whole* earth, are formed on a view of the minute portions of its diameter to which we have access, these portions, not being more than, at the very utmost, *five miles in height*, and, by analogy, *five in depth*, out of 8000 *miles;* how trifling does the theorist appear with his cabinets of minerals on which his theories are founded. Let him cast his mind's eye along the diameter of a section of the globe, and say if he is justified in forming theories of the *mode of first formations* on so slight a view of its mere surface.*

Having thus corrected any false notions we may have formed, as to the comparative extent of objects within our view; and having thus attained the proper elevation from whence we may consider and study the globe *as a whole*, let us now proceed to an attentive and *unprejudiced* consideration of it, from the earliest times of which we have any record, and examine whether that record is *contradicted*, or *corroborated* by the appearances we may discover.

We find, then, that the most remote history opens with the assertion, that, "in the beginning God *created* the heaven and the earth; but the earth was *invisible* and *unfurnished*, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

I shall here adopt the corrected translation of the Mosaic record, from the numerous authorities, and unanswerable arguments brought forward by Mr. Granville Penn, in his admirable work, entitled, the "*Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies.*" That estimable writer has proved, in the most satisfactory manner, that the *tohu vabohu* of the Hebrew text, the '*without form and void*' of our translation, was uniformly translated, both by the Septuagint, and by the Jewish and Christian churches, for 600 years subsequent to the Septuagint translation by the terms *invisible*, (from being covered with the waters) and *unfurnished*, from having, as yet, no vegetation.†

It is one of the great triumphs of human intellect, that the globular form of the earth is proved to demonstration; and to this has been added, by the immortal Newton, the certain knowledge of that remarkable fact, that the globe is slightly flattened at the poles, and may, therefore, be termed rather an *obtuse spheroid*, than a *perfect sphere.*

This great and wise man, in considering the nature and origin of all things, has said, "it appears probable to me, that God, in the beginning, formed matter, in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, and movable particles, of such sizes and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportions to space, *as most conduced to the end for which he formed them.*

"All material things seemed to have been composed of the hard and solid particles above-mentioned, *variously associated in the first creation by the counsels of an intelligent agent.* For, it became him, who *created* them, to *set them in order;* and if he did so, *it is unphilosophical to seek for any other origin of this world*, or to pretend that it might rise out of *chaos* by the mere laws of nature; though, being once formed, it may continue by these laws for many ages."*

"When Newton had remarked, that the planets present to the sight figures of *obtuse spheroids*, and not of *perfect spheres;* when he had reflected upon the *nature* and *properties* of that particular figure, and had contemplated those orbs, as subjected in their revolutions to the opposing actions of *gravity* and *centrifugal force*, his penetrating mind at length discovered, that the *rule of harmony and equilibrium* between these two contending powers was only to be found in the figure of an *obtuse spheroid.*

"In order to render this fact plain to the understanding of others, he imagined this *hypothetical illustration. If*," said he, "the earth were formed of an uniformly yielding substance; and *if* it were to become deprived of its motion," the law of *attraction* or *gravity*, acting equally, and without resistance, from all points of its surface, towards its centre, would cause that yielding substance to settle into the figure of a *perfect sphere.* But *if* it were then to receive a *transverse* impulse, causing it to revolve upon its axis, this new impulse would cause a *centrifugal* force, counteracting the force of gravity, by urging the particles, composing the yielding substance, *from the centre towards the circumference;* and thus would produce an alteration in the figure of the sphere. For this new force would tend to *elevate* the surface, and would have most power at the *equator*, and least at the *poles;* whereas, the opposite force of gravity would tend to *depress* the surface, and would have *most* power at the poles, and *least* at the equator. The result of this *inequality* of gravitation must necessarily be, that the original *sphere*, becoming elevated at the equator, but not at the poles, and the power by which this elevation was occasioned gradually diminishing from the equator to the poles, the figure would be eventually changed into that of an obtuse spheroid.

"It being thus shown that such would be the necessary result of the compound power of gravity, and centrifugal force, it followed, that those two antagonist forces, acting at the same time in the earth, (SUPPOSING *it to have been formed of an uniformly yielding substance*,) would have worked themselves into *harmony* and *equilibrium*, by assuming that figure, which they would thenceforth maintain. Whereas, if we suppose the case of a *true sphere*, which should consist of a *solid* and *resisting* substance, the two opposing forces would act in perpetual and violent discord, with a constant tendency to *disunite* and rend the texture of the fabric. Now Newton having maintained, that God, in the beginning, formed all material things, of such *figures* and properties as most conduced to the *end* for which he formed them; and having demonstrated that the property of an *obtuse spheroid* was that which most conduced to the *end* for which God formed the earth, viz. to revolve with regularity, and with perfect *harmony* in all its parts; he left it to the capacity of every one to draw the obvious inference, in conformity with his known principles, viz. that it is highly probable that God has formed the earth with the same figure, which it is manifest he has given to the other planets, and for which an *adequate reason* is thus rendered plain to the intelligence: and he confirmed this argument of *probability* by adding the positive fact, that unless the earth actually was flatter at the poles than at the equator, the waters of the ocean constantly rising towards the latter, must long since have deluged and overwhelmed the equatorial regions, and have deserted the polar; whereas the waters are now retained in equilibrio over the whole surface of the globe."†

Maclaurin, in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy,‡ thus draws his inference from the above clear and beautiful demonstration:—

"What we have said of a FLUID *earth* must hold good of the earth *as it is;* for if it had not this figure in its solid parts, but a *spherical* figure, the ocean would overflow all the equatorial regions, and leave the polar regions elevated many miles above the level of the sea; whereas we find that one is not more elevated above that level than the other."

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* It is not, perhaps, surprising, that the general views of mankind are, on such subjects, so very confined; for the globe itself is as much too large as the best artificial globes are too small for general use.

In order to obviate, in some degree, both objections, I have occasionally formed a section of the earth upon a flat sandy beach, upon the scale of one inch to a mile; and I have found that such a scale materially assists the mind, in correcting false judgments on this extensive subject. We have thus a circle of 8,000 inches in diameter, or of 222 yards, which, when marked out with small stakes, upon a smooth surface, appears an immense area. Placing ourselves upon any part of this circumference, we have an opportunity of taking a just, though microscopic view of things as they are. The very highest mountain is, then, fully represented by five inches! the greatest depth of the ocean by the same little span! while we cannot calculate upon more than one inch as the medium variety of sea and land over the whole of this vast surface! In order to form an idea of smaller objects, we must examine an inch scale, finely graduated, and that, too, by the aid of a microscope; and we shall thus find, that man would occupy about the 880th part of an inch in his proudest stature, or about the size of the smallest animalcula observed in fluids!

† Comp. Estim., vol. i. p. 173.

I must here acknowledge the very important services that have been rendered to science by this most able writer, who is the first that has clearly exhibited some of the most important, but obscure, truths of Scripture, in connection with physical facts, open to our examination. It is only to be regretted, that the necessarily controversial character of the comparative estimate, renders it a work more suited to the mind of the learned than of the general reader.

* Optics, Lib. 3.

† Com. Estim. vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Page 364.

The *supposed* figure of a globe of an *yielding substance*, made use of by Newton, merely to explain the effects of the two great forces which are constantly in action upon the earth, has been construed, by the continental philosophy, into an argument in favour of the *actual primitive fluidity of the globe in a chaotic state;*[*] and thence it has argued, that that particular form which was given to all the revolving heavenly bodies, by the great wisdom of the Creator, to obviate the effects of two contending powers, was *assumed by the globe itself while in a fluid state, by the mere laws of nature.*[†]

Nothing, however, could be further from the ideas of Newton, who had previously stated his belief, that "*as God had formed matter with such figure and proportions, as most conduced to the end for which he formed it;* and as the *end*, in this instance, was *regularity* and *harmony*, it was *unphilosophical* to seek for any other origin, either for the *substance*, or the *shape* of the globe; or to pretend, that it could have risen out of a *chaos* by the mere laws of nature."

From the announcement, then, of the sacred record, that "in the beginning, God *created* the earth;" and from the preceding considerations, from the great mind of Newton, on the subject of this announcement, we are to conclude, that, "in the beginning" our globe was of the same solid, spheroidal figure, we now find it to be; and, consequently, that granite, and all other rocks, which do not bear the stamp of subsequent formation from the effects of those laws, commonly called of *nature*, but in reality those of *God*, and to which the earth, and all things upon its surface, have been subjected since the first creation, are to be considered as primitive *creations;* and, also, that the elastic fluid, forming the *firmament* or *atmosphere*, and the *waters*, which were at first spread over the whole surface, but were afterwards collected "into one place," at the command of the Almighty, are to be included in our minds as *primitive creations.*

It appears strange, that the consideration of *air* and *water*, (we may, perhaps, also, include *fire*,) has been hitherto omitted by those philosophers who have formed theories on the *chaotic* formation of the earth. In those theories we hear of nothing but the formation of *rocks* by *natural* or *secondary* causes; and though, by some, *fire* was considered the chief agent in these formations, and by others, *water*, we have no account given, or attempted, of how these two important elements first came into existence. Thus, in the systems of the chaotic philosophy, out of the four elements of which the system of our globe is composed, three remain utterly unaccounted for; and we may justly add, that the origin of the *primitive elements*, from which the fourth is supposed, in those theories, to have arisen, is equally concealed from the reason and understanding.

Some philosophers, undeterred by the apparent impossibility of any satisfactory result, have attempted to ascertain the *mean density* of the earth. This problem only admits of an approximated solution, derived from the principles of universal gravitation. For our actual view of the interior of the earth does not extend, as has been before said, to more than *one-sixteenth thousandth part of the whole.* The calculations of Dr. Maskelyne, from observations on the attraction of the mountain, called Schehalien, in Perthshire, followed up by Hutton, Playfair, and Cavendish, lead us to the same conclusions, which, *a priori*, we should have expected; viz. that the central parts of the earth abound with some species of heavy and solid matter; and as our inquiries, with regard to the *surface* of the globe, are in no way affected by the question of its interior structure, which will probably remain forever unknown to us; and as the above result is in no way contradictory, either to our *reason*, or to *history*, we may safely assume the *internal solidity* of the earth, as a fact, until stronger reasons are adduced in opposition to it.[‡]

We have, then, presented to the mind, on the first day of the creation, and *created* out of *nothing*, by the incomprehensible power of the Almighty, a *solid mineral globe*, with its surface *invisible*, (from being covered with a thin coating of water, and there being as yet no light, for "darkness was upon the face of the deep.") And here, it is not without effort, that the mind is restrained within the limits to which our present inquiries must be confined. For when we consider that this great globe is but a small member of a stupendous *system;* and that even *that system* is lost in the immensity of other systems throughout boundless space, the apparent similarity of all which suggests the probability of each revolving sphere being destined to the same ends as our own;[*] the mind is overwhelmed with the extent of the prospect, and with our own incomparative insignificance, which would almost induce a doubt of the reality of those numerous blessings which we feel have been conferred upon us by our Maker. There is, indeed, nothing that so completely overwhelms the finite mind of man, as the discoveries which his genius and his reason have enabled him to make in astronomy; by which he finds, that, great as our solar system is, the immensity of space is filled with such systems, each moving in its own sphere, and all retained, in the most wonderful regularity and order, by the laws to which the Creator has submitted them. When we raise our thoughts, from our own little planet, to the contemplation of so boundless a creation, it is not without the utmost effort of the mind that we can connect *time*, and more especially a *short time*, with such immensity. But we must keep in mind, while dwelling on such subjects, that man's most erroneous notions *of creation*, arise from the necessity he experiences of connecting *length of time*, with *extent*, or *difficulty of operation in his own finite labours.* We must not forget that most of our great astronomical discoveries have been founded on our own earth, and its single satellite, as a base: and if, in the study of this earth, we find it revealed to us in the most unequivocal manner by history, and corroborated by physical facts, that our planet has not existed more than what *may appear to us* infinitely too short a time for the formation of so great and so perfect a body, we have no power to limit this discovery to an individual member of the solar system; we must extend it *to the whole*, upon the same principle of analogy on which so many astronomical discoveries have been *suggested*, and subsequently *demonstrated* to be true; our reason must bend, with whatever difficulty, to so conclusive a corollary. But this is a field much too wide for our finite comprehensions. We cannot proceed far on such inquiries as the present, without the conviction being pressed upon us, that "the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts." We feel the necessity of curbing our curiosity respecting the state of *other* planets, and of *other* systems; and we must be satisfied and thankful for the merciful dispensations it has pleased the Almighty to bestow so abundantly upon our own.

We must feel satisfied, however, from what history announces, and our reason corroborates, that not only our own earth, but the whole of our solar system, started into being at the same instant, and by the same incomprehensible and Almighty power; and that the laws by which the revolutions of the various members of our system are regulated and preserved, were enacted on this, the first day of the creation; when, though the sun had not yet actually *shone forth*, it yet produced the effect of light, and of the "*evening* and the *morning*," which "were the first day."

It is here scarcely necessary for us to dwell upon that most remarkable part of the first day's creation, the fiat that *light should appear*, as it has no very intimate connexion with the geology of the earth, and has been most justly admired by all who are capable of reading, or expounding the sacred volume. The remark, however, ought not to be omitted, that the distinct mention of the *evening* and the *morning*, forming each particular day, has always proved an insurmountable difficulty in the theories of a chaotic philosophy, which, in acknowledging the *days* of Scripture, though it assigns to them a much longer period of time than *one revolution of the earth on its axis*, has yet been unable to give any reasonable explanation of the terms *evening*, and *morning*, as forming one day.[†] The idea of assigning *unlimited periods* to the

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[*] De Luc. Lett. Geol. p. 81.

[†] "The spheroidal figure of the earth, its crystalline and stratified structure, and its numerous petrifactions, are proofs of its original fluidity. The fluidity, according to Werner, was aqueous; and he conjectures that the various rocks were originally suspended or dissolved in water, and gradually deposited from it."—*Edin. Encyclop. Mineralogy*, p. 408.

It has been already shown, that this Wernerian theory of primitive formations is entirely at variance with these very laws of nature, to the agency of which alone these formations were attributed.—(*See page* 17.)

[‡] The terms so commonly used in geological writings, the *crust* of the earth, is but too well adapted to mislead the mind as to the true nature of the globe, which, as far as we know, or can understand, is solid throughout. The above term would seem to imply a mere outer shell, covering a hollow interior. Of the many false or problematical ideas of men, there is, perhaps, none more common or unfounded than that which attributes to the globe a hollow interior.

[*] We may say of the universe, what Pascal has so beautifully expressed of the immensity of God: "C'est un cercle infini, donc le centre est partout, et la circonference nulle part."

[†] There is a very general traditionary notion amongst all nations,

days of creation, as recorded by Moses, has only arisen from the necessity of a longer period than 24 hours for the completion of so great a *chemical process* as the *supposed* production of the earth from *chaos*. But if first formations were not the consequence of a chemical process, which Newton considered most unphilosophical, and which our reason, and common sense most decidedly condemns, then the extension of the period *demanded* for their production becomes unnecessary.

It may here be objected, that if an Almighty power were able to create the universe in a *perfect state*, why should the work have occupied a period of six days? Why should not all things have started into being, as light is described to have done, *instantaneously?* The only answer that can be made to such objections, is simply, *that it was the will of God*, who, in his wisdom, appears to have had, in this, an ulterior *moral* view for the good of mankind, and for the commemoration of his own power and glory by his creatures. *Time* has accordingly been, by his express command, subdivided into *six* days of labour, and *one* of rest: and so much of the divine wisdom may be traced in this arrangement, that it has been generally admitted by the wisest men who have considered the subject, that no human ingenuity could improve upon it.

There is also a strong argument to be found in the divine command which establishes the hebdomadal division of time, against the theories which demand an extension for the *days* of the creation:—"Six *days* shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but in the seventh *day* thou shall do no work; for in six *days* the Lord made *heaven* and *earth*, the *sea*, *and all that therein is*, and rested the seventh *day;* therefore remember this seventh *day*, to keep it holy." In this commandment the *days of creation*, and *working days of twenty-four hours*, are so completely identified in the sense and construction, that nothing but *that species of force*, so often resorted to by philosophy, in support of a week, but favourite theory, can separate them.

Now, a *creation* by an Almighty power may as easily be the work of one moment, as of a thousand years; and though the laws of *chemistry* are now found to produce crystals, under the hands of the chemist, the great mind, even of a Davy, has never yet produced either a *vegetable* or an *animal* formation; and there is, consequently, no ground for this demand for *time*, with respect to any of the Mosaic days on which *these* creations were first called into being. But we have no reason to suppose that there was any *variation* in the length of the Mosaical days, which are each defined in a manner so similar and distinct. We can, therefore, come to no other conclusion, than that the Mosaical days were such periods of 24 hours, as have ever since continued in succession, and will continue till "*time shall be no more.*"

CHAPTER II.

The Second Day of the Creation.—The Firmament, or Atmosphere.—Atmospheric Phenomena.—Magnetism, and Electricity.

We now come to the consideration of the second day of the creation, in which it pleased the Almighty to create, and set in order, the firmament, or atmosphere, by which the whole globe was to be surrounded.

"And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters; and let it divide the waters from the waters: and God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament," (or upon the earth,) "from the waters which were above the firmament," (or in the clouds,) "and it was so."

It were as vain to inquire into the *mode* of the creation of the *atmospheric firmament*, or *firm support*, by which the whole globe is embraced, and, in a manner, *hermetically sealed*, as into that of *granite*, or of *water*. We have, therefore, nothing left us, but to receive the fact as recorded, as this is a part of our earth to which the principles of *crystallization* will not apply, and which the chaotic philosophy has not yet accounted for by *secondary causes*. It may be permitted to us, however, to form some idea of the state of the new earth at the termination of the "first day," and of the effects produced by the fiat of the second. We have already arrived at the conclusion, that as the "evening and the morning" had formed the "first day," the sun was already created, although nothing more than its *effects of light* had yet appeared. The power of the sun must now, however, have begun to act by those laws, by which it has ever since been regulated; and this power, acting upon the earth, with its watery envelope, must have produced the effect of a thick fog, which was now to be *evaporated*, and raised high into the new atmosphere, thus dividing "the waters which were under the firmament" from the aqueous vapours which were, from hence forward, to be suspended "above," (or in the higher parts of) "the firmament."

Although the consideration of the atmosphere does not, strictly speaking, come within the scope of a geological inquiry, yet it may not be altogether irrelevant to our subject to make a few observations, in this place, upon this highly important portion of creation, by the action of which the decomposition of a portion of the earth is continually proceeding, and, consequently, the materials for secondary formations are as constantly being produced.

The atmosphere, or firmament, is that elastic fluid which surrounds the earth, and encloses it on all sides. This fluid, so little understood by the ancients, has occupied much of the attention of modern philosophers, and has given birth to some of the most remarkable discoveries of modern science. Its *weight* was first ascertained by Galileo, and applied by Torricelli to explain the rise of water in pumps, and of mercury in the barometer. Its *elasticity* was accurately determined by Boyle; and the effects produced upon it, by heat and moisture, have been explained by Halley and Newton. That atmospheric air is a *heavy*, *compressible*, and *elastic* substance, has been proved by many simple and direct experiments; and, in consequence of its *weight*, the portion of it nearest the earth is compressed by the whole of the superincumbent mass, and it is thus much more dense in the lower, than in the upper regions.

The air, in the higher regions, therefore, must be extremely rare, from its elastic nature not being opposed by any pressure from above; and, in this state, it becomes gradually unfitted for the support of animal life, as has been painfully experienced by those adventurous travellers who have ascended the highest mountains. Some attempts have been made to calculate the height above the earth to which the atmosphere extends. If the density of air were uniform, it would be easy to ascertain this point, by means of the data placed within our reach, by the discovery of the barometer; and, upon this supposition, the height of the atmosphere would be found to be a little more than five miles. But as this is not the case, and as the air gradually diminishes in density, its utmost height must be much greater. From observations which have been made on the duration of the *twilight*, or reflected light which we enjoy from the sun, after that luminary has itself disappeared, and before he again rises, the atmosphere has been calculated to extend to about thirty-six miles above the surface of the earth; and it is even probable that it exceeds that elevation, which, though it appears great to us, is, in fact, not so, when compared with the diameter of the whole globe; and not more in proportion, than a few coats of varnish on a common artificial globe.

The atmosphere, then, is like a thin transparent veil around the earth, which multiplies and propagates the light of the sun, by an infinity of reflections; and it is by means of these that we enjoy day-light before the sun has risen, and after he has set. If the atmosphere did not exist, each point upon the earth's surface would only receive the light from the rays which fell upon it, direct from the sun. Wherever the sun did not actually *shine*, complete darkness would reign. On the tops of the highest mountains, it has been observed, that the sun's rays are so little reflected, that, when placed in the shade, one can see the stars at noon-day; and what appears *blue sky*, in the lower regions, seems there almost *black*.

It is upon the same principle of reflection of the rays of the sun, in our atmosphere, that we, and other inhabitants of the temperate and high latitudes, enjoy more of twilight, both in the evening and morning, than the inhabitants of tropical countries, where, as soon as the sun has set, and until he again rises, there is almost total darkness, except from the light of the moon and stars. Our longer twilight arises

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that darkness preceded light. In Otaheite, the natives consider that darkness was the origin of all things.

Aristotle says, "the theologians argue that all things sprung from darkness: philosophers say that all things were mingled together."—*Metaph. l.* 14. *c.* 6.

"As darkness preceded light, so the night of the Hebrew computation always preceded the day; thus in a manner perpetuating a commemoration of the transactions of the first day of the creation."—*Comparative Estimate.*

from the inclined position of the earth's axis, from which position the sun's rays not falling so vertically, as in tropical regions, pass through the atmosphere in a slanting direction, and, consequently, through a longer extent of air, and with a greater variety of reflections, thus producing light long after the sun has set, and before he has risen.

It is within the range of this firmament, that all the meteoric phenomena, in constant action around us, are generated. Rain, dew, hail, and snow, are all occasioned by moisture imbibed by the atmosphere, from the evaporation of the liquid portions of the earth's surface, and acted upon by various degrees of heat from the sun.

The winds, in all their various degrees, from the gentle zephyr to the raging storm, are all produced by the action of *heat* upon this elastic fluid: and when we consider that the mineral surface of the earth is constantly and violently acted upon by the circulation thus kept up by means of the atmosphere, we can have no difficulty in understanding how materially it must effect geological *secondary formations*.

Amongst the latest discoveries of science connected with the phenomena of this vital element, is the very intimate connexion now found to exist between *magnetism* and *electricity*. There is, perhaps, nothing in the whole range of natural phenomena which has excited more the admiration of mankind, and, at the same time, been obscured with more complete darkness than the principle of magnetism; and it may be considered as a distinct proof of the difficulty of the subject, to observe, that few have even been the theories produced in order to account for it. A ray of light has now, however, been shed upon the subject, by the discovery of a few remarkable facts; and it is probable that in a few years more the active mind of man may overcome this hitherto insuperable problem.[*]

On the second day, then, of the creation, this most vital part of the earth's system was ordained, and submitted to those laws which have ever since continued in action. The moisture exhaled from the newly created *waters*, by the newly created *sun*, was elevated from the surface of the globe, still hid under its watery covering, and was suspended in the higher regions of the firmament, to descend upon the future dry land in fruitful showers.

The sun itself, however, was not yet made to appear through the clouds, although its light again produced a second morning, which, with its preceding evening, formed "*the second day.*"

CHAPTER III.

The gathering together of the Waters.—The Sublimity of this Fiat of the Creator not sufficiently understood.—The Transition Rocks.

We now come to the consideration of the events which took place on the third day of the creation, viz. "the gathering together of the waters unto one place," and the consequent appearance of the "dry land."

"And God said, let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so."

And this great fiat of the Almighty was to produce the first great geological secondary formations which we find upon the earth's surface; and as the laws which were, in the course of time, to give rise to all the other secondary formations, were from this time forth to come into action, it will be necessary for us to give our utmost attention to the consideration of this great change upon the surface of the earth.

We have before remarked, that, during the first and second days of the creation, the earth must have presented to the view (had any human eye existed to look upon it,) a solid globe of spheroidal form, covered with a thin coat of aqueous fluid, and already revolving on its axis as a member of the solar system. We are fully authorized in coming to this latter conclusion, from the distinct mention made in the record, of the *days*, comprising, like our present days, the *evening* and the *morning*, with the darkness and the light following each other in regular succession. The sun, it is true, had not yet been made visibly to appear, or to shine through the, as yet, cloudy atmosphere; nor had the moon yet become visible, from an additional, and yet more interesting and remarkable reason, which of itself, ought to be looked upon as confirmative of this view; and that is, that supposing her to have been placed on the first day of the creation, (when we are to conclude that the whole solar system started into being,) in the relative situation as to the sun and the earth, which she has ever since held at that period of her course when we give her the title of a NEW *moon*, it was not *possible* she could have been seen from the earth "until the *third* evening of her revolution, according to *our* computation, which exactly answers to the *fourth* evening of the Mosaical days; our computation connecting the evening with the *preceding* day-light, but the Mosaical computation with the *succeeding* day-light:"[*] and on this very day, accordingly, and not till then, she was made to appear at sun-set, to rule, or lead on the night, as the sun was ordained to rule and conduct the day.

It was now the will of the Creator that the earth should no longer be "*invisible*" under its watery covering; and, accordingly, the command was given, that "the waters should be gathered together unto one place," that the "dry land" might appear. In considering this great event, it becomes a natural and fair question, as it has been left open to us by the record, as to *the mode* or means by which it must have taken place. The well-poised earth had already begun to revolve upon its axis; and the laws of gravitation and of fluids had consequently began to act in our system. By these laws, it was impossible that the waters could have been gathered together by accumulation, or above the general level, as the *solids* of the earth might have been. We can, therefore, come to no other conclusion than that to which we are also led by various parts of the inspired writings, viz. that God did "rend the depths by his intelligence," and formed a depression, or hollow, on a part of the solid globe, within which, by the appointed laws of fluids, the "depths" were "gathered together."

And here we should naturally feel disposed, if the inquiry could be expected to lead to any satisfactory result, to inquire how a hollow *could* be formed in so solid a mass as we must conceive the primitive earth to have been. But, in this inquiry, we should be adopting that very hypothetical reasoning which has so often led to error, and which we have already found such reason to condemn. The record is *distinct;* the *fact* of water requiring a *hollow bed* is *undeniable*. The means of forming that bed, we may safely refer to the hands of him who could *create* the ocean himself which it was to contain.[†] It were equally vain and futile to enter here upon the disputed points respecting the *solidity* or the *hollow nature* of the globe; because, when we apply to this bed of the ocean the true and proper scale by which we have already examined other parts of the earth's surface, we shall find the depression necessary for containing the whole waters of the earth, so very trifling compared with the globe itself, as not in any way to be affected by either side of such arguments; for we have found reason to conclude[‡] that the very *deepest* abysses of the ocean are not more than from four to five miles below the level of its surface; and that the *mean* depth over the whole sea cannot be considered more than from a *few hundred feet* to *half a mile.*

In considering, then, such comparatively diminutive depressions upon the earth's surface, it is by no means necessary either to imagine the "vast disruption and depression of the solid frame-work of the globe;" or to enter upon the question as to the *solid* or *cavous* state of the 7990 *miles* of its diameter, which must for ever remain concealed from our view.

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[*] A most remarkable accident, which occurred on the 13th of April, 1832, has served to throw some light on the intimate connexion between electricity and magnetism. A gentleman and lady, whilst travelling in Worcestershire, on the hind box of their own carriage, were overtaken by a violent thunder-storm, and both were struck by the electric fluid so violently, that their lives were in great danger for some weeks afterwards. A minute and most interesting account of this accident and its effects, is given in the "London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine," for September, 1832. It is only necessary here to allude to these effects on the steel and iron work through which the electric fluid had passed in its course. It was found to have communicated a highly magnetic power to all these articles. The balance-wheel of the gentleman's watch was, amongst others, so highly magnetized, that it has since been mounted as a compass.

In further illustation of this most interesting subject, it has lately been discovered that a vivid spark of fire is produced on the sudden removal of a steel point from a powerful magnet. This effect is now exhibited in London, in the National Gallery of Science in the Strand.

[*] Comp. Estim. vol. i. p. 230.

[†] "He spake the word, and they were made: He commanded, and they were created.

"He hath made them fast for ever and ever: He hath given them a law which shall not be broken."—*Psalm* cxlviii.

[‡] See chap. i. p. 56.

The following beautiful reflections on this part of our subject are from the enlightened mind of Mr. Granville Penn, who may, indeed, be called the first great advocate for the Mosaic Geology, amongst the men of science of our day. "The briefness of this clause (Genesis i. 9,) and the nature of the subject, have caused it to be little contemplated in proportion to its importance, and to the fulness of the instruction which it conveys; and, therefore, it has not been observed that the same sublimity which is universally perceived in the clause, 'Let there be light, and there *was* light,' subsists eqally in this clause; 'Let the waters be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land be seen, and it was so.' The sentiment of sublimity in the former clause, results from the contemplation of an instantaneous transition of the universe from the profoundest darkness to the most splendid light, at the command of God. All men familiarly apprehend the *sadness* of the *former*, and the *delight* of the *latter;* and they are, therefore, instantly sensible of the glorious nature of the change which was then so suddenly produced. But the nature of the change which must necessarily have taken place, in *suddenly rendering visible* a part of a solid gloeb. the universal surface of which had been overflowed and concealed by a flood of waters, is not so familiarly or so instantly apprehended; the mind, therefore, does not care to dwell upon it, but is contented with receiving the general information *that the sea was formed.* Hence, both commentators and geologists have equally failed to draw the immediate and necessary inference from the revelation of *that great and undeniable geological fact.*"[*]

There is, besides, this further reason for our regarding the creation of light with more wonder and admiration than that of the "gathering together of the waters;" that however great and stupendous the latter operation must have been, it comes more easily within the scope of our intelligence than the former. We can imagine to ourselves secondary causes which could produce hollows in the surface of the earth, but the creation of light is far beyond the reach of our finite understandings. Although we can study its *effects*, and although science has made many brilliant discoveries with regard to these effects, yet we can in no way comprehend its *origin.* Its nature is beyond our reach: its *creation*, therefore, excites our admiration, in proportion to the difficulty we feel in comprehending it; but we are not, on this account, to form an erroneous estimate of the great operation which we are now to consider; for the formation of a *bed* for the ocean could be the work of that intelligence alone, which was able, at the first, to *create* that ocean.

This depression, small as it proves to be, compared with the diameter of the whole earth, was sufficiently deep and extensive to cause vast changes in the structure of a great part of the surface of the globe. In whatever *mode* the bed of the ocean was sunk, it is quite certain that the shores of the newly gathered waters must have been left in a rough, broken, and precipitous state. The descending portion of the solid earth, which was to form the bottom of the new sea, must have been subjected to extensive fracture and derangement, and must instantly have been acted upon by that continual movement, and circulation, which were then decreed, and have ever since been kept up, in the great body of the waters.[†] The *tides*, and the *currents*, these unceasing agents, would then commence their unwearied labours; and the immense *debris* of primitive rocks, would, by constant movement and friction, be reduced to the various stages in which they are now often found. From that day forth, the vapours exhaled from the waters by the heat of the sun, were to be converted into the various meteoric phenomena with which the firmament is charged. The clouds were to descend upon the now "dry land;" the rills, the brooks, the rivers, were now to begin their never ending courses, each charged with its load of moveable particles, destined to be deposited in the bed of the new sea. The sands, and gravels of the new shores, would then be unmixed with those various secondary, or shelly substances, we now find amongst them in such abundance. Their appearance would then be altogether *crystalline* and *primitive;* and the first strata arranged by the ocean on the granitic surface of the sea's bed, would naturally be formed of such substances, and without any vestige of animal bodies which had not then been created; and which, though soon afterwards "brought forth abundantly," could not, for a long time, have left their shelly remains in the abundance we have reason to know they subsequently did.[*]

If an opportunity, therefore, were given us for the examination, we should expect to find various strata composed of broken masses of primitive rocks, reposing upon these same rocks in their solid and unbroken condition. The opportunity *has* been placed within our reach, and *we do find* such strata as were to be anticipated, and to which, even the chaotic geology has given the name of *transition* or *fragmentary* formations; a name evidently suggested by their appearance and composition.

It is not my intention, in this place, to proceed with the consideration of the three last days of the creation, as recorded in the Mosaic history, because they do not present the same grounds for geological inquiry which are to be found in the operations of the first three days, which we have now been considering. We have seen that the *creation* of the primitive portions of the earth, that is, of *rock*, of *water*, and of the *aerial atmosphere* surrounding both, could have been effected only by the fiat of the Almighty architect of the universe. We have found no reason to cast a shadow of doubt upon the Mosaic record, where it informs us that the various parts of creation were produced in six separate and distinct days, which, from their *evenings*, and their *mornings*, must have each comprised *one* revolution of the globe upon its axis. On the contrary, we have seen, that the very remarkable coincidence of the first *visible appearance* of the moon, at the very time alone when she *could* have been first seen from the earth, (viz. on the third evening of her revolution,) affords us the strongest corroborative evidence of the truth of that part of the record. Since we have found reason to conclude, that, at the end of the third day, all those laws by which the earth was afterwards to be governed (excepting those of animated beings which had not yet been created,) had begun to act; that the various influences of the sun, and of the moon, were from this time forth to be in force; it now remains for us to proceed to the consideration of these laws, and of these influential causes; and to endeavour to discover whether they are not sufficient to produce many of the secondary appearances, so general over the whole surface of the earth.

CHAPTER IV.

Constant Changes in Nature.—Origin of Secondary Formations.—Primitive Soils, for the Nourishment of a Primitive Vegetation.—Constant Circulation in the Fluids of the Earth.—Springs, Brooks, and Rivers.—The Tides.—Their Cause Explained.—The Currents of the Ocean, and their present existing System.—Effects naturally arising from these powerful Causes.

Taken in a general sense, we may, perhaps not unaptly, liken our earth, surrounded with its atmosphere, to the various contents of a vessel hermetically sealed up, and kept in constant agitation. This continued movement would cause a constant change in the relative situation of every part of its contents. But the exact *number*, or *quantity*, would for ever remain the same. No extraneous substance could find admittance; no particle from within, could escape. Thus every created atom now contained within our atmosphere must have been so, under some form or other, "in the beginning."

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[*] Comp. Estim., vol. i. p. 212.

[†] "The transition rocks include a considerable variety of earthy substances; but they are generally composed of the primitive rocks, reduced to a state of disintegration, apparently by a mechanical cause, and afterwards re-united into conglomerate masses, by some kind of cement, of an argillaceous or calcareous nature."—*Edin. Encyclop. Physical Geography*, p. 488.

[*] "No fossil remains have ever been found in what are termed the oldest formations. In the transition rocks," (the formation of some of which we are above considering,) "where they first occur, they are but very rare; yet in the newer" (or upper) "transition rocks they increase considerably in quantity. In the flœtz formations they continue increasing in quantity to the newer formations."—*Edin. Encyclop. Mineralogy*, p. 409.

In considering the fossil remains of shell fish, which are by far the most abundant of all fossils, we must remember that the accumulation of their shelly remains would be progressive. Those of the first generation, for instance, would exist through many generations of living fish; and at the end of a hundred generations, we should find nearly all the shells of these generations, though the numbers of living creatures were not increased from the first year. We can thus easily and naturally account for the scarcity of fossil shells in the earlier formations, and for their progressive abundance in the subsequent ones.

It requires but a slight glance around us to perceive, that by the laws to which all things have been submitted by the Almighty, (to which we generally give the unmeaning name of the *laws of nature*,) matter is constantly assuming a different form. The stately oak moulders into dust, and becomes food for other plants. The ox changes grass into flesh; his flesh passes at his death into other beings, who, in their turn, undergo the same metamorphosis. All created beings move, without ceasing, from one form to another. Man himself, being laid in the earth, fertilizes the soil: his flesh becomes food for *plants*, which are eaten by animals, which man, in his turn, devours. His Creator has announced to him this great truth, "For dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return."[*] Even the most solid portions of the mineral world are not exempted from the influence of these laws. The primitive and solid granite, when acted upon by *cold*,[†] by *heat*, or by *moisture*, becomes slowly, but gradually decomposed. Its minute parts become detached, and are removed far from their parent rock, by the action of the running waters. Frequent movement rubs off their angles; they assume a new *form;* they are known by a new *name;* they become *sand* or *gravel.* In either of these new forms, they are hurried to the great deep, and add their mite to that immense treasury. The same currents in the ocean bring the same materials, until either the one becomes expended, or the other differently directed. A bed, or stratum, is formed, which, under certain circumstances, becomes hardened into *stone.* It again assumes a new form, and is again known by yet another name; it becomes the *free stone*, or conglomerate of geologists. Thus we may trace the materials of *secondary formations* to the decomposition of the *primitive creations.*

"The primitive rocks of Werner are the following, amounting to fourteen: granite, gneiss, micaceous schistus or mica slate, argillaceous schistus or clay slate, primitive limestone, primitive trap, including hornblend and greenstone, serpentine, porphyry, sienite, topaz rock, quartz rock, primitive flinty slate, white stone, and primitive gypsum.

"Some geologists consider this catalogue as too limited, and include jasper, hornstone, pitchstone, and puddingstone, in the number of primitive rocks. All these rocks, though some of them be occasionally found mingled or alternated in strata with each other, are *crystalline deposits*, and are absolutely without any trace of organic remains, either of plants or animals. All rocks not included in the foregoing catalogue (except those called *alluvial*) are termed *secondary*, because they are found to contain more or less of organic remains: but it has been observed that the four rocks found in immediate succession to the preceding fourteen do not contain organic remains of the same characters as the rest. For although they contain some shells common to those in immediate succession to them, they alone are found to contain *zoophytes*, a species of animal *which is considered as forming the first link in the chain of animated beings*, none of which are found in any of the succeeding rocks. Werner has called these four, *transition rocks*, as connecting the *primitive* with the newer or *flœtz* (flat) rocks, containing abundant fossil remains, but by others they are included in *secondary formations.*"—*Phillips's Geology.*

We have, in a former part of this treatise, considered the question of zoophytes being, as Mr. Phillips here states, "the *first link* in the chain of animated beings." It may now be sufficient in this place to point out, that as it is one part of the nature of zoophytes to inhabit the depths of the ocean, and there to become fixed, as plants are by the roots, without having it in their power, like the other inhabitants of the deep, to clear themselves from the sediments that are constantly being deposited, their remains are found in a fossil state, as we should naturally have anticipated, amongst the very earliest of these secondary strata, and before the remains of the testaceous animals could have accumulated in any great numbers.

The question then occurs, what were the primitive creations? and were they confined to the small number of rocks now considered as such by geologists? We feel quite satisfied that all the calcareous and secondary formations now known as such, did not exist in their present form in the beginning; because they contain the fossil remains of animals or vegetables which are often preserved in their most delicate parts, and which, consequently, must have been embedded at a period when these hard rocks were in the state of soft mud. But as the materials for the formation of these soft beds, must have originally been furnished from some primitive creation; and as a minute examination of them does not generally exhibit a crystalline appearance such as is supposed to characterize primitive rocks, it becomes a highly important consideration whether our present ideas of primitive creations are sufficiently extended. For example, what conclusion do we come to from a minute examination of the composition of *chalk*, which forms so extensive a portion of secondary formations? Its particles are of the finest earthy nature, and no appearance can be detected of any of the constituent parts of what are considered *primitive* rocks. In the finer sorts of clay we find the same smooth earthy character; and all limestone formations may perhaps be included in this remark. Some geologists have supposed that all limestone is as much an animal formation as *coral.*[*] This idea is probably unfounded; for if we can trace the formation of this extensive class of secondary rocks to the bed of the antediluvian ocean, we shall find reason to conclude that all these earthy formations, containing sea shells, must have been gradually formed by the accumulation of the finer particles of *primitive decomposition.*

Are we to suppose, then, at the end of the six days of the creation, when the new earth had been brought forth, adorned with "grass, and the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind," that all this vegetable world was nourished upon the *solid primitive rocks*, which in the present day are found to be utterly unfitted for vegetation? Are we to conclude that the same Almighty Power, which could create solid granite, together with all the varieties of the *vegetable world*, could not also provide the proper *soils* in which vegetables were to be nourished? No.—The idea would be worthy of that philosophy which imagines all things to have been at first in an *imperfect* state, and that their present order and beauty have gradually arisen *by the mere laws of nature.* It is more consistent with reason, as well as with the historical Record, to conclude, that as vegetables of every description were created *perfect*, there must have been *a soil* also created at the first, and suited to the nourishment of this new vegetable creation.

The consideration of the component parts of the loose alluvial soils, and of their origin, has, in general, been set aside, or overlooked by geologists; and our present soils are so mixed up with decomposed animal and vegetable matter, that we cannot, from them, form a distinct idea of what they originally must have been. But if we deny that a *pure soil* must have existed from the very first, we adopt the doctrine of *secondary causes.* We must, in that case, suppose that vegetation began, and gradually proceeded in much the same manner as is observed on the lava thrown out by volcanoes; which, for many years after it has cooled, remains solid and totally *barren*, and which first admits of only the most minute species of mosses; but by the gradual decomposition and renewal of these, and by the atmospheric action upon the lava itself, a soil is gradually formed, which proves in the end extremely fertile.

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[*] "To say with Pythagoras, that the soul of a man can pass into the body of a bird, is to extend to a moral sense, this great truth in natural history. Nothing can be more contrary to reason or revelation than this idea; but, on the other hand, nothing is more certain, than that the alimentary matter of which a body is composed, is transformed into the flesh of the vulture that devours it.

[†] Mr. Scoresby, in his account of Spitzbergen, says, "the invariably broken state of the rocks," (upon a high mountain, the ascent of which he was attempting,) "appeared to be the effect of frost. No solid rock was met with, and no earth or soil. On calcareous rocks not impervious to moisture, the effect is such as might be expected; but how frost can operate on quartz, is not so easily understood.—*Arctic Regions*, vol. i. p. 122.

[*] It is not a little remarkable, that in all the secondary rocks of Europe, although we have many, consisting of almost one mass of shells, we find none which we could suppose were formed by insects, in the same manner as the coral reefs are in the present seas of southern latitudes. The extent of the coral formation is truly remarkable. The great coral reef, on the east coast of New Holland, extends unbroken for 350 miles, forming, with others, more or less connected with it, a reef upwards of 1,000 miles in length, and varying from 20 to 50 in breadth. As these reefs are known to be always founded in very deep water, they would form, if laid dry, a calcareous formation, before which many of our considerable mountain ridges would shrink in the comparison. We cannot, perhaps, find a more convincing argument in favour of the unchanged position of the axis and the poles of the earth since the creation, than in the total absence of coral reefs in the secondary formations of northern and temperate latitudes. Had the present poles of the earth been in the situation of the present equatorial regions, before the deluge, which is one of the prevailing arguments and sources of error and confusion in modern geology, we should certainly have found, in our secondary quarries, the petrified remains of former coral reefs.

We have before found reason, however, to come to a different conclusion. We have found, with Newton, "that it became Him who created all things, to set them in order; and if He did so, it is unphilosophical to seek for any other origin of things, or to pretend that they might have arisen, by the mere laws of nature."

We, therefore, conclude, that there must have been *a primitive soil* for the support of *a primitive vegetation;* that that soil must have been *loose* and *friable,* as at present, and subject, like the present soils, to continual movements by currents; and that it would, consequently, afford the *materials* for many of the secondary rocks, which geologists cannot otherwise account for.

I do not here propose entering into the mazes of hypothesis, by attempting to define what were the actual *primitive creations* in the mineral world; but as secondary formations must always have been in progress, (as they, even now, are going on) occasioned by the combined action of the atmosphere and the currents, their materials, however *earthy*, must have originally been *primitive;* and if a primitive vegetable creation required support from a primitive soil, we shall find, in the varieties to be naturally expected in such soils, a source for the variety we observe in the colour and grain of secondary rocks.

It may be demanded, what cause can be assigned for the variety in the colours of the different secondary formations? As well might a cause be sought for the varied colours of the primitive rocks, or the varied tints of the animal or vegetable world. When the colours of the tiger, the zebra, or the butterfly, are accounted for, we may hope for information as to the cause of chalk or Carrara marble being white, and other calcareous formations being of such variety of shades, down to the blackest marble. There can be no other reason given for such endless variety, but the *will* of a Beneficent Creator, who hast thought fit thus to adorn his incomprehensible creation with innumerable objects, well fitted to convince the most sceptical mortal who will be at the pains to study them, that neither *accident*, nor the *laws of chemistry* alone, could have produced such admirable variety.

It has already been observed, that the currents in the waters of the earth are the great agents by which almost all secondary formations have been, and still are, carried on. In order to render this more plain to the intelligence, it will be necessary, in this place, to enter somewhat at large into the subject, and to trace the operations of nature now going on under our eyes.

It is certain, then, that there is a continual circulation kept up in the waters of the earth. The heat of the sun causes an immense evaporation from both sea and land. The vapours thus raised, become either *visible* or *invisible*, according to the degree of heat in the atmosphere; and thus, when cooled either by their contact with mountains, or by currents of cold air from the poles, they become condensed into drops, and fall upon the earth by their own weight, in the form of rain or snow. But although the supplies of rivers are very materially influenced by the moisture derived from the atmosphere, in the form of *rain* or *snow*, we must be convinced that a more steady and constant supply must be obtained from some other source; otherwise many rivers would become completely dried up during the summer months, when they are most wanted for the support of both animal and vegetable life. This steady supply may be traced, in all hilly or mountainous countries, from whence streams generally flow, to the never failing *springs* invariably found, more or less, in such situations, and which have given rise to much discussion amongst philosophers, to account for such pure and copious steams, which are but little affected by the changes of wet or dry seasons of the year. It is to the action of the atmosphere alone that we must look for a solution of this problem. The day is gone by, when it was supposed that there was some internal communication between the sea, and the springs in the mountains, by means of which those pure and cooling fountains were kept in continual action. The whole process is now familiarly exhibited to our view in our every dining-rooms, by observing the effects of heated air on the surface of the cold caraffes upon our tables. It has been before explained, that a great quantity of moisture is absorbed by the atmosphere, from the surface of the waters of the earth, occasioned by the heat of the sun: this moisture is generally evaporated in an *invisible* form; but it nevertheless pervades, in a greater or less degree, every part of the atmosphere, and becomes visible in the form of clouds, when cooled by cold currents of air, or by contact with mountains, the surface of which is colder than the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere. But even in the finest and clearest weather, these watery vapours hover around us, in an invisible shape, and become condensed in the form of *dew* on the surface of rocks, or of plants, during the absence of the sun, and thus afford nourishment to vegetation even during the hottest weather.

But in the hilly and mountainous districts, these vapours are constantly, more or less, condensed upon the surface of the rocks or of the ground; and trickling down the sides and fissures, guided by the direction of the strata, they occasionally meet with obstructions through which they cannot pass, and are thus forced upwards to the surface, and break forth in the form of springs, which never cease to flow, because the source from which they are supplied can never cease to act.*

Every one is familiar with the effects of rain. A heavy fall upon the tops of the mountains detaches the various sized particles already loosened by the action of the atmosphere. They are hurried along by the little rills into the brooks, by the brooks into the rivers, and finally by the rivers into the sea, the waters of which are partially tinged with these turbid streams. Every river, in the whole earth, is more or less heavily charged with earthy matter, on its reaching the parent ocean. The *nature* and *colour* of this muddy mixture must depend upon those of the countries through which the rivers flow.

Having now traced the course of this earthy matter to the sea, it becomes necessary to observe in what way it is disposed of, in the bosom of the depths; and, for this purpose, we must consider the nature and action of this great body of waters. The continual influence of the moon, aided in a less powerful degree by the attraction also of the sun, is known to be the occasion of the *tides* which assist in keeping up the circulation of the waters.† But a much more powerful agent is continually at work in producing this effect; and as this agent, and its effects, do not come so familiarly within our view, its power is not so generally understood or acknowledged. This agent is the general system of the *currents* in the ocean.

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*It is to this particular action of the atmosphere, when coming in contact with a lower temperature than its own, that we can often trace the cause of that dampness in our houses, which nothing can ever entirely obviate. Granite, whinstone, and some other rocks, are highly objectionable, as building materials, on account of their great coldness; and in houses built of such materials, one may always observe, in winter, on a change from frost to thaw, a dewy appearance standing thick upon the surface, and, in the end, running down in copious streams, like a violent perspiration. The common objection made to such stones, is, that they retain moisture, and perspire at certain times; this, however, is a vulgar error.

If a house be built upon a clay soil, the dampness, which is a usual consequence, does not arise so much from the clay being wet in itself, as from its great coldness, which condenses the warm air of the atmosphere, and thus forms a constant moisture. It is obvious, then, that sand stone, or brick, as a material, and a light sandy soil, as a foundation, must produce the most dry and healthy dwelling.

†The following clear description of the tides is given by Sir David Brewster, in his "Life of Sir Isaac Newton."

"One of the great subjects to which Newton applied the principles of attraction and gravity, was, the tides of the ocean. Philosophers of all ages had recognized the connection between the phenomena of the tides, and the position of the moon. That the moon is the principle cause of the tides is obvious, from the well known fact, that it is high water at any given place about the time when she is in the meridian of that place; and that the sun performs a secondary part in their production, is proved by the circumstance, that the highest, or spring tides, take place when the sun, the moon, and the earth, are all in a straight line; that is, when the force of the attraction of the sun conspires with that of the moon; and that the lowest, or neap tides, take place when lines drawn from the sun and moon to the earth, are at right angles to each other; that is, when the force of the attraction of the sun acts in opposition to that of the moon. But the most perplexing phenomenon in the tides, and one which is still a stumbling-block to persons slightly acquainted with the theory of attraction, is the existence of high water on the side furthest from the moon, at the same time as on the side next the moon. To maintain that the attraction of the moon at the same time draws the waters of the earth towards herself, and also draws them from the earth in an opposite direction, seems, at first sight, paradoxical. But the difficulty vanishes, when we consider the earth, (or rather the centre of the earth,) and the waters on each side of it, as three distinct bodies, placed at different distances from the moon, and, consequently, attracted with forces inversely proportioned to the squares of their distances. The waters nearest the moon will be much more powerfully attracted than the centre of the earth, and the centre of the earth more than the waters furthest from the moon. The consequence of this must be, that the waters nearest the moon will be drawn away from the centre of the earth, and will, consequently, rise from their level; while the earth will be drawn away from the waters opposite the moon, which will, as it were, be left behind, and be in the same situation as if raised from the earth in a direction opposite to that in which they are attracted by the moon."

These currents have long been remarked by voyagers in every part of the sea; and they have been found so powerful that vessels are constantly borne out of their course, unless due allowance be made for their influence. It was long supposed that these *rivers* in the ocean were occasioned by the action of the *tides:* but modern science and observation has proved this idea to have been unfounded; and has discovered that there is as regular a circulation in the great deep as in the veins of the human body. These currents chiefly arise from the following causes. In consequence of the powerful action of the sun in tropical climates, the loss by evaporation from the sea, is much greater than can be supplied by the quantity of rain which falls in these latitudes. The moisture thus imbibed by the atmosphere, passes into the regular circulation of the air; and when carried into the temperate or polar regions of the earth, it becomes condensed, and falls there in much greater quantity than these regions lose by evaporation. This superabundant supply of water cannot, from the figure and motion of the earth, remain where it falls, but rushes back towards the equator in currents, the directions of which must depend, in a great measure, on the forms of the coasts they may meet with in their course: and as no strong current can take place either in the air or in the waters, without a variety of eddies, or counter currents, as we familiarly know, on a small scale, by observing a strong stream in any river, or by the draughts of air in our houses, such are abundantly to be found in the ocean, and sometimes on so large a scale, and in such a direction, as might appear in opposition to the system above explained, unless the whole be viewed upon an enlarged scale. It has been supposed by some, that the winds, and especially the regular trade winds, have a great influence on the currents of the ocean, and may even be regarded as the cause of this constant motion in the waters. But this is taking too superficial a view of the subject. It is known that the currents of the *air* affect the *surface of the waters*, merely by contact and friction in the same manner as in the friction of any other two substances; and however the surface of the ocean may be agitated by this contact, and raised into waves by its force, we cannot suppose it capable of acting to any considerable depth, or of displacing large bodies of water. It is, indeed, understood, that though the swell of a wave advances on the surface, the water over which it moves remains nearly stationary; so that, although the winds may, in some small degree, aid or impede the *tides* or the *currents*, they cannot be considered *the cause* of the movement, any more in the one case than in the other. There appears to be a close resemblance between this circulation kept up in the waters, and that known to exist in the atmosphere. In the latter we have winds of various power and continuance, and also whirlwinds, occasioned, like the *whirlpools* in fluids, by the action of two contrary streams, or by the disturbance occasioned by an opposing object. There are also such decided *counter-currents* in the air, from the effort to preserve a just balance in that element, that it is a common practice with æronauts to send up a small balloon before launching their larger one, in order to discover in what direction the upper currents of the wind may be setting.

The whole system of the currents in the ocean can probably never be distinctly defined, on account of its great extent, and the very partial observations of voyagers. Besides, there must be a constant though slow alteration in the directions of their smaller divisions, according as the opposing objects are gradually worn away. But the general outline of the larger branches may be traced with tolerable distinctness, and may be here explained as they now exist in our own times. The present great system of currents, then, may be traced from the western coast of America across the Pacific ocean; of this current we as yet know little, but that it exists. But one branch of it strikes on the south of New Holland, running through Bass's Straits, round South Cape; and another branch runs amongst the islands of the Archipelago, on the north of New Holland. On entering the Indian ocean, and meeting the south polar current, it runs through the gulf of Bengal, round cape Comorin, and over to Africa, acquiring great velocity in its passage. From the straits of Babelmandel, it keeps always a south-west direction, till it doubles the Cape of Good Hope, when it turns to the north-west, following the line of the coast. On approaching the equator it sets nearly west. When in the latitude of three degrees north it meets with another current, which has run southerly along the west coast of Africa, with which it unites, and crosses the Atlantic, nearly W. S. W. On reaching the Brazils, it diverges at cape St. Augustine into two streams; one going S. W. parallel with the coast till it doubles Cape Horn, where it meets the south polar currents. The other part of this great Atlantic stream proceeds in a northerly direction through the gulf of Glandin, along the shores of the United States, where it is called the Gulf Stream, to Newfoundland; and here it is backed by the north polar currents; takes an easterly course across the Atlantic, coming over to the coast of Norway and the British Isles, and turning thence to the south, through the bay of Biscay, and along the coasts of Spain and Africa, meets the great southern current in the latitude of three degrees north. The breadth of the African branch of this magnificent *ocean river* is supposed to be from 150 to 1000 miles. At the Cape of Good Hope it runs at the rate of about two miles an hour; at the equator three and a half; and in the Gulf Stream four miles an hour.

It may easily be supposed what changes must be constantly taking place in the bed of the ocean, and on the shores of the dry land, by the never-ceasing action of these currents, the force of which is too powerful to be more than slightly affected by the action of the tides or the winds. There is, probably, a very great re-action also below the surface, and at greater depths than our very limited observations can penetrate.*

If such is the power and action of the currents and the tides in the earth, as it now is, we may safely conclude that they were not less active in the Antediluvian seas, the beds of which we now inhabit; having it thus in our power to examine the various strata of earthly *debris*, which, in the course of more than sixteen centuries, were deposited in various directions, according to the partial changes that must be constantly taking place in the direction of the currents, as the opposing points by which they are in a great degree guided, are worn away.

Having thus found one agent of sufficient power to remove vast quantities of mineral matter *from the land into the ocean*, and another, the effect of which is, gradually to arrange this matter in strata more or less horizontal, according to the form or slope of the primitive bed on which they are deposited, we can have little difficulty in accounting for most of the phenomena now discovered in the lower secondary formations of our earth. For the upper secondary formations and alluvial soils, we shall find a full and sufficient cause when we come to the consideration of the Mosaic deluge.

We must now resume the consideration of the primitive ocean from its first being "gathered together" until the Mosaic deluge, a period amounting to about 1656 years; and which will be found fully sufficient to account for many of the geological phenomena exposed to our view. For when we apply to the utmost depths of secondary formations, the scale on which we are now considering the *whole earth;* and also when we think of the great extent of decomposition and re-formation incessantly proceeding in our own times, we shall feel satisfied that the *indefinite periods* assumed by the chaotic philosophy, are infinitely greater than the existing phenomena demand;† and we shall, consequently, have a more confirmed confidence in the truth of the inspired record.

CHAPTER V.

General Nature of the Formations on the Earth.—Origin and Progress of Secondary Formations.—Causes of Stratification in Secondary Rocks.—Such Deposits become gradually Mineralized.—Calcareous Formations.—Salt Deposits.—Proof of Granite not being an Aqueous *Deposit.—Secondary Formations now in Progress in the Bed of the Ocean.*

The active researches of geologists into the existing phenomena on the surface of the earth, have led to the following conclusions with respect to mineral bodies.

"PRIMITIVE ROCKS

"Consist only of crystalline formations;
They contain no organic remains;
They are found below all other rocks;
And they rise from the base, through all other rocks, forming the summits of the most lofty mountains.

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* We may look for much interesting and useful information respecting the currents of the ocean, in a work now in course of publication, and written by the late Major Rennell. It is understood to apply, more particularly, to the currents of the Atlantic.

‡ See page 55, and note, page 65.

"TRANSITION AND FLOETZ, (or Secondary Rocks,)

"Consist partly of crystalline, partly of mechanical deposits;
They contain organic remains of sea shells;
And are never found under primitive rocks.

"ALLUVIAL DEPOSITS

"Consist of mechanical deposits;
They result from the ruin of rocks;
They contain abundance of shells, together with the bones of quadrupeds," and of the human race;
"And they are found above all the other rocks."*

Thus far the chaotic and the Mosaic geologies coincide; the facts are self-evident, and within the reach of every one who will take the trouble to examine them. But when the *causes* by which these facts have been produced, come under consideration, the two geologies separate; the one following the path which history has marked out, and which reason can comprehend, leading at every step towards the light of truth; the other, under a variety of leaders, plunges into the dark and devious mazes of hypothesis, rejects the guidance of history, and is led more and more into obscurity and error. There is no possible way of clearing this labyrinth and of gaining the desired end, but by retracing our steps and taking advantage of the clue which history affords us. But in doing this, we must keep constantly in mind the difficulties from which we have escaped; and the impossibility we have experienced of tracing *primitive effects* to *secondary causes*. *Truth* and *reason* acknowledge but one *primitive cause;* and that is, an *Almighty*, though to us, *incomprehensible* CREATOR.

Having found the arguments in favour of secondary causes, or the *mere laws of nature*, as they are called, totally insufficient to account satisfactorily to our reason, for the first formation of crystallized *mineral* bodies, any more than for the first formation of *animal* or *vegetable* bodies, we come to the unavoidable conclusion that they were all the *creative work* of an Almighty hand. But as it is evident that this creation, as soon as completed, was submitted to certain laws, by some of which a constant succession of decay and re-formation was to be kept up in the mineral world, at least as far as regards the mere surface of the earth, it may be considered quite within the scope of our reason to examine these laws, and to account for these secondary effects by secondary causes.

We find, then, that it is one constant law of the Creator that the action of the atmosphere shall decompose or break up the mineral bodies exposed to its influence. We find another called the law of *gravity*, by which the waters of the earth, in seeking their own level, are hurried from the highest mountains to the sea; carrying along with them abundance of mineral matter in the shape of *sand*, *mud* and *gravel*. We find a third law by which the waters of the ocean are kept in constant agitation; and the mineral matter imported by the rivers, is arranged in classes, according to the weight and volume of its parts, and distributed over the sea bed in various directions, and in various quantities, according to the nature of the currents which remove it.†

These three laws, which have been in constant action since the first creation of the seas, the rivers, and the atmosphere, which events, history informs us, took place about 6000 years ago, are fully sufficient to account for a prodigious accumulation of decomposed mineral matter in the bed of the ocean.*

Should any event, then, take place to enable us to examine that bed *in a dry state*, we could feel no surprise if we should discover the original crystallized surface of the earth, loaded with various accumulations, resulting evidently from such decomposition of rocks as the atmosphere every where occasions, as the rivers every where become charged with, and as the currents of the ocean must, at all times, be depositing. As it is one part of the laws of gravity, that deposits in fluids shall fall to the bottom, in the same horizontal position in which these fluids themselves are retained by attraction, we should expect to find these deposits in this particular position; unless the irregular form of that part of the primitive earth on which they happened to be laid, occasioned an irregularity also in the deposited mass. Should any very considerable elevation or irregularity have existed on the primitive surface of the earth, such as we now denominate an Alpine height, but at the bottom of the primitive sea, we should expect to discover the various horizontal deposits of various changing currents laid one above another, towards its top. If this top had been of sufficient elevation to be above the surface of the waters in the form of an island, we should not look for any such deposits above the level which the waters had reached; but, on the contrary, we should expect to find the bare primitive rock free from all secondary formation.†

After taking this general view of the bed of a former ocean, supposing it to be within our power to do so, we should naturally enter upon a more minute examination of the various mineral masses of which these deposits were formed.‡

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* Phillips's Geology.

† This law of arrangement, which is founded on the law of gravity, may be looked upon as the great agent in distinct stratification. And as this law could not be in force without the lateral movement kept up by the currents of the ocean, we cannot look for its effects in situations where such constant action and re-action of currents do not exist. Thus we never can expect to find the secondary formations of fresh water lakes, however extensive, in the same stratified arrangement as in the bed of the sea. Whatever sand, mud, gravel or rock is lodged in a lake by rivers, must, therefore, remain exactly in the same irregular mass as when first imported and deposited; and, accordingly, we never find the shores of lakes, or the banks of rivers, presenting the same distinct classification as is always found, more or less, on the sea shores. For the same reason, we may be assured that in draining marshes or lakes, when we cut through distinct strata of sand, marl, gravel, or fine clay, which are all generally found in strata in such situations, we are to attribute such deposits, as well as their fossil contents, to a period when the action of the sea was in force; and that the hollow basin-like form which now causes a marsh or a lake, must have been at least partially coated with marine strata at the period of the deluge. We must, however, be guided by circumstances, in forming a judgment in such cases, as there can be no doubt that many places which were formerly shallow lakes or marshes, are now nearly dry, from the growth of peat, or the accumulation of the debris of land streams; and we must, consequently, judge of the nature of the soils, and of the period of the fossil deposits, according to their degree of stratification, and the nature of the embedding soils.

The remains of deer and other animals often found in peat mosses, must, therefore, be considered antediluvian, or, otherwise, according to the situation in which they occur, and according to the presence or absence of land streams, by the agency of which the deposits might have been made. The well known fossil elks of Ireland, and of the Isle of Man, may probably be regarded as truly antediluvian; though geologists have often considered them as much more modern.

* In a late publication by Mr. Lyell, which has come under my notice since the above was written, and which is a work full of information of the most important kind, with regard to natural secondary causes, which he considers sufficient to account for all the appearances on the surface of the earth, we find a calculation with respect to the quantity of mud lodged in the sea by the Ganges, which appears, as it is well calculated to do, to shake to its foundation the theory of the author; for it is obvious, that it proves too much to suit his idea of millions of years, as the age of the world. After stating the calculations of Rennell, and of Major Colebrooke, with respect to the waters of the Ganges, which are calculated to contain one part, in four, of mud, Mr. Lyell continues: "But, although we can readily believe the proportion of sediment in the waters of the Ganges to exceed that of any river in northern latitudes, we are somewhat staggered by the results to which we must arrive, if we compare the proportion of mud, as given by Rennell, with his computation of the quantity of water discharged, which latter is probably very correct. If it be true that the Ganges, in the flood-season, contains one part, in four, of mud, we shall then be obliged to suppose that there passes down, every four days, a quantity of mud, equal in volume to the water which is discharged in the course of twenty-four hours. If the mud be assumed to be equal to one half the specific gravity of granite, (it would, however, be more,) the weight of matter *daily* carried down in the flood season, would be about equal to 74 times the weight of the Great Pyramid of Egypt. Even if it could be proved that the turbid waters of the Ganges contain one part in a *hundred* of mud, which is possible, and which is affirmed to be the case in regard to the Rhine, we should be brought to the extraordinary conclusion, that there passes down, every day, into the Bay of Bengal, a mass more than equal in weight and bulk to the Great Pyramid."—*Principles of Geology*, vol. i. page 284.

Let the candour of this very able author calculate this effect over the whole earth for 2000 years, and then consider it as having acted for one or two *millions* of years; and let him say which result bears the most just proportion to the secondary formations actually found to load the primitive surface of the earth.

† "Of the nature of the bed of the ocean we know but little. The portions of it which have been explored by soundings, are found, in one place, to contain immense collections of the wreck of testaceous animals, intermixed with sand or gravel; and in another, to consist of soft alluvial mud, several feet in depth. Donati found the bottom of the Adriatic to be composed of a compact bed of shells, not less than a hundred feet in thickness."—*Edin. Encyclop. Physical Geography*, p. 518.

It was likewise discovered, in the researches of Donati, that, at a very few feet below the surface of the bed of the Adriatic, the deposits were converted, by pressure, and by the actions of the chemical laws of nature, into solid marble, and the shells completely petrified.

‡ "Various marine substances are to be found almost in every part of the extensive province of Chili, and even on the tops of some of its lofty mountains. In the main ridge of the Andes, the internal

And here we should soon find that the laws by which the world is governed, are not confined to those three, by the action of which these deposits have been formed. We should have to consult the voluminous code of *chemical laws*, the *foundations* of which, like those of all the other laws of God, are beyond our comprehension; but in the *action* of which, human science has made so many brilliant discoveries. We should every where discover effects produced by these chemical laws, varying according to the situation, and the nature of the materials to be acted upon. Instead of finding these materials, when freed from the waters in which they had been deposited, simply in the state of dry sand, mud, or gravel, and equally loose and friable as they must have been at the period of their deposition, we should find them cemented together in the most solid and compact manner. All the intervening spaces between the angles of the grosser particles, filled up with a stony matter, and the whole assuming the appearance and qualities of solid rock.*

Where cavites had, by any accident, been formed, either in the first deposition, or, as would be more probable, in the course of desiccation, we should frequently find that wonderful and unaccountable law in operation, by which fluids assume, in drying, a crystalline form. As the primitive ocean had, by the command of the Almighty, produced, "abundantly the moving creature that hath life;" and as many of these creatures were destined to become the permanent inhabitants of the deep, we should feel no surprise, in every where discovering more or less of animal remains, mixed up with the mineral deposits of their own proper element. But as the fish of the sea, as well as the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, are guided by the laws of *instinct* for their self-preservation; and as instinctive self-preservation would lead them, when alive, to keep upon the *surface* of these gradually forming deposites, unless when overpowered or buried by any unusual accumulation, we should seldom expect to find more than the shelly remains of the crustaceous animals.† Even these would be looked for, but in small numbers, in the first marine deposits; and they would afterwards be found gradually more abundant, as the bed of the sea became more loaded with the remains of past generations.* We could have little expectation of discovering the remains of *fish*, and still less, those of *quadrupeds*, in these gradually formed sea deposites; for though race after race, of the finny tribes, must have perished from the very first, and the bodies of many land animals, and even of human beings, must have been conveyed to the ocean, in the common course of events, before the flood; yet that wonderful law of God, by which so just a balance is preserved throughout the animal creation, would have prevented almost a possibility of the remains of the dead being covered up, or preserved: for no sooner does a fish perish, than its body disappears among the voracious tribes of the deep; and those of terrestrial animals could rarely meet with any other fate.†

On a closer inspection of some of the finer earthy deposits, having every appearance of having once been a tenacious mud, we should find them variously loaded with these crustaceous remains. We should also find, that the whole mass had become impregnated with a *calcareous quality*, which was not to be found in any of the formations generally considered primitive; and which, therefore, must have been acquired by some of those chemical laws at all times in action in the world. We should find some difficulty in coming to any positive conclusion with respect to the original *cause* of this calcareous property; more especially, when we discover a similar calcareous principle in the shells and bones of both terrestrial and marine animals.‡

The deposits of salt which we might discover, would, in no way, surprise us, having had connexion with waters of the same briny character. But the question, whether the saltness of the ocean be *derived from the mineral*, or *the mineral be a chemical deposit from the water*, would probably lead us out of the plain beaten track we had determined to pursue, and should, therefore, be declined, and left for future investigation, as not in any way affecting the general question.§

In the whole of this general review of the secondary formations, however, we should be deeply impressed with this remarkable fact, that in all these various formations, in which the laws of chemistry had been observed to have acted so powerfully, and in some of which even crystallization appeared, in many cases, to have taken place, we should discover no trace of such formations as we had previously remarked in primitive rocks, *which we had been taught to believe were originally crystallized in an aqueous fluid of the very self same character.*

We should no where find *granite*, or any other *primitive rock*, amongst the *secondary chemical deposits;* and we should consider this fact alone, as a positive confirmation of the conclusion we had before come to by a different process, viz. that the *primitive creations never could have arisen in an aqueous fluid*, by *the mere laws of nature.*

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the case which has been here put hypothetically, of having it in our power to make this actual survey of the bed of the former ocean, has in fact occurred; as is sufficiently testified by the numerous phenomena presented to us, over nearly the whole surface of the present dry land.

But in order to form a more defined idea of the *mode* of secondary formations, let us, for a moment, consider the action of these same laws by which we have supposed them to have been formed, as they may, at any time, be observed go-

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structure consists of primitive rocks of granite and quartz. The maritime and midland mountains, together with the lateral chains of the Andes, are of secondary formation; their strata, which are horizontal, and of unequal thickness, abound with marine productions, and contain the impressions of animal bodies."—*Molina's Natural and Civil History of Chili.*

* We are sometimes enabled to form some idea of the operations in the great laboratory of nature, and can thus trace, in some remarkable instances, the action of this petrifying power. One of the most remarkable of these instances is described by Mr. Morier as existing in Persia, not far from Maragha. A mineral spring issues from the earth in bubbles, and falls into a basin of about 15 feet in diameter. On flowing over the edges of this basin, the water spreads over the ground, forming numerous ponds and plashes, and in these it becomes hard, and produces that beautiful transparent stone, commonly called Tabreez marble. "The process of petrifaction," says Mr. Morier, "may be traced from its first beginning to its termination. In one part, the water is clear; in a second, it appears thicker, and stagnant; in a third, quite black; and, in the last stage, it is white, like hoar frost. The petrified ponds look like frozen water; a stone slightly thrown upon them breaks the crust, and the black water exudes. But where the operation is complete, a man may walk upon the surface without wetting his shoes. A section of the stony mass appears like sheets of rough paper, in accumulated layers. Such is the constant tendency of this water to become stone, that the bubbles become hard, as if, by a stroke of magic, they had been arrested, and metamorphosed into marble." Instances nearly as remarkable, are seen at the falls of Terni in Italy, at the famous hot springs in Iceland, in Derbyshire, and in many other places.

"I saw," says Saussure, "on the sea shore, near the Pharo de Messina, sands which were loose and friable, when lodged by the waves on the shore, but which, by means of the calcareous juice infiltrated into them by the sea, gradually becomes so hard, as to be used as millstones. This process takes place in the course of a very few years."—*Comp. Estim.* vol. ii. p. 45.

† In the course of considerable experience in the search of fossil shells in various secondary formations, I have been led to the conclusion that these fossil remains must, in by far the greater number of cases, have been embedded after the death of the fish that inhabited them. The chalk formation is especially remarkable for the perfect state of preservation in which it renders up its fossil treasures; and they are often found retaining the remains of their most delicate parts, as perfect as when first embedded. In the case of the echini, for example, many of which are, in the natural state, covered with spines, like a hedgehog, I have found, in a few of the most perfect fossil specimens, just sufficient indication of a spine, to convince me how complete they would have been, had they been buried in a living state. But as they are almost always, more or less, stripped of their spines, it appears certain that they must have been exposed to the friction of the waters, in an empty state, before they were covered up. The fractured and disordered position of fossils in general, also tend to the same opinion.

* See page 61, note.

† Fish are rarely found in a fossil state in the lower secondary formations; but the fact occasionally occurs, as might be expected, as exceptions to what may be called a general rule. They are, however, found in great abundance in diluvial formations, as we shall have occasion to perceive, in considering the effects of the deluge.

‡ "The component parts of bones are chiefly four; namely, *earthy salts*, fat, gelatine, and cartilage. The earthy salts are four in number, 1st. Phosphate of lime, which constitutes by far the greater part of the whole. 2d. Cardonate of lime. 3d. Phosphate of magnesia. 4th. Sulphate of lime."—*Edin. Encyclop. Chemistry*, p. 138.

"Lime has been known from the remotest ages. It abounds in every part of the earth, constituting immense ranges of rocks and mountains. It may be obtained by burning calcareous spars, and certain marbles. Oyster shells, when burnt, yield it nearly pure."—*Ibid.* p. 45.

§ The saline principle so generally found in all animal productions, would incline us to refer all saltness to the great laboratory of nature, and not to attribute it solely to marine origin. With regard to salt, as a solid mineral body, I shall have occasion to make some remarks upon it, in a subsequent chapter. [See chap. 8.)

ing on under our eyes. Let us station ourselves on a part of the sea coast, near the mouth of any great river, and consider how the laws of *nature* are continually acting. We must, however, in the absence of extensive primitive coasts, which are now scarcely any where to be found, content ourselves with illustrations from the secondary and alluvial formations with which our present shores are loaded; so that the secondary deposits, now in progress, are formed from secondary rocks, instead of from primitive, as the antediluvian deposits must have been.

Let us station ourselves, for instance, on that point of our own shores, formed by the Isle of Thanet, where we have, to the south, a great extent of chalky coast, and to the north, the mouth of our noble Thames. And, first, let us observe the action of the atmosphere on the chalky cliffs of this island. There are few of the secondary formations more easily affected than the chalk, by the alternate moisture and dryness of our climate: and this is materially assisted by the chemical action of the salt from the spray of the sea. In the spring of the year, when the heat of the sun becomes powerful, and evaporates the abundant moisture imbibed by the chalk during the winter, the whole surface of the cliff, as it were, exfoliates; and large masses, becoming detached, are precipitated on the sands below, in a crumbling heap of ruin. The very first succeeding tide that flows, begins the work of transportation; and the waters retire, on the ebb tide, loaded with the finest particles of this chalky ruin. But though this insatiable enemy retires white with its booty, and sullies, for a considerable distance, the purity of the ocean, yet, on every succeeding flow, it again advances empty handed: the flowing waves are as transparent as if no chalk existed on the whole coast. A few weeks or months of this never-ceasing action gradually diminishes even the most solid portions of the chalk; and, at length, the sands are as pure and as free from earthy matter, as if no fall had ever taken place. Now, though we may liken this gradual disappearance of the chalk to that of salt or sugar immersed in water, there is this most material difference; that in the one case, the matter is actually dissolved, and held in solution as long as the moisture continues; but in the other, the indissoluble earthy particles of the chalk are carried off bodily by the waves; and are only held in *suspension*, until, by their own weight, they sink to the bottom of the sea, and are added, in the form of *mud*, to beds that must have been in the course of formation ever since that great revolution which placed the chalky bottom of the antediluvian sea in a situation to be thus acted upon as the high coast of the postdiluvian ocean.[*]

It is not so easy to determine in what part of the bed of the sea this chalky mud is now being deposited; but there is considerable reason to suppose that it is not in the immediate neighbourhood of the present shores: for there, the currents seem to deposit *sand* in such immense quantities, as to render the navigation both difficult and dangerous. We no where hear of a *muddy* bottom: every thing is either *sand* or *solid chalk*. And here we have numerous examples of the changes that are gradually effected in the form and structure of the bed of the ocean. Every old pilot, well acquainted with the difficult navigation of this part of the coast, can relate instances, within his own memory, where the shifting nature of the sand banks renders the most watchful attention to the landmarks, and buoys, so necessary. The form and extent of the fatal Goodwin sands have undergone considerable changes within a comparatively short period of time. They now extend many miles in length, and are formed of so pure a sand, that scarcely a shell is to be found upon them, and no gravel whatever. The ramifications of this bank, extending northward towards the mouth of the Thames, are all formed of an equally pure sand, which is dry and hard at low water.[†] Now, as all this sand is a *primitive crystalline formation*, having no mixture of calcareous earths, except, perhaps, particles of broken sea shells, in small quantity, we must conclude, that it is brought from other parts, by the currents, and that the lighter and finer muddy deposits, which are not found so commonly on that coast, are carried off and deposited in some of the depths of the ocean.

Wherever these secondary formations may be in the act of deposition, we could feel no surprise, if, on examining them in a dry and hard state, we should discover, embedded in them, the shells of such crustaceous animals as may inhabit these depths; and if we should even find the remains of fish, or "creeping thing," with which we were unacquainted, we should not feel justified in concluding that they were not the inhabitants of our present seas, or not of existing species, because our research had not yet penetrated their deep abodes. For we may rest assured, that however minutely we may scan the dry land, and its various productions, there are treasures in the great deep, that are for ever placed far beyond the eye of the most active naturalist.

But let us now turn our thoughts towards the flowing Thames, and observe the continual operations carried on by its unwearied waters. We shall find them charged with a load of earthy matter, collected, in their course, from the various formations through which the river flows. This burden must necessarily be of the most indiscriminate character; but these various bodies are to be deposited in an element where each species of importation is most exactly sifted, and every thing is arranged according to its own particular class. The *muddy*, the *sandy*, or the *gravelly* bodies, which are thus in constant motion downwards, from the highest sources of the river, are all at length submitted to the action of those *laws of* NATURE, which regulate the deep. We cannot suppose that all this earthy matter remains in the form of banks and shoals, near the immediate mouth of the river itself; for if this were the case, that mouth must long since have been completely blocked up. But, although we always find rivers closed, more or less, with a *bar*, occasioned by the contending action of the tide, and the stream; yet we do not perceive that bar materially to increase; for the exact balance is, at all times, kept up by the constant removal of superfluous matter, by the action of the currents of the neighbouring ocean.[*]

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[*] There cannot exist a doubt, that, though England be now separated from France by a distance of from 20 to 40 miles, and that distance be now occupied by the sea, the whole intervening space, and a great extent of both countries, form one continuous secondary formation of chalk, of which the basins of Paris, London, and the Isle of Wight, so well known to geologists, form a part. It is the opinion of some, whose ideas in geology are quite unfettered by history, as to time, that the two countries were once united, and that the separation has been effected by gradual decay, from the action of the sea upon a narrow isthmus. But history will not bear us out in this idea; for we know, from certain landmarks, which existed many centuries ago, such as the Roman part of Dover Castle, and other ancient buildings on the coast, that the decay of the cliffs, though constant and gradual, has not been such, in the last 2000 years, as to warrant any such conclusion, supposing the deluge to have taken place, as we have reason to know it did, about 4000 years ago.

[†] It is traditionally reported, that this formidable sand bank, in which the wreck of many a tall ship has been buried, was once a cultivated island, and part of the property of the Earl of Godwin.

The ancient Roman castle of Richborough, about a mile north of Sandwich, was once a sea port, though it is now fully two miles from the shore. At that period, the Isle of Thanet was really an island, being separated from the main land by a channel, at one end of which was Richborough, and at the other Reculvers, both Roman stations, under the names of Ritupium and Rigulbium. In the Romney Marsh, on the south coast of Kent, there was another Roman port, which is now several miles from the shore.

[*] As an instance of the power with which rivers act, in filling up inland lakes, and in adding to the accumulations in the bed of the sea, the following example may serve to give an idea.

The river Kander, a mountain torrent of no great size, rushes down the valley of Kanderthal, in the Canton Burne, in Switzerland, and enters the lake of Thoun, about four miles from the town so called. About a hundred years ago, this stream did not flow into the lake, from which its course was cut off by a ridge of diluvial hills of several hundred feet in height, stretching along the south side of the lake, in a north-westerly direction. This diluvial ridge, extending more than ten miles in length, is entirely composed of rounded gravel, or pudding stone.

In consequence of the mischief done by the overflowing of the Kander, to a great extent of valuable meadow land, in its course to join the Arr, ten miles below Thoun, which was its natural course, a spirited plan was proposed and adopted, for cutting a subterraneous passage for the river, through the above mentioned ridge, at a place where it approached the lake within about a mile, and thus admitting it into its bed. This passage was cut in the beginning of the last century (about 1715.) The descent was rapid, from the lake being considerably lower than the old course of the river. At this period, the depth of the lake was in proportion to the steep hills forming its shore. The Kander had not long followed its new subterraneous course, when it greatly enlarged the artificial tunnel, and hurried great quantities of gravel into the lake. The rapidity of the torrent in a few years enlarged its course, till at length the whole superstructure gave way, and fell in; so that there is now a most romantic wild glen, where, a century ago, there was smooth pasture and wood lands. The effects of the torrent soon became apparent in the lake: an immense quantity of gravel, and every species of rock, was carried in by the current, and lodged in its bed. In 1829, when I lived in that neighbourhood, the bed formed of this debris, was of not less extent than 300 acres; the greater part was covered with thick wood; and this secondary formation is every year increasing in the same proportion; so that, as the lake is not there of great breadth, there is every prospect of a rapid and most material

If this, then, is the system now in action, on a small portion of our own shores, to what an extent must it be going on around our whole island. And if we extend our view, and consider the more gigantic scale of the rivers on the continents, and the more direct influence of the great currents upon their vast importations, we shall find a cause fully sufficient for the formation of secondary deposits of great depth and variety, in the course of a comparatively short space of time.

CHAPTER VI.

The Deluge.—Traditional Evidence of that Event.—Erroneous Ideas commonly entertained respecting it.—Distinctness of Scripture on the Subject.—Evidence from Scripture.—Evidence from the Ancient, though Apocryphal, Book of Enoch.—Theories of Philosophy on the Subject.—The most probable Cause of that Destructive Event.

In the former part of this work, and in taking a general view of the phenomena presented to our observation on the surface of our earth, a confident hope was held out, that we should be able fully to account for all those phenomena, by considering, with a candid and unprejudiced judgment, the three great events recorded in history, viz. 1st, the creation of the world; 2d, the formation of a bed for the gathering together of the waters, together with the action of the laws of *nature* within that bed, for upwards of sixteen centuries; and lastly, the deluge, as described by Moses in the book of Genesis. We have already, at some length, considered the two first of these great events; and in the last of the two, we have found an unquestionable source of very extensive secondary formation, and sufficient to account for a large proportion of all those, actually existing, on the primitive surface of the earth. We have thus satisfactorily explained the formation of the transition rocks containing few or no fossil remains; and also accounted for the early sand stone, and calcareous formations, together with the abundance of fossil sea shells found in the latter.

We now, therefore, come to the consideration of that great event by which so complete a revolution has occurred upon the earth, and by means of which alone we are now enabled to trace out a part of the operations of those laws, to which the world has been submitted by its Creator. For had we now been placed in the situation of the antediluvian world, as inhabitants of a *primitive* surface, we could have had none of that information which we now derive from the inspection of the *secondary* formations on which we dwell.

"According to the most approved systems of chronology, this remarkable event happened in the year 1656, after the creation, or about 2348 years before the Christian æra.—Of so general a calamity, from which only a single family of all then living on the earth was preserved, we might naturally expect to find some memorials in the traditionary records of Pagan history, as well as in the sacred volume. Its magnitude and singularity could scarcely fail to make an indelible impression on the minds of the survivors, which would be communicated from them to their children, and would not be easily effaced from the traditions even of their latest posterity. A deficiency in such traces of this awful event, though it might not entirely invalidate our belief of its reality, would certainly tend considerably to weaken its claim to credibility; it being scarcely probable that the knowledge of it should be utterly lost to the rest of the world, and confined to the documents of the Jewish nation alone.

"What we might reasonably expect, has accordingly been actually and fully realized. The evidence which has been brought from almost every quarter of the world, to bear upon the reality of this event, is of the most conclusive and irresistible kind; and every investigation which has been made concerning heathen rites and traditions, has constantly added to its force, no less than to its extent."—*Edin. Ency. Deluge.*

Without entering at great length into the evidence on this subject, which has been brought from the most distant heathen lands, it may perhaps be sufficient, here, to state generally, that allusion is made, more or less directly, to the flood of Noah, and to Noah himself, under various names, by the ancient Greek, Latin, Egyptian, Oriental, and Chinese authors. Lucian, a Greek author, and an avowed scoffer at all religions, gives a history of the deluge, and of Noah under the name of *Deucalion*, so minute and circumstantial, that it must certainly have been taken from the ancient tradition of the same event which is described by Moses. The accounts of the flood of Deucalion of the ancient heathens, bear so strong a resemblance to the Mosaic narrative in some parts, that no one can doubt their being founded on traditions of the flood of Noah. Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, reigned over part of Thessaly. The impiety in the world had irritated Jupiter, who resolved to destroy mankind; and immediately the earth exhibited a boundless scene of waters. The highest mountains were climbed by the terrified inhabitants of the earth; but these seeming places of security were soon overtopped by the rising waters, and no hope was left of escape from the universal calamity. Prometheus advised his son to make himself a ship; and by this means he saved himself and his wife Pyrrha.—As to the account of the flood given by Ovid, it appears nearly certain, from the order in which he describes the creation, and from the facts connected with the deluge, as described by him, that he was acquainted with the sacred volume. The Septuagint translation had, at that period, been known for more than two centuries; and being written in a language with which all well-educated Romans were perfectly conversant, it is more than probable that the ideas of the heathen poet were directly derived from this source.—The accounts given by Plutarch, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus, show that the Egyptians believed in a universal deluge, and allude to Noah under the title of Osiris, but in the obscure and confused manner to be expected in their heathen traditions.

Sir William Jones, in his valuable researches into the works and traditions of the Hindoos, gives us the substance of their accounts of the deluge, which, though also full of the wild superstitions of the east, bear the strongest marks of the same origin. But the most extraordinary traditional evidence of this event, comes from quarters where it could be least expected, and is consequently of the greater value, as it could not have been handed down by any other means than oral tradition, from one generation to another. Some of the inhabitants of Otaheite, on being asked by one of our circumnavigators concerning their origin, replied that their supreme God, having, a long time ago, been angry, *dragged the earth through the sea*, when their island was broken off, and preserved. In the island of Cuba they relate, that an old man, knowing that the deluge was approaching, built a ship, and went into it, with a great many animals; that he sent out from the ship a *crow*, which did not immediately come back, staying *to feed on the carcasses of dead animals*, but afterwards returned with a green branch in his beak. From Peru, Brazil, and Mexico, the traditions of the duluge are very distinctly marked with traces of the original from whence they must all have come; and even among the Iroquois Indians of America, it is believed that a great lake overflowed its banks, and in a short time covered the whole earth, in consequence of the dogs of one of their spirits being lost in it, while hunting.

It has frequently been asked by those who are incredulous on many points of scripture history, how it happened in ancient times, when navigation was little known, that the most distant islands, in the midst of the ocean, and the entire continent of America, so recently discovered by Europeans, became inhabited, if it were true that all men perished except one family, who were landed in Asia. It is difficult to reason

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change taking place in its form. I have sounded the lake at the present mouth of the Kander, and, as I found no bottom with a line of about a hundred feet, we are certain that this mountain stream has, in little more than one century, produced a secondary bed of mixed materials, of fully three hundred acres, and at least one hundred feet in depth.

One circumstance, however, is worthy of remark, with respect to such secondary formations in fresh water lakes; and that is, that in consequence of the absence of tides and currents, and that constant lateral movement kept up in the bed of the sea, we never discover in them that stratified regularity so remarkable within the action of the tide. The mixture of mineral bodies carried into an inland lake, remains, therefore, exactly as deposited at the first, and this must always be in great confusion. The difference of effect, may, perhaps, be safely taken as a guide, in judging of what some geologists have called salt and fresh water formations; and if this idea be correct, we have an additional evidence against the extraordinary theories of Cuvier, who supposed the well defined strata of the Paris basin to have been occasioned by the alternate occupation of that basin by salt and fresh water. The rounded pebbles and sand, found in lakes, are never formed in the lakes themselves, as they are in the bosom of the sea, but are carried into them by the rivers nearly in the shape in which we find them.

It may, therefore, be safely assumed, that the regular strata of sand, or gravel, or of fine clay, found in mosses, and shallow lakes, if quite distinct from other strata, must have been formed at the period of the deluge, under the influence and by the agency of the action of the sea.

with those who are sceptical on scriptural subjects, because such persons are too often unsettled in their belief of the *omnipotence* of a Creator. To such, therefore, it were almost useless to observe, that a being who could cause a deluge, and re-arrange a dry land, in the diversified, adn as it were, *accidental* forms we now find it, could, in ways *apparently as accidental*, spread abroad the human beings which were to people it. But to such persons, perhaps, the remarkable fact of the universal tradition of the deluge, from which only a few persons were saved, is more convincing than the most conclusive abstract reasoning: and the more especially when these traditions are found to exist even amongst those very isolated nations, the descent of which, from Noah, appeared so problematical. If we add to this tradition, the strong coincidence in the *languages of all nations*, which we shall have occasion to remark upon in a subsequent chapter, the mind of that man must be of a singular character, which can retain a doubt of the truth of the inspired history on the subject of the deluge. There are, however, so many instances which may be produced, from the voyages of navigators, of savages in their canoes being drifted out to sea, and carried by winds or currents to great distances, that no reasonable objection can be raised to the spread of population, even in this accidental manner. Mr. Mariner, and Captain Dillon, in their accounts of the South Sea Islands, furnish us with many instances of such accidents.

"When we thus meet with some traditions of a deluge in almost every country, though the persons saved from it are said, in those various accounts, to have resided in districts widely separated from each other, we are constrained to admit, that so general a concurrence of belief could never have originated merely by *accident*. While the mind is in this situation, scripture comes forward; and presenting a narrative more simple, better concocted, and bearing an infinitely greater resemblance to authentic history than any of these mythological accounts, which occur in the traditions of Paganism, it immediately flashes a conviction on the mind, *that this must be the true history* of those remarkable facts, which other nations have handed down to us only through the medium of allegory and fable. By the evidence adduced from so many quarters, the *moral certainty* of the Mosaic history of the flood appears to be established on a basis sufficiently firm to bid defiance to the cavils of scepticism. Let the ingenuity of unbelief first account satisfactorily for this universal agreement of the Pagan world, and she may then, with a greater degree of plausibility, impeach the truth of the Scripture narrative of the deluge."—*Edin. Encyclop. Deluge.*

The *moral certainty* we thus attain of the Mosaic deluge itself, may be, with equal force, extended to the preservation of Noah, and those with him in the ark, as the only living beings preserved from this, otherwise universal, destruction; and thus, from every hand, may be drawn additional evidences to confirm our confidence in the unerring truth of the inspired writings.

The Mosaic narrative of the deluge is as full and circumstantial as we could almost desire; but, like many other most interesting points in Scripture, its very simplicity occasions our not giving it that attention which it so well merits; and there is, perhaps, no subject on which the general ideas of mankind are so erroneous.

The most common notion entertained of this catastrophe, is, that by some means, incomprehensible to us, the sea rose upon the dry land to the height of the highest mountains; and after destroying every living thing, excepting those whom it pleased God to spare, the waters gradually retired to their hidden retreats, leaving *the same dry land* that had before been inhabited, though variously changed, in its actual surface, by the wreck and ruin with which it remained charged.

It would be difficult to say from what source this erroneous idea of the deluge has first arisen; the *mode* by which this fatal event was brought about by the councils of the Almighty, has not indeed been given us by the inspired historian; but the clearness of the recital, together with the effects, which we now every where find to corroborate it, can leave no doubt in an unprejudiced mind, that the above mentioned common opinion is altogether false, and has given rise to many of the equally false doctrines and theories of the chaotic geology.

In the Mosaic record we are told, "And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me; for *the earth* is filled with violence through them (mankind), and behold, I will destroy them, TOGETHER WITH THE EARTH."*

Here we have it distinctly announced by the voice of the Almighty, that he was not only to destroy mankind *from off the earth*, which would have implied the earth remaining as at first, to become the habitation of a postdiluvian race: but they were to be destroyed TOGETHER WITH THE EARTH on which they dwelt. It is also afterwards declared by the Almighty, in establishing a covenant with mankind. "And I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; NEITHER *shall there any more be a flood to* DESTROY THE EARTH."* The latter part of this sentence would have been altogether unnecessary, were we not given to understand by it, that the earth, or dry land, of the antediluvian world, had then been destroyed, as well as its wicked inhabitants.

A very close critical inquiry has been instituted by Mr. Granville Penn, into the various translations of the original text on this part of Scripture; and he proves, beyond dispute, that the original, in these passages, has never had any other interpretation, or translation, than that adopted in our English version; implying the destruction *of the earth*, as well as "of all flesh that moved upon it." This estimable writer has not confined his Scriptural inquiries to the Mosaic history alone; but has most ably drawn from other inspired sources, what were the received opinions respecting the deluge, throughout the whole period of Jewish history, down to the times of the apostles. He brings forward that very remarkable passage, from the 2d Epistle of St. Peter, 3d chapter, 6 and 7 verses, "*whereby the world, that* THEN WAS, *being overflowed with water*, PERISHED; but the heaven, and the EARTH, WHICH ARE NOW, by the same word (of God,) are kept in store, reserved for fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men."† Mr. Penn also quotes a passage from the Book of Job, in which the friend of Job, reasoning with him, says, "Hast though remarked the old way which wicked men have trodden; who were cut down out of time; *whose foundation was overflowed with a flood;*" which passage the Greek interpeters render yet more decidedly, "*their foundations are become an overflowing flood*," and Michaelis interprets it, *A flood* OBLITERATED *their foundations*."

In the very curious and interesting work, called the book of Enoch, referred to by St. Jude, v. 14, which had long been looked upon as lost, but which was at length discovered in the Ethiopic language by Bruce, in Abyssinia, who brought home three manuscript copies of it, one of which was presented to the Royal Library at Paris, a second, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the third, retained by himself; we find a very remarkable corroborative testimony to the above view of the subject of the deluge. In quoting, from this apocryphal book, it is not necessary, in this place, to enter into the question of its actually being, what its title professes it to be, a prophetic work of the antediluvian Enoch. This point has been clearly settled by Dr. Laurence, to whom we are indebted for an English translation of the copy in the Bodleian Library. But, although, in the opinion of the learned translator, this original Hebrew, or Chaldee work, was composed subsequent to the Babylonish captivity, it must be admitted to be a very interesting and curious piece of antiquity, though not worthy of a place among the canonical books of Scripture.

The passage I am about to quote, however, will serve to show the prevailing opinion on the subject of the deluge in the times of the author of it, and is quite consistent with the passage in St. Peter's Epistle, and with the above passage in the book of Job.

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* Genesis, vi. 13.

* Genesis, ix. 11.

† This passage, from the inspired apostle, might, perhaps, be extended with much effect; for he seems, in this part of his general epistle to the new Christian church, prophetically to describe some of the opinions now held by modern philosophy.

"This second Epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in both which (Epistles) I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:

"That ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour: knowing this first, that there shall come, in the last days, scoffers, walking after their own lusts:

"And saying, where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. For this they willingly are ignorant of, that, by the word of God, the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the waters, and in the waters:

"Whereby" (viz. by the word of God,) "the *world* that *then* was, being overflowed with waters, *perished*.

"But the heavens, and the earth, which *now are*, by the same word (of God) are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men.

"But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is, with the Lord, as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."—Second Epistle of Peter, iii. 1, &c.

This short passage contains lessons in philosophy, as well as in morality, which we should do well most seriously to consider.

In the 82d chapter of the book of Enoch, and the 5th verse, we find the writer prophetically describing the destruction of the "earth, that then was," in the following manner:

"And falling to the earth, I saw likewise *the earth* ABSORBED BY A GREAT ABYSS, and mountains suspended over mountains, *hills were sinking upon hills*, lofty trees were gliding off from their trunks, and were in the act of being projected, *and of* SINKING INTO THE ABYSS.

"Being alarmed at these things, my voice faltered. I cried and said, THE EARTH IS DESTROYED! Then, my grandfather, Malalel, raised me up, and said to me, Why dost thou thus cry out, my son? And wherefore dost thou thus lament?

"I related to him the whole vision which I had seen. He said to me, *confirmed is that which thou has seen*, my son:

"And potent the vision of thy dream respecting every secret sin of the earth. ITS SUBSTANCE SHALL SINK INTO THE ABYSS, *and a great destruction take place.*

"Now, my son, rise up; and beseech the Lord of Glory, (for thou are faithful,) that a remnant may be left upon the earth, and that he would not *wholly* destroy it. My son, all this calamity upon earth comes down from heaven, *upon earth shall there be a great destruction.*"

In another part of the book, purporting to be *Noah's vision of the deluge*, we find the following, to the same effect: "On account of their impiety have their innumerable judgments been consummated before me. Respecting the moons have they inquired, and they have known *that the* EARTH WILL PERISH, *with those who dwell upon it*, and that to these there will be no place of refuge for ever."—Chap. lxiv. v. 9.

These passages, from such authorities, decidedly show, that the destruction of "*the earth that* THEN WAS," formed a part of the effects of that awful judgment; and the phenomena presented to our view over the whole "*earth that* NOW IS," establish the truth of the historical record in a manner the most conclusive. We have thus given us most important data on which to form a judgment of the *mode* by which this great event was brought about; but, as the mere *laws of nature* will be found utterly incompetent to it; and as the deluge was evidently an operation as completely *preternatural*, as either the creation itself, or the gathering together of the waters of the ocean, we must come to the same conclusion with regard to it which we have already done with regard to these events, viz. that it was in the power of God alone to bring it about.

Many disputes have arisen, and theories been formed, among philosophers, respecting the *mode* by which a deluge might have been brought about *by natural causes;* but, like the theories of *first formations*, they lead the mind, at every step, into obscurity and contradiction. Some have supposed the earth *to be hollow*, and to contain water, which, issuing out by some incomprehensible means, deluged the earth, and again retired to its hidden abode. Others have supposed that by a great earthquake, a heaving up of the superincumbent mass of one portion of the earth might have raised the waters of the ocean, so as to form *one vast wave* on the surface, which swept over the remaining parts of the earth. In supporting this theory it is truly stated, that during partial earthquakes, an agitation of the sea, somewhat similar, takes place, the effects of which have often been most destructive in low countries. But this theory implies one sweeping convulsion which could have lasted but a short time, and been but partial in its effects; whereas, both history, supported by the traditions of the most obscure nations, and physical facts, tend to convince us that the deluge must have lasted some considerable time, and been *universal* in its destructive effects.

As to the theory of the *cavous* nature of the globe, in order to contain water for the purpose of one particular deluge of a few months duration, we have, amongst other powerful objections, this especial one; that such an arrangement would be in contradiction to all the general laws of the Creator, in the study of which we perceive an *economy of means*, if I may use the expression, which is most remarkable. The *means* employed for any *end* are never greater than are absolutely necessary to attain that end; and thence the just balance which we so much admire throughout the creation. When the mandate was issued, on the third day of the creation, "Let the waters be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear," which "gathering together of the waters God called *sea*," we have not a vestige of ground for supposing that there was any *superabundance in the primitive creation of water;* nor that any portion of it was, as it were, locked up from common use, and reserved for one especial occasion. Besides this objection of the *reason*, we have also one *fact:* for when we come to measure the depths of the sea, and the quantity of water existing on our whole planet, by the great and only true scale before mentioned;[*] and when we find its medium depths, all over the earth, not to exceed, comparatively, a thin coat of varnish on a common artificial globe; we shall at once perceive how utterly unnecessary it would be to demand so great a quantity of water as a *hollow earth* would contain, for the sole purpose of effecting so diminutive an end.[†] No. The ends of the Almighty are brought about by much more simple means; and when we are informed by the inspired record, that not only the inhabitants of the first "dry land," but also that "dry land" *itself* was to be destroyed, we can, without any strain upon our reason, and in perfect accordance with surrounding physical facts, imagine the same great Being by whose power the waters were at first gathered together, issuing his second mandate for the execution of this terrible decree, and saying, "Let the level of the dry land be lowered, and let the foundations of the great deep be broken up: and it was so."

But if we insist on *discovering* or *inventing* a *mode* by which the Almighty caused this destructive interchange of sea and land to take place, we shall find ourselves in the same inextricable difficulties as when endeavouring to account for the *mode* of first formations *by secondary causes.* We must make our reason bend to the inscrutable ways of the Omnipotent, and submit, with whatever rebellious reluctance, to the great truth every where impressed upon us, that "the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts." All our reasoning must end in this point, that the deluge, like the creation, was a *preternatural event*, which could by no means be brought about but by *preternatural means;* and consequently, that we should in vain search for a cause in *the mere laws of nature.*

CHAPTER VII.

Mosaic Account of the Deluge.—The Mountains of Ararat.—Origin of that remarkable Name.—Effects during the Deluge.—Action of the Tides and the Currents during the Deluge.—Their Effects upon Organic Bodies.—Diluvial Strata.—Abatement of the Waters.—Renewal of the Face of the Earth.

Having thus, by a variety of evidence, convinced ourselves that a universal deluge took place upon our earth, from which but one family of human beings was saved by the mercy of the Almighty;[‡] and that, in this deluge, not only the antediluvian race, but the antediluvian *earth* or dry land on which they dwelt, was destroyed, we can be at no great distance from the truth, if we suppose, though it is no where stated in direct terms, that the deluge was effected by the interchange of level between the former sea and land; or, in other words, that either the bed of the former sea was gradually *elevated*, or "*broken up;*" or that the first land was gradually *depressed* beneath the level of the waters; or, perhaps, by a combination of *both;* in either of which cases, the effects would be exactly such as are described in the Mosaic record.

Let us now consider this record itself.

"And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the *earth* is filled with violence through them (men); and behold I will destroy them, WITH *the earth.*" "Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven;

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[*] Chapter i, page 57, note.

[†] Would not a hollow glass globe, of one foot in diameter, contain infinitely more water than would be necessary slightly to moisten its exterior surface?

[‡] The preservation of one family, at the deluge, may be looked upon as one of the most remarkable instances of divine wisdom and providence: for there could have been no greater difficulty to the Almighty power, in forming, in this instance, an entirely new creation, than in doing so in the beginning of the world. But if all mankind had perished, a new race could not have been so deeply impressed with the terror of this great event, as we now find the most distant nations are: and if we had only historical evidence of its having happened, unsupported by tradition and facts, the recital would be found to make but a slight impression upon our minds.

and every thing that is in the earth shall die." "And, in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." "And it came to pass, after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth." "And the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." "And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights." "And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth, and the ark went upon the face of the waters." "And all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered." "Fifteen cubits upwards (above the highest hills) did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered." "And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days." At length, "God made a wind to pass over the earth; and the waters assuaged. The fountains also of the deep, and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained. And the waters returned from off the earth continually; and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark, which he had made. And he sent forth a raven, which went forth, to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground. But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him, into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days, and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth; and he staid yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove, which returned not again unto him any more." "And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold the face of the ground was dry. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried."[*]

Thus the whole duration of this dreadful event was one year and ten days; or from the seventeenth day of the second month of one year, until the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the next year.

Now, in the whole of this narrative, we find no one circumstance to lead us to a supposition, that the *same earth*, or dry land, existed *after* the flood, as had been inhabited *previous* to that event; or to contradict the united evidence of the declaration of the intention of God to *destroy the earth*, and of the physical facts with which we are now surrounded, on every part of the present dry land. An erroneous idea is, however, very general with respect to "*the mountains of Ararat*," which are commonly considered as having been mountains on the old earth, and known to Noah. There can be no one reason given *from the narrative* for this opinion, and there are many of the most decided character to lead us to an opposite conclusion.[†] The inspired historian is describing to the Jewish nation, many years after the event, and when the continent of Asia had become perfectly well known, and thickly peopled, the circumstances of the destruction of the former world by means of the flood; and he relates, that on the subsiding of the waters, the ark, with its inhabitants, grounded on one of the points of a ridge of mountains, which was, from henceforth, to be remarkable amongst the inhabitants of the east, and to which those saved from the deluge gave the expressive name of *Ararat*, or the CURSE OF TREMBLING (which is the meaning of the Hebrew word), that the memory of the dreadful event from which they had just escaped might be handed down as long as the mountain was in being, on which they had been saved. We may also come to the same conclusion when we consider the *improbability* of the ark floating quietly for nearly a year on the surface of an ocean as much effected by *winds* and *tides* as our present seas, being stranded in the immediate neighbourhood of the place whence it is generally, but erroneously, supposed to have been first borne up by the waters: and, also, the equally improbable circumstance of any mountain of the old world bearing such a title as *the curse of trembling*, *previous* to any event likely to call forth so remarkable a name. We must not forget, besides, that even those who support the idea of our now inhabiting the antediluvian earth, admit that the effects of the deluge were such as would probably prevent the recognition by those in the ark, of any part of the former countries they had known, as the surface must have been every where loaded with diluvial soils of very great depth.

All these reasons, taken collectively, and supporting the positive sentence of destruction passed upon "the earth that then was," leave no room to doubt as to the mode by which this sentence was put in execution. We may, therefore, conclude, that when the time was come, when this great revolution was to happen, the dry land began gradually and insensibly to sink, or the surface of the bed of the former ocean as gradually to rise; the whole accompanied with such a convulsion of the elements, such torrents of rain, and, probably, such peals of thunder, as would be calculated not only to make a lasting impression upon the minds of those who escaped; but to render the punishment of those who suffered from this *Curse of Trembling* the most awful and heart-rending that the mind of man can conceive![*] The living creatures upon the earth, of every kind, must then have been gradually swept from the elevations on which they would naturally seek safety: and at the end of forty days the whole globe became again overspread with the same thin coat of water, from the effects of which it was "*invisible*" on the first and second days of the creation.

> "Jamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebat;
> Omnia pontus erant; deerant quoque littora ponto."

For 150 days, or for about five months, this universal aqueous covering remained nearly stationary; and it is from this long continuance of the waters upon the earth, that we can account, in a satisfactory manner, for many of the stratified appearances in the *upper beds*, which we had before remarked in the *lower* secondary formations. We feel quite assured, that though, by this great revolution, the face of all things upon the earth's surface was to become changed, yet the planet still retained its regular position and place in the solar system, and must, consequently, have continued to be affected, as it was at other times, by the influences of the sun and of the moon. The action of the tides and of the currents, which we have before considered, must now have had a most powerful influence both during the *rise*, the *continuance*, and the *abatement* of the waters. The surface of the all-prevailing ocean must now have been covered with the wreck and ruin of the animal and vegetable world, floated off in various directions, according to the currents, and the eddies, which must have every where prevailed. The soils of the old earth, loosened by the moisture, must now have become suspended in the turbid waters, and been deposited in the bed of the ocean as at other times, only in unusual quantity.[*] Dead bodies of every description, *swelled up by corruption*, must now have followed the courses of the currents, and floated or sunk, according to the state they happened to be in. Those of the larger animals more especially, would long continue *floating* on the waves, like strong bladders filled with mephetic vapours, and be hurried far from their natural climates, to excite the wonder and speculation of succeeding generations.

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[*] "According to the account given by Moses, the ark was 300 cubits long, 50 broad and 30 high; but the length of this cubit has given rise to much argument and conjecture. Some have supposed it to be nine feet, and others three; but the opinions most worthy of notice are, 1st, That of Bishop Cumberland, who considered the Hebrew cubit as about 22 inches, which would make the ark 550 feet long, 91 broad and 55 high. 2d, That of the learned Parkhurst, who computes the cubit at something less that 18 inches, which makes the ark 450 feet long, 75 broad and 45 high. Even upon the smallest estimate of this cubic measure, the competency of the ark, for the purpose assigned to it, has been satisfactorily proved by different writers; but, especially, by the ingenious Bishop Wilkins, who has established the point with a clearness and exactness almost amounting to demonstration, and rather found too much than too little room. Thus does this seeming difficulty, like many others connected with scripture history, the more closely it is investigated, furnish an evidence, instead of an objection, to the truth of revealed religion."—*Edin. Encyclop. Ark.*

[†] Jerom places Mount Ararat towards the middle of Armenia, near the river Araxes, or Aras, about 280 miles north-east of Al Judi, and 12 leagues south-east of Erivan. It is detached from the other mountains in its neighbourhood, and stands in the midst of a very extensive plain. It is in the form of a sugar-loaf, and has two distinct summits, the largest of which is perpetually covered with snow, and may be seen at a great distance. It is not a little singular, that the description of Mount Parnassus, by Ovid, should bear so close a resemblance to this account of Ararat:

> "Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus
> Nomine Parnassus, superatque cacumine nubes."

The surface of the lower part is composed of loose sand, or large masses of free stone. Nothing is to be seen growing upon it but some juniper and goat's thorn. The whole mountain is described by travellers as having a gloomy and disagreeable aspect.—*Tournefort, Tavernier, &c.*

[*] We may apply to this subject the sublime expressions of the Inspired Psalmist, when alluding to the miraculous preservation of the children of Israel, pursued by the Egyptians; and it is even probable, that he had also in view the very event we are now contemplating.

"The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in heaven: the lightenings lightened the world; the earth trembled and shook. Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known."—Psalm lxxvii.

In the 104th Psalm, we find what may be considered a more direct allusion to the creation, and to the period of the Deluge, in the following sublime passage.

"Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever.

"Thou coveredst it with the deep, as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains.

"At Thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of Thy thunders they hasted away.

"They go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys unto the place which Thou hast founded for them.

"Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; *that they turn not* AGAIN *to cover the earth.*"

At length the waters are permitted to subside; the full purpose of the Almighty has been accomplished. The earth and its inhabitants have been destroyed; and the waters are again to be "gathered unto one place," to "let the dry land" once more "appear." What a scene now presents itself to the mind's eye! for no human eye could look upon it; even Noah himself could form no distinct idea of the state of the new earth, but by sending out one of his feathered family, who he knew would return to him, if "she found no rest for the sole of her foot." Week after week passed with those occasional experiments, long after the ark had been finally lodged upon the heights of Ararat. It is now left to our imagination to conceive *effects* which, though not described, must have naturally followed such powerful *causes*. As the waters gradually subsided into their new bed, the dry land, which was now to come for the first time into the light of day, must have presented a most singular appearance. We must keep in mind, that as the bed of the first ocean had become charged with the stratified debris of upwards of sixteen centuries, deposited upon it by the laws of gravitation and of the currents, the surface of this bed, when raised above the new level of the waters, must have been soft, and still saturated with the moisture of the slowly retiring seas. As the waters became more and more shallow, they would act with the more violent effect upon the soft and muddy plains over which the *tides*, the *currents*, and the *winds*, must now have swept with irresistible force. As point after point upon the new and soft earth became liberated from their sway, the various floating bodies, whether animal or vegetable, would be scattered on the surface, or deeply embedded in the yielding mud or sand by the violence of the waves. Other mixed masses of organic remains, brought into one place in an indiscriminate heap, by the eddies of the waters, would now be covered up by these new secondary formations, of mud, or gravel, which formations would be of very considerable depth, from the enormous quantities of materials thus furnished in a preternatural way. It is also highly probable that many submarine volcanic districts would now become exposed, and also that even volcanic action was not wanting to complete the terrors of this *curse of trembling*. In whatever manner the Almighty thought fit to bring about this elevation of the bed of the antediluvian sea, it is to be supposed that the "breaking up" of the fountains, or foundations, of the great deep must have occasioned that elevation and derangement in the horizontal stratifications of some of the secondary formations which we have hitherto speculated upon in darkness, and in error: and that we should consequently find them, when fully exposed to our view, in a *highly inclined*, and sometimes even in a *vertical* position.[*]

Let us imagine to ourselves the whole vegetable kingdom of the earth deposited at various depths,[†] and more or less covered up by the sandy or other sediments of the deluge. We look in vain to the most terrific catastrophes of our own times, to give us a faint idea of the scene which the earth must now have presented. Those who have witnessed the raging of a hurricane on the ocean, many leagues distant from any land, can perhaps best form a conception of this watery waste, unsheltered by any shore.

The tossing of a tall ship, at the mercy of a raging sea, may best represent the manner in which the floating masses must have been precipitated on the yielding shoals. For "they that go down to the sea in ships, and do business in the great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep."

At length it was permitted to the elements, by the Great Ruler of the storm, to resume their wonted order and regularity.

> "Surgit humus, crescunt loca decrescentibus undis."

The new bed of the ocean, when sunk to the necessary depth, was there arrested; and means were thus afforded to the new dry land, of becoming gradually drained of its superabundant moisture. The order of the world was to be reinstated, and the command was given to Noah to quit the ark, and to lead out with him his family, and every living creature that had been with him in the ark, that they might "breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful and multiply upon the earth." "And God said, I will not *again* smite every living thing, as I have done; *but while the earth remaineth*, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease."

It seems scarcely necessary here to raise a question as to how the new world became again replenished with verdure, and adorned with a renewal of all those riches which the deluge must have so completely destroyed; because all who are deeply impressed with the effects produced by the fiat of the Almighty, at the first creation, must be satisfied that, though no direct mention is made of a new creation of vegetable substances after the deluge, it must have been both as *necessary*, and as *easy* an operation, as in the beginning. The vegetable world must have been *completely obliterated* at the deluge, even supposing that the old earth had merely suffered from a *passing* event: but when we find that the new earth which we now inhabit, appeared then, for the first time, in the light of the sun, and that it must have been composed of moist soils, on which no vegetable production had ever grown, we shall be forced to the conclusion which is most consistent with reason, in the absence of historical evidence; and that is, that the creative power must have been again exercised upon this occasion. Nor shall we, indeed, find it necessary to stop at a new *vegetable* world; for there are many reasons for extending this conclusion also to the animal world, though, probably, on a less extended scale, as we have the positive evidence both of tradition and of history, as to a great variety of animals having been saved in the ark, together with Noah and his family. It appears more than probable, however, that we ought to consider the strong expression used in the record, "*of every living thing of all flesh*," in the same sense as we find it in various other parts of Scripture; and, indeed, as such expressions are often used in our own, and in other languages, that is, not as literally meaning every *created being* over the whole globe, but merely *a great number*.

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[*] In a former note, referring to the lately published work of Mr. Lyell, (see page 65), we had occasion to observe the wonderful effects of rivers, in transporting materials for the formation of secondary strata in the bed of the sea. The account given in that note, of the mud of the Ganges, in its daily course, will serve to give us some faint idea of the turbid state of the whole ocean, at this eventful period: and the sediments deposited by this catastrophe, added to the secondary formations in the antediluvian sea, formed in the space of 1650 years, will produce a much more consistent result than can possibly be extracted from the theories of geology, which give an unlimited time to the age of the world.

[*] All such derangements of the stratifications of the surface of the earth, must not, however, be attributed to this cause, for there can be no doubt, that in the upper strata occasioned by the deluge, and left by the waters in a very moist state, the derangements of their level must be accounted for in the very natural way of subsidence in the course of dessication.

[†] We are enabled to form some idea of the floating or sinking masses of matted vegetable productions, from the accounts given us of the floating islands of timber, in some of the American lakes: these are often several miles in length, and of very considerable breadth and depth, rising or falling with the water, and covered with vegetation. In the deluge, when the soils of the forests became saturated with moisture, the whole vegetable mass would naturally rise to the surface, bound together by the roots and branches, and be floated off by whatever current happened to prevail in their immediate neighbourhood.

Michaelis* remarks, "the Jews have well observed that the expression *all*, *every*, is not to be understood, on all occasions, with the mathematical sense of *all;* because it is also used to signify *many*. Thus, in Isaiah xxiv. 10, were we read 'every house is shut up,' Kimchi most truly observes, though he says *every* house, he only means *many;* as it is said, *all* countries came into Egypt. And if we reflect upon our own native tongues, we shall find that we often use the term *all* for *many*, or *most*. We have also a remarkable example of this strong mode of speech in 1 Kings, xviii. 10, where Obadiah affirms thus forcibly and solemnly to Elijah: 'As the Lord thy God liveth, there is *no nation or kingdom*, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee:' which affirmation, though universal in its *terms*, was evidently not designed to be universal in its *signification;* and innumerable instances of the same mode of speech occur in the Sacred Writings."†

We have some reason to doubt, from the fossil remains of animals now discovered, which have not yet been found alive upon the present earth, whether *every living creature* was included in this strong expression: and though, from the remarkable circumstance of the similarity of all languages in certain commom expressions, and in the universal tradition of the deluge found amongst the most distant and savage nations, we feel assured that the whole existing race of *man* on the whole earth, has sprung from Noah and his family; we have no evidence to lead us to the same conclusion with respect to quadrupeds, or birds found in such isolated countries as New Holland, where the species so entirely differ from every kind known on other parts of the earth. With respect, also, to the lower classes of animated beings, including reptiles, insects, and animalcula, to which latter there seems no bound in the creation, we feel inclined to believe that a new creative power was exercised after the deluge; and we may, in this instance, say with the inspired Psalmist, "He took away their breath, and they died, and returned to their dust: He sent forth His Spirit, and they were *created*, and He *renewed the face of the earth*."

It may, perhaps, here be asked, What reason can be assigned for the slow and gradual course of this awful judgment; since, if the first formation of the bed of the sea were an *instantaneous* operation, the destruction of the earth by a deluge *could*, and probably *would*, be equally rapid. But various good and sufficient reasons may be given, for a *gradual*, rather than an *instantaneous*, operation, in the case of the deluge. And, first, we must consider, that, by this method, the *great moral impression* which was intended to be made upon the family of Noah, and upon all succeeding generations, would be much more effectual, by the long continuance of their terror, than if they had been stunned, and, as it were, thunderstruck, by a dreadful, but rapid calamity. Again, we must remember, that as the All-Wise Ruler of the Universe had ulterior views for the welfare of his human creatures, a gradual operation acting upon what was to be the new earth, would render it better fitted for a habitation for mankind, than if the bed of the sea, with its soft sediments, had, by one violent convulsive throe, been elevated above the surface, and thus left dry, in the most deranged and ruinous condition. Besides, any such sudden convulsion must have caused so violent an agitation, that the *natural means* of preservation prescribed to Noah, by the Almighty himself, must have been overpowered by the *preternatural* vortex into which the vessel would have been plunged.

Thus, although we can in no way account for the deluge, but by supernatural agency, yet the command given to Noah to make use of so common a means of safety as a *floating vessel*, shows us that it was the intention of God to allow natural means, *or the laws of nature*, to take their course, after the first impulse had been given by his preternatural decree.‡

CHAPTER VIII.

General View of the existing Surface.—Force of the Waves.—Principles of Stratification.—Cavous Limestone.—Gibraltar.—The Plains of the Earth.—Of South America.—Of Africa.—Of Asia.—Of Europe.—Result of this View.—Chalk Basins.—That of Paris, a Guide to all similar Basins.—Salt Deposits.—Coal Formations.—Evidences of Coal being a Marine, and not a Lacustrine Formation.

Thus have we followed, in as concise a manner as the subject will admit of, the traditions as well as the history of this awful event, both supported by the corroborative evidence of numerous physical facts in all parts of the world: and we cannot doubt its having been the intention of the Almighty, that the memory of so signal a judgment should be for ever deeply imprinted on the human mind, even in the most distant and isolated corners of the earth. But we should not be doing justice to so interesting a subject, if we left it, without taking a general view of the present surface of the habitable globe, and further tracing, as we shall every where be able to do, the lasting monuments of it, so universally presented to our consideration.

When we consider, then, the state of the earth, as it now is, we find it divided into sea and land; but so unequally, that the ocean occupies about three-fifths of the whole surface; and if a meridian line be taken to divide the earth equally, we shall find the proportions of land and water, on the opposite sides, strikingly different: there being a great preponderance of water on the *southern*, and of land in the *northern* hemisphere.*

On viewing, on the great scale, the general condition of this land, we find by far the greater portion of it but little elevated above the level of the ocean: so little, indeed, that it may be safely said that nine-tenths of the whole would be again submerged, either by a rise in the level of the waters of a *very few hundred feet*, or by a depression of the land to a similar trifling extent. There is, perhaps, no portion of the whole extent of the *plains* of the earth, where the *primitive surface* of the globe can be seen. Nor can it even be reached by *mining*, without a deep section of various secondary formations. Even the most elevated plains, and many mountains of very considerable height, are either entirely formed of, or heavily loaded with, strata of secondary rocks. It is, generally, only on the tops of the most elevated mountain ridges, where the primitive formations of the earth are found in mass. But the lower portions of even the highest mountains, bear unequivocal marks of their having once formed the bed of the sea: and fossil sea shells have been found upon the Andes, at an elevation of 14,000 feet above the present level of the ocean. Whole ridges, however, of very considerable height, are found to be entirely formed of these secondary formations; and so full of fossil shells, that no doubt can be entertained of their present site having once formed the bottom of the sea.

The ridge of the Jura mountains, to the south-west of the Alpine range of Switzerland, is one of the most remarkable and best known of these secondary formations. This ridge rises from 3 to 4000 feet above the level of the Swiss plain; and its length is nearly one hundred leagues, being from eighteen to twenty in breadth.

It is almost entirely composed of compact limestone, in strata which alternate with beds of clay and shelly marl; and the stratification is so much inclined, that it presents a most interesting example and proof of a raising or depressing power having been in force, *subsequent to* the nearly *horizontal* stratification which must at all times take place from a deposition in water. There is, also, to be found on this secondary ridge a remarkable proof of a great mechanical power having been exerted, such as the deluge was perhaps alone capable of. Innumerable masses of primitive rock are found scattered on the surface, even at a height of 2500 feet. These masses, so far detached from their parent rock on the Alpine summits, (and similar masses of granite are found on almost all the alluvial plains of Switzerland), have given rise to much difficulty, and various theories among geologists, all which are rendered nugatory, by referring their present locality to the powers of the deluge, the extent of which no one can reasonably doubt, who has considered the instances of mechanical force constantly exhibited by the ocean when in a state of agitation.

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* Michaelis was a celebrated German theologian and biblical critic, who died in 1791. The extensive knowledge which he had acquired in biblical philology, as well as in every department of learning connected with the study of the Scriptures, enabled him to form very accurate notions on the original institutions and language of the Hebrews. He was professor of Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, in the University of Gottingen.

† Comp. Estim. ii. p. 214.

‡ The experience of every year ought to teach us caution in coming to any determined conclusion with respect to extinct races of animals. A great portion of the earth still remains unexplored, and every year makes us acquainted with some new thing in the animal world, with the existence of which we were before unacquainted.

* We shall have a future opportunity of remarking the difference of temperature between the Southern and Northern Polar regions, which difference may, probably, be accounted for by the great preponderance of land in the one, and of water in the other hemisphere.

Some recent and remarkable instances of the great mechanical force of the waves may be interesting, on a subject which has occasioned so much theoretical discussion amongst philosophers. In the Isle of Eshaness, in Shetland, which is exposed to the full fury of the western ocean, huge blocks of stone are removed far from their native beds, and hurried up an acclivity to an almost incredible distance. In 1802, a mass eight feet by seven, and five feet thick, was dislodged from its bed, and removed to a distance of about 90 feet. The bed from which another block had been removed, in 1818, was seventeen and a half feet by seven, and two and a half feet thick. This mass had been borne to some distance, and then shivered into many lesser, though still large, fragments, which were carried more than 120 feet further. A block nine feet by six and a half, and four feet thick, was carried up a slope a distance of 150 feet. A mass of rock, the average dimensions of which may be rated *at twelve or thirteen feet square, and five feet thick*, was first moved from its bed, to a distance of upwards of thirty feet, and has since been twice turned over. But the most extraordinary scene is in a breach of porphyry called the *grind of the Navir*, where the waves have forced a passage, separating huge stones from the rock, and forcing them to a distance of nearly 200 feet. These fragments are accumulated in immense heaps, like the produce of a quarry.

In *Lunna*, several large detached rocks, called the *stones of Stephouse*, are found at some distance from the sea, having evidently been transported by the waters, and are *the transported stones* of geologists. The largest is about 23 *feet high, and* 96 *in circumference.*

Amongst the remarkable features of the mountain ridges of the earth, are the naked primitive summits of the highest peaks, which from their freedom from secondary formations, and other marks of the sea, we may, with much probability, suppose to have been in the form of *islands* in the antediluvian ocean: and as all islands are but the summits of submarine elevations, it is natural to expect to find the lower parts of these mountains, which must have long been covered with the sea, bearing the same marks of secondary and sedimentary formations, mixed with sea shells, that are found in the lower levels of the earth.

As we descend from the higher grounds towards the plains, we are every where struck with the hills of various heights and forms, entirely composed of these secondary rocks, and often formed of nothing but rounded gravel, or dry sand, precisely in the state we now find these substances on our present sea-shores, and under the continued action of the waters.[*]

One cannot but be sensibly struck with the close similarity, of these elevations, both in *substance* and in *form*, to those minor elevations, and valleys, formed by the present sea, in many parts of its shores. One can even trace, on a minute scale, in those recent beds of sand and gravel, the principles of *stratification and arrangement* which we remark in many of the great secondary formations, and in the great beds of upper alluvial rocks and soils: and as we have already had occasion to remark, those principles are founded on the laws of *gravitation*, and of *fluids*, by the combined action of which, the *raw materials* of secondary formations, when once indiscriminately brought into the ocean by the rivers, in the manner before described, are sifted and arranged; and the various classes *separately* deposited, according to the action of the currents, and the eddies of the waters.[†] It is by the action of those laws alone, that we can account for the great beds of *sand* upon one part of a coast, all equal in grain, and perfectly free from earthy particles: on another part of the same coast, and, perhaps, at no great distance, we find a similar extent of rolled *gravel*, almost entirely free from *sand:* on a third, a bed of the purest *clay*, perfectly free from *both;* and, perhaps, on a fourth, an immense accumulation of *sea shells.*

If, then, we allow for the action of those laws in the depth of the ocean, only on a scale infinitely more enlarged, and proportioned to the extent, both of the *material* and the *agent*, we shall find a much more easy and rational means of accounting for the geological phenomena on the surface of the globe, than all the wild theories yet formed by philosophy have been able to produce; and having this high additional value, that instead of opposing both *history* and *reason*, we follow the well defined track of both.

The most common source of error in forming our ideas on the formation of secondary rocks and soils, is our measuring the works performed by the *unceasing* action of the *laws of nature*, by the small and contracted scale of our own actions. Thus we almost instantly conclude, on observing a calcareous formation some hundreds of feet in depth, that it must have required some prodigiously long period of time to accumulate such a mass; whereas, when we consider the action of one great river, such as the Amazon, or the St. Lawrence, (remarkable, as all the American rivers are, for its muddiness, and tinging the ocean for 60 or 70 leagues from its mouth,) for a hundred years, and bearing, *night and day*, its prodigious load of mud into the sea, from whence it never returns; we must perceive that our ideas on such subjects are, in general, much too confined, and stand greatly in need of revision and correction. It is not yet ascertained to what depth it may be necessary to probe, before we come to the primitive surface; but it is highly probable, if not certain, that if we allow *a mean thickness of one mile*, for the whole secondary formations of our present dry lands, we shall be considerably over-rating their actual extent. We know that the most lofty peaks are not more than five miles in height, and we have good reason to presume, that the greatest depths of the ocean are not widely different in extent. Now, in the four thousand years that have taken place since the deluge, during which a fresh series of secondary formations has been going on in the *post-diluvian* ocean, we must conclude that a much greater change has taken place than could have occurred in the sixteen centuries previous to that event; and yet we cannot discover changes to have taken place either on the lands, or in any part of the ocean, to lead us to the conclusion that formations to such an extent have occurred, even during this longer period. How then can we subscribe to those theories of philosophy, which attribute *immense periods* to the formation of each stratum, and which would imply, from a view of a few hundred feet of diluvial stratification, in such a chalk basin as that of Paris, a succession of revolutions, and of *salt* and *fresh water deluges*, occurring during an unnameable lapse of time?

Amongst the remarkable secondary formations of our European continents, there are few more worthy of our attention than the celebrated rock of Gibraltar, in which we find presented to our consideration a close connexion between diluvial animal remains, and the extensive fissures and cavities with which that rock has become intersected.

This mountain is completely isolated; having the sea on three sides, and, on the fourth, a low sandy plain or isthmus, of several miles in length, and about 900 yards in width near the rock, though its breadth increases towards the Spanish continent; whilst its greatest elevation, above the level of the sea, is not more than about ten feet.

The rock of Gibraltar is of an oblong form, and lies in the direction of north and south. The craggy ridge of which its summit is formed, is somewhat higher at the two extremities than in the centre. The whole rock is about seven miles in circumference, and forms a promontory of about three miles in length. Its breadth varies according to the indentations of the shore, but it no where exceeds three quarters of a mile. The most elevated point of this promontory towards the south, is called the Sugar Loaf, and is about 1440 feet above the sea; that towards the north is called the Rock Mortar, and is 1350 feet high; the signal house, which is nearly in the centre, is 1280 feet above the level of the sea.

The mountain of Gibraltar consists of a reddish grey calcareous rock, in regular strata, which may be examined with great accuracy in the north front, where there is a complete section of upwards of 1300 feet of perpendicular height. The strata are from 20 to 50 feet in thickness; and the whole mass is cavernous, presenting some of the most remarkable caves, adorned with magnificent stalactites.

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[*] The hills of Palestine are almost all formed of calcareous rocks, remarkable for their natural cavities. Those wonderful stones of which the temple of Jerusalem was built, were of this nature, abounding in fossil shells. The pyramids of Egypt are also built of a species of oolite, which is full of small fossil shells, which were once thought to be petrified lentils, and other seeds, left by the workmen employed on these stupendous fabrics. This is nearly as philosophical a way of accounting for them, as the idea of Voltaire, who thought the fossil fish found in Italy were the refuse thrown away by the Roman epicures.

[†] We familiarly make use of these same laws, on many occasions of every day occurrence. If we wish to separate any dry articles in the form of a powder, but of irregular grain, we naturally shake it with a *lateral* motion, when the different sizes and weights of the particles become arranged; the finer always being found at the bottom. Every sportsman must be familiar with this law of gravity, as it is well demonstrated in the accidental mixtures of both powder and shot of different grains, which it is often necessary to separate.

I have been favoured with the perusal of a MS. account of the celebrated cave of St. Michael, in the rock of Gibraltar; and with the kind permission of its author, I cannot hesitate in presenting it to my readers, as it will serve to give a very just idea of the numerous similar instances of lime-stone caverns, which are to be found in so many other parts of the world.

The following extract is from a MS. journal kept by Captain Martin, while in the command of the late sir William Curtis' yacht, the Emma, on a pleasure cruise to the Mediterranean, in 1823 and 1824.*

"Having determined to explore St. Michael's cavern, I took ashore part of the crew, with a supply of signal lanterns, lines, Roman candles and blue lights: and Captain Paterson, an officer of the garrison, who had before made the excursion, joined our party, and was a great acquisition. We landed at the dock-yard, and immediately commenced our march towards the summit of the mountain. In about three-quarters of an hour we reached the stone platform in front of the cavern, which forms an esplanade for artillery.

"From this platform we overlooked the extraordinary line of fortifications, together with the villas and gardens, the town, the parade, the mole, the shipping at anchor in the bay, the city of Algesiraz, La Roche, and the distant mountains, the Ape's hill on the coast of Barbary, and the whole line of the two bold shores forming the straits, along to Ceuta: these objects, together with the deep blue pass, studded with white sails, completed the bird's-eye view, and formed one of the most splendid pictures that can possibly be imagined.

"We now commenced our descent into the cavern; and having proceeded about a hundred yards we halted to look about us. The roof of this apartment is supported in the midst of a stupendous pillar of stalactite irregularly fluted. The water, clear as crystal, but loaded with calcareous matter, was seen dropping from various parts, and exhibited the manner of this continual, but gradual formation, as, wherever it fell, a round knob of stony matter was upon the increase, instead of the *hollow* which would have been produced, had the rock from which it falls, been of the sand stone formation.

"The rays of light from the cavern's mouth, fall on a number of broken crags, and detached parts of pillars, plainly indicating their having experienced some severe shock as of an earthquake, as the points from which they have been shattered are distinctly visible.

"We now followed Captain Paterson into the second cavern, which was larger than the one just described; and I here lighted a Roman candle, which brought into view two most beautiful arches, the columns of which much resembled the pipes of an organ. Through the termination of one of these arches an aperture presented itself; and having made fast the end of a line, and left one of the crew at the entrance, we proceeded on our hands and knees, extending our line as a clue to our return. We thus crawled along a very considerable distance, till we found ourselves once more in an open space, but in darkness so thick that the rays of our lantern extended but a very short way, and above our heads was a void of indefinite extent. As we now stood in a groupe, afraid of venturing further, or of being precipitated into some horrible abyss, I suddenly lighted one of our blue lights, when the whole dome of this magnificent cavern burst at once upon our sight, tinged with the sulphureous hue of the brilliant flambeau I held in my hand. Pillar upon pillar, supporting mimic galleries, arch upon arch rising in Gothic elegance, seemed as if the sudden work of a magic spell, and sparkling with crystal and stalactite far beyond our reach."

(Simulaverat artem
Ingenio naturo suo: nam pumice vivo
Et levibus tophis nativum duxerat arcum.)

"A few feet from us was a well-like aperture, which Captain Paterson now invited me to descend by the aid of a rope; but this I thought it prudent to decline, satisfied with the magnificent scene before me. That gentleman had, however, formerly explored this cavity; and he described it as being about 50 feet deep, and terminating in a range of caverns similar to the one in which we then stood; and beyond these were other descents which never yet have been explored.

"We now retraced our steps, highly gratified with what we had seen; and as we emerged once more into the light of day, our agreeable sensations were much increased by the exhilarating contrast. Upon looking upwards towards the summit of the rock, I perceived the smoke which our flambeaux had occasioned, issuing out from among the shrubs; and being led by curiosity to climb up to the spot, we found a fissure in the rock, which, no doubt, communicated with those remarkable labyrinths, and through which aperture the currents of air were now clearing away the smoke produced by our lights.

"What a wonderful natural monument of former events is this extraordinary rock! A pyramid of huge stony strata completely honey-combed with caverns of this description. Its inaccessible and perpendicular face to the eastward, commonly called its *Levant side*, is perforated with innumerable fissures, opening, no doubt, into its interior recesses, and forming the habitation of swarms of apes and sea-fowl; while to the northward it is completely isolated from the main land by a long extent of sand, called the neutral ground.

"The view which we also had of this remarkable rock from the sea, was in the highest degree imposing. The swell of the waves rolling against its base, and rushing into its dark caverns, produced a melancholy sound; and I amused myself as we passed close in shore, in prying with my telescope into the mouths of these gaping chasms, within which I should suppose a boat could seldom enter, as the restless waters are agitated by the slightest breeze."

From the consideration of the mountains and the hills, in both of which we find strong corroborative evidence in support of what has been advanced, we now descend to the plains of the earth; and we there find, as might naturally be expected, so many additional traces of a former ocean, that every shadow of doubt ought to be removed from an unprejudiced mind. We have before remarked, that by far the greater proportion of the present dry land consists of plains but little elevated above the present level of the sea. We find no exception, in this particular, in any of the continents into which geographers have divided the earth; but in order to form a better idea of this part of our subject, we may refer to the descriptions given us by some of the most enlightened travellers of those *seas of land*, as they have sometimes been called.

Humboldt has given us, in his valuable book of travels, so interesting an account of the great plains of South America, that I shall here lay it before my readers:

"In the Mesa de Paja," says he, "in the ninth degree of south latitude, we entered the basin of Llanos. The sun was almost at the zenith; the earth, wherever it appeared, was sterile and destitute of vegetation. Not a breath of air was felt at the height we sat upon our mules; yet, in the midst of this apparent calm, whirls of dust incessantly arose, driven on by the small currents of air that glide only over the surface of the ground, and are occasioned by difference of temperature, which the naked sands and the spots covered with herbs, acquire. These *sand winds* augment the suffocating heat of the air; every grain of quartz, hotter than the surrounding air, radiating heat in every direction. All around us the plains seemed to ascend towards the sky, and that vast and profound solitude appeared to our eyes *like an ocean covered with sea weeds*. Through a dry fog, and the strata of vapours, palm-trees were seen from afar, the stems of which, stripped of their foliage, but with verdant tops, appeared like *masts of ships discovered in the horizon*.

"There is something awful, but sad and gloomy, in the uniform aspect of these steppes. I know not whether the first aspect of them excites less astonishment than that of the chain of the Andes itself.

"Mountainous countries, of whatever variety of height, have always an analogous physiognomy; but we accustom ourselves, with difficulty, to the view of the *Llanos* of Venezuela and Casanary, and to that of the Pampas of Buenos Ayres and of Chaco, which recall to the mind incessantly, and during journeys of twenty or thirty days successively, *the smooth surface of the ocean*. I had seen the plains or *Llanos* of La Mancha, in Spain, and the *heath lands* that extend from the extremity of Jutland, through Luneburg and Westphalia to Belgium. These last are real *steppes*, of which man, during many ages, has been able to subject only small portions to cultivation. But the immense plains of South America are but feebly represented by those of the north and west of Europe.

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* Should the author of this interesting MS. ever be induced to offer it to the public, it will exhibit the workings of a poetic mind and a graphic pen, such as have seldom appeared in our naval annals.

"The course of the rivers in these vast plains, all branches of the Oroonoko, had once led me to think that they formed *table lands*, raised at least 100 or 150 fathoms above the level of the ocean. I supposed, in like manner, that the deserts of interior Africa were also at a considerable height, and that they arose one above another, like stages, from the coast to the interior of the continent. With regard to the Llanos of South America, however, I found, by barometical measurements at various points, *that their height is only from* 40 *to* 50 *fathoms above the level of the sea.* The fall of the rivers is so gentle, that it is often imperceptible; so that the smallest swell of the Oroonoko causes a reflux in those rivers of the plains which run into it.

"The chief characteristic of the savanahs, or steppes of South America, is the absolute want of hills and inequalities, and the perfect *level* of every part of the soil. This *resemblance to the surface of the ocean* strikes the imagination most powerfully, where the plains are altogether destitute of palm trees, and where the mountains of the shore and of the Oroonoko, are so far distant that they cannot be seen. This equality of the surface reigns, without interruption, from the mouths of the Oroonoko to Ospinos, under a parallel of 180 leagues in length (540 miles), and from San Carlos to the savanahs of Caqueta, on a meridian of 200 leagues, or 600 miles. The planters who inhabit the southern declivity of the chain of the coast, look down upon the steppes, which extend towards the south as far as the eye can reach, *like an ocean of verdure.* They know that they can traverse the plains for 380 leagues, (or for 1140 miles), to the very foot of the Andes of Pasto!"

The generally low level of North America is scarcely less remarkable than that of the South; but that country is so much more broken and irregular in the line of its sea coast, and so much indented by gulfs and inland lakes, that the plains are no where of such vast extent. However, the generally level state of that country is shown by the navigable rivers with which it is every where intersected, and from which the greatest riches of North America are derived.

In the extensive low plains of Carolina, marks of the former occupation of the sea are every where displayed. Extensive beds of oystershells are found at considerable depths, *alternating with strata of blue clay;* and the bones of monstrous animals are often discovered in cutting canals; these are the remains of the mastodon, and the mammoth, found in so many other parts of the world in similar situations.

From the new world we turn our eyes to the deserts and sands of Africa, of an extent and character not less remarkable. They have been described by Bruce, Park, and other travellers. *Pure sea sand* is there the prevailing soil, (if it deserve the name:) and though their elevation, above the sea, has not been so accurately measured as those of Europe, or of Asia, we may yet judge, from the currents of the Nile, and other rivers of Africa, flowing from the interior, that that continent is not, generally, of greater elevation than that of America, being crossed, however, by ridges, of very considerable height, in various directions.

M. Caillié, the enterprising French traveller, who, in 1824 and 1825, succeeded in penetrating to Timbuctoo, and was the first European who has ever returned to give us a distinct idea of that mysterious city, has thus described the desert of Sahara, which description will be found intimately connected with our present subject.

"A boundless horizon," says he, "expands before me; and we can distinguish but *an enormous plain of shining sand*, and, over it, a burning sun. We come occasionally to deep, wells, full of *brackish* water. At a depth of four feet from the surface is found a gray sand, mixed with a little clay of the same colour. At the bottom of these wells there is often found a white kind of earth, resembling *chalk*, and mixed, occasionally, with some black or gray *rounded pebbles.* As far as the eye can reach there is no trace of vegetation; for hours in succession we did not see one blade of grass. The plains had *the precise appearance of the ocean; perhaps, such as the bed of the sea would have, if left dry by the waters.* In fact, the winds form in the sand undulating furrows, like the waves of the sea, when a breeze slightly ruffles its surface.

"At the sight of this dismal spectacle, of this dreadful and awful abandonment and nakedness, I forgot, for a moment, all my hardships, to reflect upon the violent convulsions which appeared *to have dried up part of the ocean, and upon the catastrophes which have thus changed the face of our globe.*"

This traveller states, that the trade of Timbuctoo, and, in great part, of all the interior of Africa, consists of *salt*, from the mines of Tondeyni, and of Waden.

In Asia, we are equally struck with the great plains of China and Hindostan, which are of immense extent; but, from their richer soils, they constitute, in point of fertility, the most productive portion of the habitable globe. Some parts even of these, however, being composed of *sand*, or of *indurated clay*, are also completely barren: and the plains of the Cambul territory, extending four hundred miles in length, are of this desert description. The great *salt desert* of Persia stretches over an extent of about 500 miles, and is composed of a *reddish sand*, so fine as scarcely to be perceptible, and producing nothing but a few *saline* and succulent plants.

Arabia contains deserts of not less extent, composed of barren *sands* impregnated with *sea salt*, and totally destitute of rivers.* The very low level of these deserts, would cause them to be again inundated by the sea, by a very slight rise in its waters. The sub-soil, like that of most deserts, is a *grayish clay*, with a large proportion of *sand*, and containing *marine exuviæ*.

We find the following descriptions of the plains of Mesopotamia, in Buckingham's travels in that country. "The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting; as there was neither *mountain, valley*, nor even *plain:* the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea, when subsiding from a tempest into a calm: not a tree was any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene." The description of these plains by Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, 2200 years ago, is strikingly correct. "The country," says he, "was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of worm-wood: if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell: but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe-deer (or antelopes) which our horsemen sometimes chased."†

Mr. Buckingham, in another place, proceeds: "The people here have a particular and characteristic name for the desert, similar to that which we use for the wide expanse of the ocean, when we call it *the open sea.* In these extensive plains, minute objects are seen at quite as great a distance as on the ocean; and the smallest eminences are discovered by degrees, just as islands and capes are at sea, first, showing their tops, and then raising them gradually above the horizon, till their bases appear on a level with the observer. The bearings and distances of wells are noted and remembered from such objects; and they are seen by caravans, slowly crossing the great desert, for many days in succession, as they approach to, or recede from them."‡—*Buckingham's Travels*, vol. i, p. 237.

In Europe, the most extensive plains are in Hungary, between the Danube and the Theiss. These plains have been computed by Humboldt to be about 3000 *squarel eagues;* and the line of division constituting the ridge between these two rivers, has been ascertained by accurate survey to *be only* 13 *toises* (or 78 feet) *above the level of the Danube.* Thus, it is plain, that a rise of from 200 to 300 feet in the waters of the Mediterranean, would overflow all the steppes of Russia, and connect that sea with the Baltic. The extensive peninsula of the Crimea, is in great part occupied by a vast undulating plain, or *steppe*, without wood, and mostly composed of *sand*, more or less mixed with clay. This plain abounds in *salt lakes* and *marshes*, from which salt is obtained during the dry season, for the supply of a great extent of country, and all the shores of the Euxine. Petrifactions, and marine exuviæ, are every where found in great abundance. The salt mines of Armenia have also long been celebrated.

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* The camel is emphatically called by the Arabians the *Ship of the Desert.*

† In considering the diluvial nature of this portion of the world, in which the Paradise of our first parents is described to have been, it must be obvious to every one, that no such local descriptions of Paradise, as is found in our translations of the Book of Genesis, can consist with the total destruction of the antediluvian earth, and with our now inhabiting the bed of the antediluvian sea. That the discussion of this question may not now interrupt the general line of our subject, in this place, it may be satisfactory to the reader to know, that so great an inconsistency is not left unexplained, but that the 14th Chapter is entirely occupied by it.

‡ "Travelling in Mesopotamia seems, even in the earliest ages of which we have any records, to have been little less dangerous than at present. Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, in relating that part of the history of Abraham, when he sent his chief servant from Canaan to Haran, to betroth a wife for his son Isaac, says: 'it was a considerable time before the servant got thither; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, where it is tedious travelling in winter, from the depth of the clay, and in summer, from the want of water; and, besides, it is dangerous, on account of the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers, except by caution before-hand.'"

If we turn our view nearer to our own shores, and contemplate the level plains of rich cultivation occupying almost the whole of Russia, Poland, Germany, France,* and Holland, we shall be satisfied of the correctness of the statement with which we set out; that the appearances which present themselves on the plains of every quarter of the globe, prove beyond a doubt, that they have, at no very distant period, formed a part of the bed of the ocean; and that a change of a very few hundred feet, in the comparative level of the present sea and land, would once more destroy by far the greater proportion of the habitable parts of the globe. We are not, however, from hence to imply that the *mode* by which the deluge was effected, was less the agency of a supernatural power. We are only to guard ourselves against the ideas of some theorists, who, in treating of this great revolution, lose sight of the comparative extent of the *whole globe*, and of its *aqueous covering;* and who think it necessary to break up the solid sphere of 8000 MILES in diameter, in order to produce the means of immersing a few thousand FEET of its surface.

We shall find, that the more we study geology and mineralogy, on an enlarged scale, and under the impression of the historical view, which informs us not only that the old earth *was to dissappear*, but that it actually *did become overwhelmed by a flood of waters*, and that we are consequently now inhabiting a *new earth*, the very nature of which assures us, without the evidence of history, that it formerly was the bed of the ocean; the more easily we shall be enabled to account, in a natural manner, for the secondary formations and effects, now every where presented to our view. When we have once admitted that the primitive rocks were *created* without any connexion or assistance from the sea, of which they bear no marks; that the depression for the "gathering together of the waters" must naturally have given rise to the earliest secondary formations, in which no fossil remains are found; that in the course of upwards of sixteen centuries, many strata of a sandy and calcareous nature must naturally have been formed, with which the entire bed of the antediluvian ocean must have been encased; and forming heights and hollows of an easy and rounded form, as at the present day; and that at this particular period of the world, an interchange was to take place, between the level of the *old sea*, and of the *old land*, by which preternatural operation, ordained for an especial purpose by the great ruler of the universe, these secondary heights and hollows were to become visible; from the moment we take this view of the subject, every thing on the earth becomes consistent, which was before confused, and in darkness: we can trace in our minds, the whole operation of mineral secondary formations, although we cannot be expected, always, to account for the various characters impressed upon different rocks, in the course of passing under the influence of the chemical processes of nature. When we thus acknowledge the *period* and the *mode* of the deluge, we have only then to discover, in our present rocks, what the particular formations were, which formed the actual *bed* of the sea, at that destructive period. When we have been enabled to do this, as we often can do most distinctly, (as, for instance, in the chalk basins of geologists,) we may be satisfied, that every thing we find *above* them, is the result of the action of the deluge, in the slow and gradual progress of which, during one whole year, the sea would continue to arrange and deposit the substances of every kind submitted to its action, in the same manner as at other times, only to a prodigiously greater extent, from the preternatural supply of the whole moveable soils and productions of the antediluvian continents.† Nor must we permit our minds to be misled by the depth and extent to which these diluvial formations are frequently found. For though in our low lands we often cannot penetrate the total depth to which they extend; yet we must keep in mind, on the other hand, that, on our higher grounds, the rocks, in numberless instances, present at once the secondary formations which formed the bed of the sea at the deluge: and, consequently, that the whole moveable soils of the old world, are accumulated deeply in the *hollows*, or spread more thinly over the *plains* of the new. As a familiar instance of this arrangement, we may take the chalk formation of the south of our own country, and of the north of France, which broad extent of country, though now intersected by the channel, is obviously one great continuous secondary formation of the antediluvian sea, presenting a rounded and varied outline, without any naturally abrupt form.

Let us then consider this great extent of chalk, (which, in France alone, is calculated at 16 millions of acres,) at the period of the deluge, when, as has been above explained, the interchange of level was to take place, either by the depression of the old lands, the elevation of the foundations of the old seas, or, perhaps, by the action of both these effects. This chalky accumulation of many centuries, continued below the surface during the early period of the deluge, the waters of which, turbid as they naturally must have been, deposited more or less of the new soils, over every part of it, both high and low, but, probably, to a greater depth in the hollows; the finer particles sunk, as usual, to the bottom; the grosser were moved about by the currents on the upper parts of these new formations, as they were deposited; the depression of the old continents gradually continued; until we at length arrive at a period of this interchange, when the tops of the round heights, in the chalk formation, came gradually to the surface of the waters, and were washed over by the waves. The operation proceeds; they gradually become more and more elevated above the level of the waters, which, as they sink, wash off any of the new soils which might have been deposited on the heights, and carry them again into the gulfs, to undergo a fresh deposit in a lower level. The tops and sides of the chalky elevations were then left nearly *bare, as we now find them;* while the whole moveable matter of the diluvial waters became deposited in the basins or hollows. In tracing the sections of the chalk, which are visible on the sea coasts, we often discover such hollows similarly filled up;* and we can have no reasonable doubt, that the extensive districts now contained in the well-known basins of Paris, London, and the Isle of Wight, &c., are precisely of the same character, and owe their formation, and their richness of soil, to the very same cause and period.

If any further proof of this were required, we should find it in the fossil remains of *quadrupeds*, *birds*, *fish*, *plants*, and *shells*, found in the lower strata of the Paris basin; similar, in many instances, to those found in the upper soils of the earth, which latter are unanimously admitted to have been lodged there by the diluvial waters.†

A section of this basin, (which has become more remarkable than numberless similar basins, merely from its situation near Paris, and its having been so minutely scanned by the distinguished Cuvier, whose theories, erroneous as they are, have been founded upon the phenomena there displayed), presents a numerous succession of distinct strata of sand, sand-stone, clay of many sorts and colours, marl, lime-stone, gypsum, burr-stone, and alluvial earths. In all these we find no formation of the same exact character, as the older sand-stone formations, or chalk, or other calcareous *gradual* deposits, *which formed the bed of the antediluvian sea.*

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* The enormous collections of sea shells that exist in France, in Touraine, and at Grignon, have always attracted much attention. In the former instance there are said to be about nine square leagues, with a depth of about 18 feet, the whole consisting, almost entirely, of fossil shells. It is also said, that at Grignon, upwards of 600 species have been discovered.

† "The bones of quadrupeds, already mentioned, are never found in the strata below the chalk, but always in the clay over the chalk."—*Edin. Encyclop. England*, 713.

* There is an interesting section of a somewhat similar basin, presented to our view, on our own shores. On the coast of Kent, the chalk cliffs of the Isle of Thanet dip beneath the diluvial deposits about half a mile west from Pegwell, and they do not appear again upon the coast till a little way beyond Deal, in the neighbourhood of Walmer Castle. The borough of Sandwich stands in the centre of this diluvial section of a basin; and a branch of it, of a long, narrow form, divides the Isle of Thanet from the main land, and connects the diluvial formations of Sandwich with the Isle of Sheppey and the bed of the Thames, where bones of elephants, and other tropical productions, are constantly found in such abundance. The wells sunk at Sandwich, and in other parts of this plain, to the depth of from 50 to 130 feet, indicate many of the same species of diluvial strata to be found in London and at Paris. Blue clay, sand stone of various kinds, and many fossils, in the strata of clay and marl, indicate a succession very similar to that found in all such situations.

Nor can we examine any great length of coast where the chalk is the prevailing formation, without observing, in the section presented to our view, numerous smaller instances of hollows or valleys on the old surface of the chalk, which have been filled up with soil, or strata of sand and gravel; all of which are to be attributed to the same diluvial action on a small scale. Several such small basins may be seen between Ramsgate and Kingsgate in the Isle of Thanet, and also at the village of Pegwell.

† "We shall conclude our account of this basin (of Paris) with an enumeration of some of the most remarkable organic remains which have been found in its various strata. Skeletons of unknown birds, elephant's bones, fish, and fish skeletons; leaves and parts of vegetables changed into silex: large trunks of palm trees converted into silex: skeletons of various quadrupeds: tortoise bones: bituminous wood; and nearly throughout all the various formations, oyster shells."—*Edin. Encyclop. France*, p. 686.

The above enumeration is surely sufficient, of itself, to demonstrate the deposition of so extraordinary a mixture of land and sea productions at one and the same period, and by the action of one and the same agent.

Cuvier remarks, that the quantity of *bones* embedded in the gypseous strata of Paris, is such as to be scarcely credible. In some parts of these strata there is scarcely a block that does not inclose a bone; and millions must have been destroyed, in the course of the old excavations, before these objects began to attract attention. The depth of the entire basin has never been ascertained, but it is calculated at about 500 feet.

Of the numerous species of fossils found in these various strata, we need only enumerate a few of the most remarkable, *and coming from the most opposite latitudes*, to show that this, and other such hollows, became the general deposits of every sort of *diluvial debris, arranged, however, according to the mode universally prevalent, within the influence of the waters of the ocean.* We find, then, a vast number of *marine fossil shells*, of which oysters form a prominent part. Some other shells, found in a formation where *vegetable fossils* also were, have been called *fresh water* shells; and thus, the two together, have given rise to one part of Cuvier's theory of *fresh water deposits.** There can be nothing surprising in finding fresh water shells, even if well ascertained to be such, in an accumulation of so varied a character; but their *presence* alone cannot support the extraordinary ideas of the above distinguished individual: and, besides, it is admitted, that the exact character of such shells is by no means clear. We find, amongst many vegetable fossils, the stems of *palm trees* in a petrified state. Of large quadrupeds, birds, and fish, there are many most interesting specimens found in the gypsum formation; and, also, the bones of *elephants, tortoises, crocodiles*, and other tropical animals, similar in character, and in species, to many of those fossils found in lime-stone rocks in England, and elsewhere; and in the basin of London."†

We can, thus, have no hesitation in attributing similar *effects* to similar *causes* all over the world: and if it may be safely laid down as a general principle in geology, that no remains of *terrestrial* animals or vegetables are to be found in formations *previous* to the Mosaic deluge, it must naturally follow, that all formations in which such fossils are now found, are of *diluvial origin.* We are, of course, to distinguish between such formations, and the animal and vegetable remains found so abundantly in the more partial deposits of marshes or lakes, which have taken place in the common course of things, and are now going on under our eyes.

We come to the same conclusions in considering the great deposits of *rock salt* and of *coal*, in every part of the world; on each of which it may be necessary to make some observations: for nothing more strongly marks the former presence of the sea upon our present lands, than the immense strata of rock salt now found in all secondary districts.

In England, beds of from 20 to 30 yards thick, are found in Cheshire, and in other parts. Spain possesses the celebrated rock-salt mountain at Cordova, which is nearly 300 feet high. The salt alternates with parallel beds of *clay, gypsum*, or *sand.* Near the same place is a promontory of red salt, 660 feet high, and nearly solid throughout. The whole Island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, is said to be a solid mass of fossil salt. In South America the salt mines are numerous; and some are found in Peru, at an elevation of 10,000 feet above the sea; but even in these elevated regions, it is always associated, as in other countries, with secondary and diluvial formations of lime-stone, clay, sand, sea shells, &c.

As to the origin of these remarkable deposits, we may conclude, from the accompanying phenomena, that the salt has been deposited in hollows, on the retreat of the diluvial waters, and that the moisture has been evaporated or drained off in the course of subsequent periods.

That the waters of the ocean are found to be more richly impregnated with salt, the greater the depth from whence they are taken, is a fact which has long excited the remark of philosophers; and it appears highly probable that, from the greater specific gravity of salt water, a very extensive deposit of solid salt may take place in the greatest depths of the ocean itself. The reflux current in the Mediterranean sea is easily accounted for on this principle, that, as the waters are forced into it by the winds and the tides, and a great evaporation takes place from its inland surface, the impregnated salt water *sinks*, and being constantly supplied by the entering current, the lower strata, heavily charged with salt, are forced out again into the ocean, at a depth far beyond our observation.

We have a most interesting illustration of this fact, in an account given (in the 18th number of the Edinburgh Journal of Agriculture,) of the opening of the lake of Lothing, at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, on the 3d of June, 1831, when the new harbour was first entered by sea-borne vessels. The salt water entered the lake with a strong *under current*, the fresh water running out, at the same time, to the sea, *upon the surface.* This fresh water was raised to the top by the irruption of the sea water beneath, and an immense quantity of yeast-like scum rose to the surface. The entire body of water in the lake was elevated above its former level; and on putting down a pole, a strong under current could be felt, bearing it from the sea. At one place, there was a perceptible and clearly defined line, where the salt water and the fresh met, *the former rushing under the latter;* and upon this line, salt water might have been taken up in one hand, and fresh in the other.*

Mr. Cox, in describing the salt mines of Wielitska, near Cracow, in Poland, says, that the latter city is completely undermined, and stands, as it were, on pillars of salt. The strata of the whole mine are described minutely by M. Guetard, who says, that the upper surface, like a great part of Poland, is *sand;* then follows *clay*, occasionally mixed with *sand* and *gravel*, containing fossil animal remains; and the third stratum is calcareous rock, or gypsum; from all which circumstances he very naturally concludes, that this spot was formerly covered by the sea, and that the salt was deposited from its evaporated waters. All the above extraneous formations being evidently diluvial, like those at Paris, guide us to the exact period of this, and all other salt deposits.

It only now remains for us to take a general view of the *coal* formations, and endeavour to discover whether there is any analogy between them and those we have already been considering. The first striking circumstance in the coal fields, is, that *they have no connection with primitive rocks*, but, on the contrary, are always found in secondary and plain countries. They lie amongst sand-stones, clay-slates, and calcareous rocks, *but have, in no instance, been found below chalk*, which is one of the best defined secondary formations immediately preceding the deluge, as has already been shown. It is true, that in the unreasonable systems of *general* and *continuous* stratification over the whole globe, which so much prevail in the geology of the present day, coal is made to lie *far beneath chalk*, and is, consequently, supposed to be a formation of a much *earlier period*. Calculations have accordingly been made, as to the probable depth of *coal* beneath *chalk;* assuming, as a fact, that the dip of the coal strata continues in the directions we now find them to lie in different coal fields. Such calculations will be elsewhere shown to lead only to error and confusion.

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* "Those terrestrial organic remains which may be considered as properly terrene, are presumed to be so, from their natures, and not from their situations; as they are found embedded in strata of *aquatic* origin, as well as in alluvial deposits, and occasionally in company with aquatic, in some cases, indeed, even with *marine* remains. They comprise quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, insects, and plants; and they bring us down to the last periods of the earth's change, which connect the most ancient living beings with those which are actually in existence.

"Remains of quadrupeds of various extinct genera or species, together with those of some birds and reptiles, are found accompanying fishes and shells in the fresh water deposits of the Paris basin. These are also accumulated in caverns, or fissures, more or less entangled in earthy matter. Under the same head may be also included the animals entangled in ice."—*Edin. Encyclop. Organic Remains.*

We here find, in the able article, of which the above is an extract, a distinct admission of analogy between all such fossils, wherever they are found in a mixed state: and it may be, perhaps, with confidence concluded, that no fossil, quadruped, bird, or plant, has yet been found, which may not be considered a deposit from the diluvial waters.

† In the above quoted able article on organic remains, in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, amidst the general obscurity which unavoidably overhangs this subject, when viewed under the influence of existing theories, we find many gleams of light, all of which tend towards the very points for which we are now contending. The blindness of theorists to the imperfections and contradictions of their own conceits, is often exposed by the able author of that article: and the geological theories of Cuvier have not escaped remark, and able animadversion. After giving an account of some fossil fish found in a calcareous shale near the village of Stein, (where the Rhine issues out from the Lake of Constance,) 500 feet above the level of the lake, and which have been called fresh water fish by Saussure, probably from the vegetable remains also found in the same deposit, this author makes the following remark, which might be equally applied to many other parts of that article; "We can only say, that if this intermixture of marine and fresh water fish exists in this place, and if there is no error in the assignment of species, the geology of this district requires to be more carefully examined."—*Edin. Encyclop. Organic Remains*, p. 717.

* Great quantities of fresh water fish perished on this occasion; one pike, however, of 20lbs. weight, had found time enough to devour a herring, which was found entire in his stomach.

The following passage in an able article of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, on the geology of England, will serve to show, in the clearest manner, the general nature of the coal fields of our own country; and all similar fields may be traced to similar situations, by extending our views on a sufficiently large scale, and not being misled either by the dip of the strata, or by the nature of the embedding rocks.

"The principal coal fields, in the northern part of this district, lie in Northumberland and Durham; the West Riding of Yorkshire; and in Derbyshire. The strata of coal terminate a few miles north-east of the town of Derby, but make their appearance again to the south of the Trent, in Leicestershire, near Ashby de la Zouch: on the south-east, they terminate at Charnwood Hills; while, on the south-west, a thick bed of *coarse breccia* and *gravel* separates them from the coal fields in the county of Warwick."—*England*, p. 713.

"Although, as we have already remarked, the red sandstone rock cuts off the coal fields in general, yet, in some parts of Lancashire, and the western counties, detached coal fields *are surrounded by it*. All the strata of coal, and ironstone, in South Wales, are deposited in a *lime-stone basin*, the form of which is an irregular oval, in length 100 miles, and, where broadest, 18 or 20 miles. The upper stratum of coal is at the depth of 50 or 60 fathoms; the succeeding strata lie deeper, and are accompanied with paralleled strata of iron ore: the lowest strata at the centre range are from 600 to 700 fathoms deep." (This depth has, of course, not been found from *actual measurement:* 700 fathoms is not far from *a mile;* and it may be doubted, as is elsewhere shown, whether any secondary formations extend to so great a depth.) "In this basin there are 12 strata of coal from *three* to *nine* feet thick, and eleven others from eighteen inches, to three feet, making in all 95 feet of coal. *The lime-stone that forms the substratum of this mineral deposition, appears on the surface all along the boundary of the basin, and is supposed to have an underground connexion, from point to point.*"—*Edin. Encyclop. England*, p. 714.

Nothing can be clearer than this account: and it appears certain, that as in the case of the Paris basin, this lime-stone formed the bed of the antediluvian sea, on which the diluvial deposits of coal, clay, iron-stone, and free-stone, were alternately laid at the same period. This being admitted, we have a natural means of accounting for the various inclinations in the parallel strata of such diluvial deposits. For, in the first place, they must have followed any inclinations that might have existed in the bed on which they were laid; and, in the next place, we cannot conceive so great a mass of very moist materials becoming drained of their moisture, and settling down into a dry and hard state, by their own weight, without subsiding more in one place than in another; and we can thus account for those derangements in coal and other strata which always occasion trouble, and often much expense to the miner; and are called by the technical and provincial names of *troubles, hitches, nips, slips, &c.*

If any additional proof were wanting of the formation of coal having been occasioned by *terrestrial* vegetable substances, deposited by *marine action*, we should find it in the presence of the impressions of *fish* and *shells* in the strata of coal in Leicestershire. It may be said, that, as coal is called by geologists a *fresh water* formation, these aquatic fossils most probably belong to *fresh* water lakes; but this reasoning is not consistent with numberless other facts, exhibited in the coal strata, and which fully prove their connection with *the sea*.

There occurs also in the coal districts another difficulty, which is not so easily accounted for, although we may form some indistinct idea of it. This is, the solid *dyke* of a different mineral, which sometimes completely intersects the strata, and appears to have been *injected*, as it were, into a fissure occasioned by the subsidence above explained. We discover something analogous to these dykes, in the remarkable beds of solid flint, which intersect the strata of chalk, in every direction.* These dykes of flint, though they never extend to the thickness often found in the coal strata, are spread both laterally and vertically over a very considerable space. They are distinctly proved to be a formation subsequent to the chalk itself; and appear, like all flints, to be the petrified calcareous fluids drained from the whole mass in the course of pressure. It is not easy to account for the manner in which the strata of the chalk were sustained, and kept asunder, whilst the petrifaction of this juice was going on; but this, like, many other such difficulties in mineralogy, does not affect the general question; nor ought the dykes of the coal fields to be advanced in opposition to the general principle of formation which we have now been considering.

POSTSCRIPT NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

While these sheets are preparing for the press, and while an opportunity is still in my power, I cannot permit it to pass without a few remarks upon an important paper on the *Coal Series*, lately read before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and which has now been published in the last number of the London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine (for Dec). This paper is upon the subject of "The Lower Coal Series of Yorkshire." It presents one of the many steps in the received systems of geology, which are *slowly*, but *surely*, advancing towards that very point for which I am now contending; and the few remarks I have to make upon it, will, I trust, go far to prove, that the hasty conclusions of the continental geology, on which our own schools have all been founded, have led to much contradiction and error, on this highly important branch of our subject.

It has, for some time, been one of the *well known facts* of geology, that, as trees and herbs could not, in any common circumstances, or by the common laws of nature, be deposited in a tranquil state *in the bed of the sea*, the extensive deposits we now discover in the form of repeated and alternating beds of coal, MUST *have been* deposited in *fresh water*; and, from this assumption, it has followed, that, wherever vegetable substances have been discovered, in the form of regular strata, even though occasionally accompanied with *shells*, such formations have received the geological name of LACUSTRINE *deposits*, as having resulted from the long-continued action of the *laws of nature in inland lakes of fresh water*.

This idea has, in a great measure, arisen, as I have elsewhere had occasion to show, from the deep-rooted error, that we are now inhabiting the same dry land which existed before the Mosaic deluge; and so misled have we in general been, by this delusion, that, wherever *shells* have been found in the neighbourhood of the coal strata, it has been assumed, as a matter of course, that they had belonged to such animals as then inhabited the *fresh water*. It must, also, be kept in mind, that, as there is often a separation of several hundred feet between the extreme limits of the beds of coal, and that, within that space, there are often *many* seams of that invaluable deposit, *each* assumed as having been the result of *immense periods of time*, as we may have naturally concluded, from the *invisible* (because visionary) progress of such deposits in the lakes of our own country, or in the rest of Europe; we are unavoidably led, by the adoption of such a theory, to discard *history*, and to adopt hypothesis; laying ourselves open, in such instances as I am now about to quote, to the vacillating effects, arising from distinct contradiction.

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* During a residence of some time in a chalk district, on the coast, I have had an opportunity of paying some attention to the formation of flint; a subject which has never yet been duly explained, and which will, probably, long continue a problem in mineralogy. With regard to the actual composition of flint, I consider it clearly to be a petrified fluid drained from the calcareous mass, in a moist state. The perfect fluidity of flint, at one period of its formation, is distinctly proved, by the fossil shells often completely embedded in its substance, or preserved in the most perfect manner, attached to its surface. Shells, in a very complete state of preservation, and of the most fragile nature, are often found neatly filled with pure flint, even when at a distance from any bed, or nodule, of that matter, from which we might have concluded them to have been accidentally filled, like melted lead into a mould. This fluid matter, however, evidently did not follow the general laws of fluids, by retaining a horizontal surface; for I have, in my collection of fossils, some shells of echini, which I found to be half filled with chalk, and half with flint; the latter, with a rounded surface, and in a sloping position. The flint, in these specimens, is, also, quite unconnected with the only two orifices by which the liquid matter could have entered from without; it would, therefore, appear to have originated within the shell. And this idea is further confirmed, by finding, in other beautiful and perfect specimens, filled with flint, that the substance is gently rounded outwards at the orifices, as if pressed in a thick gummy state from within; instead of being hollowed inwards, as lead is, when poured into a mould from without. I have also found, occasionally, that those nearly spherical nodules found in the chalk, are sometimes hollow, and contain, in the cavity, a yellow calcareous liquid, of the consistency of cream, and perfectly tasteless. The elongated and irregularly pointed nodules, are often found in the form of hollow tubes; within which, are sometimes minute crystals, and at other times, the matter has shot into long and delicate fibres, like hair, curiously interwoven. All these appearances in flint, distinctly prove it to have been a fluid, subsequent to the deposition of the chalk in which it is now found; and that it may, perhaps, properly be termed the juice of the calcareous mass, in the course of dessication, converted into stone, by those unaccountable chemical laws, which now govern the mineral world. The cause of the singularly irregular cavities in which the flints have been formed, and of their horizontal stratification in the chalk, must, for the present, remain subjects of conjecture alone; but, like the dykes in the coal strata, or the grottoes and fissures in lime-stone rocks, they do not in the least affect the general question.

Mr John Phillips, the author of the interesting paper above alluded to, says: "The *lowest* portion of the Yorkshire coal strata, resting upon the mill-stone grit, produces comparatively but a small quantity of coal; and this, in general, not of a good quality. But no part of the coal-field is more curious in its geological relations, *or more worthy of close study, by those who desire to penetrate into the history of the production of coal.* We may define this lowest coal series very simply, by saying, that it is included between the mill-stone grit of Bromley, *beneath*, and the *flag-stone* of Elland, above, having a thickness of 120 or 150 yards, and inclosing, near the bottom, *two thin seams af coal*, one, or both of them, workable; and *several other layers scattered through its mass*, too thin to be worth working. The most regular and contimous of all these coal seams, reaches, in a few places, to the thickness of 27 or 30 inches, but is generally only about 16. It is worked at various places, near Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Sheffield.

"It would have been impossible to have traced so thin a seam of coal, along so extensive a range, without some peculiar facilities—some *points of reference* more distinct than the varying quality of the coal, and *the still more irregular fluctuations of the* SANDSTONES *and* SHALES. This coal seam is covered by a roof, *unlike that of any other coal bed, above the mountain limestone, in the British Islands; for, instead of containing only the remains of plants, or* FRESH WATER SHELLS, *it is filled with a considerable diversity of* MARINE SHELLS, belonging to the genera *Pecten*, and *Ammonites;* and, in one locality, near Halifax, specimens of *Orthocera Ostrea*, and *scaly fish*, have been obtained from certain nodular argillo-calcareous concretions, called Baum Pots, lying over it. The uniform occurrence of the Pectens, and Ammonites, through so wide a range, over one particular thin bed of coal, while they are not found in any other part of the coal strata, *is one of the most curious phenomena yet observed concerning the distribution of organic remains, and will, undoubtedly, be found of the highest importance in all deductions relating to the circumstances which attended the* PRODUCTION OF COAL."

Mr. Phillips then proceeds to give sections of the whole series, which, as in other coal fields, consists of alternating strata of sandy and argillaceous deposits, exactly similar, in their general character, to what I have already had occasion to exhibit; and containing, in several instances, the fossil remains of shells and plants.

He then continues: "In the upper coal series of Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, *are several most extensive layers of bivalve shells*, commonly called muscle-bands, and *referred to the genus Unio, from which the* FRESH-WATER *origin of those coal deposits has been inferred.* It was, therefore, with extreme gratification, that I found, in passing through Mr. Rawson's colliery, at Swan Banks, in the midst of the series above described, TWO *layers of these shells, one of them about the middle of the series, considerably* ABOVE THE PECTEN COAL; *the other near the bottom, and considerably* BELOW *that coal.*"

Mr. Phillips then reasons upon the "PERIODICAL *return of the marine element into its ancient receptacle, after* THAT *had been, for some time, occupied by* FRESH WATER, *and its few inhabitants*," in much the same way by which the theories of Cuvier attempt to account for the stratifications in the Paris chalk basin.

After what has been already said on the more consistent and *historical* source of such deposits, it is only necessary, in this place, to add, that so unquestionable a proof of MARINE agency, in various parts of the coal basins of England, must shake to their foundations the theories of LACUSTRINE *deposits;* and, until it can be shown in our own lakes, or in those of the European continent, not only that such extensive ligneous deposits are *now going on in their beds*, but, also, that *distinct* STRATIFICATION can, under any circumstances, take place, *without the action of the tides and currents*, we must continue to look upon such vague and contradictory theories, as nothing better than empty dreams, which leave the mind in a confused and bewildered state, without the *reason* being able to attain any sound or solid ground upon which securely to repose.*

CHAPTER IX.

Organic Remains.—Evidences derived from them.—Erroneous Theories of Continuous Stratification. Diluvial Fossil Remains. Diluvial Origin of Coal.—Unfounded Theories on this Subject.—The Belgian Coal Fields.—Tropical Productions in Polar Regions.—Buffon's Theory.—High Importance of the Evidence of Fossils.—Natural and unavoidable mode of Transport.—Instances in Proof.—Buoyant nature of Bodies after Death.—Rate at which they might have been Transported.—The thick-skinned Animals floated longest.

Having thus found a further corroboration of the truth of Scripture, in examining the appearances still existing on the general surface of the earth, we now come to the consideration of a most important part of the evidence, by which the record is still further supported, and in a still more remarkable degree: I mean, that of the fossil remains of animal and vegetable productions, so abundant in the secondary and diluvial formations. This most interesting part of our subject is much too extensive to be here entered upon at great length; but as many of the *theories* of geology have been formed on the evidence of fossils, *viewed under a false light*, it becomes highly necessary to take a general view of the subject; and this general view may, perhaps, prove sufficient for our present general purpose: for it must be evident, that a few facts, unequivocally proved, and supported both by reason, and by history, are of more value in leading to a just conclusion, than a thousand *theories*, however plausibly and ably composed, where both reason and history are directly contradicted.

The observations of the last half century, in various parts of the world, have served to give us a tolerably extensive view of this wide field for inquiry: but when we consider, that geology is but yet in its youth, and is only gradually rejecting the wild fancies of its more childish years; and, further, when we remember the comparatively few spots upon the surface of the whole earth, where we can have free access to a view of the interior structure in its upper strata, it may, perhaps, be worthy of admiration, that our knowledge is already so extensive as it is. As every day, however, adds to the number of ardent inquirers who bring in their stores of information, to add to the common stock, we may hope, in a short time, to obtain much more correct and certain data than we even yet possess, in order to secure the foundations of the whole structure, which have been, hitherto, but too generally laid in the sand.

In tracing the strata of the earth's surface, we discover, first, that *no organic substances exist in the primitive rocks;* nor do we meet with any marine remains until we rise several stages in the secondary strata. As we mount, however, towards the surface, the quantity of shells increases in some of the strata, while in others they are almost entirely wanting, as we may observe is the case in the visible parts of the present seas; but as we approach still nearer to the surface, and examine the rocks and soils which were formed at the period of the deluge, we find a vast increase in the fossil remains, and also a much greater variety in the species that have become embedded.

In the course of our examination into the *laws of nature*, by which secondary formations have been, and are still in the act of being formed, we found that it could not be expected that we should discover any fossil remains in the transition rocks, and but few in the earlier secondary formations; because, in the first case, the rocks so called, having been formed from the first fragments of the primitive earth, (by the depression of a part of which, the bed for the "gathering together of the waters" was first formed,) were arranged by the currents of the ocean, before that ocean became thickly peopled; and, in the second case, because the empty shells of the tribes, as they perished, would be comparatively few, for many years after the rivers and the ocean had been at work in forming secondary deposits. As time advanced, however, the sea would naturally become loaded with the shelly remains of past generations; and we should, therefore, expect to find a proportioned increase contained in the tenacious soils which have since been hardened into stone.

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* For further most important evidence on this subject, see the Supplementary *Note* to Chapter XI.

As we have seen that the laws which are in constant action in the waters, have a power of assorting and arranging different materials, in different and separate situations, we should expect to find shells more abundant in one formation than in another; and as we now find recent beds of sea sand of the most equal grain, and of vast extent, without almost a vestige of entire sea shells, we cannot be surprised on finding that the same law had obtained in the early sand-stone formations, and that freestone rocks are consequently, in general, destitute of these fossil remains; while the calcareous rocks, which, when soft and moist, must have been of a tenacious and muddy consistency, retain shells in extraordinary quantities. We have also found that there was little probability of discovering the remains of either fish or quadrupeds in the *gradually formed* secondary rocks, because, in the case of such deposits, the dead of both classes must generally have been devoured by the voracious tribes of the sea, before they could have been covered up and protected.

It has been too long and too generally the custom with geologists to reason upon the age of particular formations, from the nature of the fossils which they may be found to contain. We have thus arrived at many erroneous conclusions with respect both to the actual age of our globe, and to the *gradual* production of new species in the animal kingdom. As the whole science of geology may be considered to be founded on the evidence of organic fossils, it is of the highest importance on entering upon this subject to endeavour to correct our evidence before coming to a final conclusion. And it is, therefore, highly necessary to discover whether the theory of continuous stratification is well founded; and also, whether a distinct identity of fossil species can, in general, be traced in the same formations *in every situation.* On this most important part of the subject, I cannot produce stronger reasoning than has already been made use of by one of our most distinguished writers on geology and mineralogy; and the author of the very able article on Organic Remains, in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Although my opinions, on many parts of these subjects, differ widely from those expressed by this able writer, yet we here so completely coincide, that I shall not hesitate to introduce his line of reasoning in this place.

"It is now necessary," says he, "to examine a question which is strictly geological; namely, the nature and value of the evidence which fossil remains afford towards the indentification of strata, whether in the same, or in distant countries. Too much stress seems to have been lately laid on their utility in this respect; *a natural consequence of the enthusiasm which commonly attends the discovery of a new engine.* It is, in some degree, connected with the opinion which has been also held respecting the necessary identity of certain distant strata, and of *an universal or very general deposition of particular rocks.* The general question, as far as it is peculiarly of a geological nature, we dare not here enter upon, as it would lead us to a very long train of investigation; but we may state it, not only as our own conviction, but as now a prevailing opinion among all geologists, *that no proof of such* UNIVERSAL *formations, as they have been called, exists.* The arguments which would prove that opinion, from a *presumed* identity between certain strata mutually, *and that of the fossils which they contain,* and which, of course, presume on a succession of fossil bodies, as definite and constant as the corresponding successions of the strata, are open to many other objections, which we must now proceed to examine.

"Even admitting, that in two parts of the globe, which we shall here suppose polar and equatorial, the same strata, as to the materials and constitution of the rocks themselves, should exist, and be found also in the same order, it is not to be expected that the *same fossil bodies should occur in them, unless the differences of climate were considered an object of no moment.* If, in a weaker degree, yet the same objections hold good in those cases where the positions are far less discordant, as, even between the Mediterranean and the British channel, at present, we do not find a correspondence in the living species. In every situation, were we even to consider the animals only, the same reasons against such identity, among distant fossils in particular strata, exist; as we know that the different species inhabit different places irregularly, in colonies, or otherwise; and that even when mixed, they are limited to no determinate kind or number. If to this, we add *the uncertainty of the strata themselves,* the chances of a concurrence become so extremely small, as rather to make us wonder that such a notion could ever have been adopted. *Many strata have been formed in independent cavities,* and are not likely to have corresponded in any respect; and at this moment, one species, the oyster, or the muscle, for example, is now an inhabitant of submarine alluvia of entirely different characters in different seas, *or even in different parts of the same sea.* There is no reason why the fossils of the Paris basin should be identical with those of the English; because the living animals may have differed. If the bottom of the English channel should hereafter become an elevated stratum, the variety of its fossils would confound all this reasoning.

"*Neither can the antiquity of beds be proved by the same reasons, unless we could also prove an absolute succession of species, or genera in creation;* and unless these recurrences were more constant and regular than they are, and than we have shown them to be, in former parts of this essay. We might, besides, to these add many more objections to the probable value of this criterion, from general considerations; but it cannot be necessary. With respect to its value in minor cases, when the strata in one deposit, such as that of England, are to be identified, the objections may diminish in *number,* yet, even then, these proofs *are not to be relied on,* as must be evident from what has just been stated with respect to living colonies, now in the surrounding seas. *That which would not identify modern submarine strata of mud, must not be expected to prove the identity of ancient strata of rock, formed under the same circumstances.* That it may afford occasional assistance, will not be denied: *but, to use a wrong method of solving difficulties is not only to deceive ourselves, but to establish or confirm false theories, and to stop the progress of all useful investigation.*

"It is evident, that to prove the identity of an *universal* stratum, one species, or set of species, must have existed all over the ocean where its materials were deposited. To prove the correspondence of strata less universal, a more limited degree of the same improbability is required. To prove that particular fossils determine the character and place of any particular stratum, *every species, or set of species, should have changed with the superposition of a fresh stratum:* besides which, it should never either have *pre*-existed or *re*-existed. But it is surely unnecessary to add to these arguments against this theory. We must, therefore, here drop the subject, and examine, in as few words as possible, by an enumeration of species and genera in particular strata, how the fact really stands. Conchologists, and those geologists who have studied this subject, will be at no loss to extend a comparison, which we shall render as distinct as possible, consistent with the necessary brevity; because *a few deficiencies in the evidence are sufficient to render the whole nearly, if not entirely, useless;* and we need scarcely say how much we may be misled by thus trusting to what is imperfect or groundless.

"The lias of France, Spain, Italy and England, a stratum, or set of strata, well identified by their position with regard to the red marl, contains different fossils, in these several countries. *Echini are found from primary slate up to chalk;* as are tellinæ, turbines and chamæ. The belemnites, which are common in the chalk of France and Ireland, are rare in that of England; and the fossils of the chalk of Maistricht are almost peculiar to it. The vegetable remains that are found in the clay of Sheppey, do not occur in that stratum in other parts of England. *Crocodiles,* a fossil not a little conspicuous, occur in the lias, in the Portland oolite, in the green sand of England, and in the blue clay. Crabs, which are found in one of the earliest secondary strata, to wit, in the mountain limestone, also exist in the chalk, and in the London clay; as far asunder as they well can be. Madreporites, entomolites, pentacrinites, patellæ, ostreæ, ammonites, terebratulæ, gryphites, pectines, anomiæ, and numerous others, which it would be superfluous to name, *are found in nearly all the strata:* and so far is it from being true, that there are even any predominant associations of these, that *they occur, intermixed in every possible manner,* as will be more fully evinced in the general list hereafter given. It seems, therefore, quite unnecessary to pursue this subject further, since it must be sufficiently plain that *the evidence in question is worthless, or worse.*"—*Edin. Encyclop. Organic Remains,* p. 753.

I do not think it necessary to attempt to add to the powerful reasoning from facts, contained in the above extract. It must be evident to every candid inquirer, that it shakes to its very foundation the whole theory upon which the *indefinite age* of our globe is assumed; and we thus distinctly advance in the line of reasoning suggested by the earliest history of the earth, and by the action of the laws of nature every where displayed around us.

But it is in the monuments left us by the deluge, that we should chiefly look for the most abundant fossil remains of every kind; and we must begin the consideration of these remarkable monuments, by again alluding to what has been already said in the last chapter, respecting the origin of the strata amongst which coal and other fossil productions are invariably found. It has already been stated, that by far the most probable origin of the coal formations, may be traced to the ruins of the whole vegetable world, at the period of the deluge; and in considering the subject of fossil quadrupeds from tropical climates, we shall find sufficient reason to account for the numerous palm trees and other tropical plants which have been found to exist in some of the coal fields. Some writers have endeavoured, indeed, to account for the coal formations, by the idea of *submarine forests of sea weed*, which they have supposed to exist in the depths of the ocean. Though there can be little doubt that many unknown wonders exist in these depths, and, amongst them many species of marine animals, with which we must for ever be unacquainted, and which, as fossils, we may look upon as extinct; yet we have no reason, from the specimens of marine vegetation occasionally thrown upon our coasts, to suppose that any thing like *trees* exists there. It may, indeed, be with confidence affirmed, that no unexceptionable specimen of a marine plant, embedded in rock, has ever yet been produced. The ground for supposing that all these numerous strata in the coal districts, ought, like those of the basins of Paris and of London, which contain no coal, to be included in *diluvial effects*, is, that from the number of months during which all things were fully submitted to the laws which act within the bed of the ocean, these laws had sufficient time to class and arrange the enormous quantity of moveable materials so abundantly provided by that destructive event: and however difficult we may find it, to bring our minds to the conviction, that beds of many hundred feet might have been formed in the course of a few months, we ought to correct our confined notions on such subjects, by well considering the large scale of the whole earth, by which we have hitherto been measuring the phenomena on its surface.

In examining a section of the coal strata in the vicinity of Newcastle, we find the following result in a mine of 270 yards in depth.

	Yds.	ft.	in.
Covering of loose soil - - - - - -	10	0	0
35 strata of different coloured *sandstone* at various depths - - - - - -	177	1	0
16 strata of *clay* and *clay slate* - - -	72	2	8
16 strata of *coal*, of various thickness, from 2 feet to 6 inches - - - -	10	0	2
Yards	270	0	10

We thus find the strata, in this great coal field, composed *exclusively* of such sandy and argillaceous materials as were naturally to be looked for in the accumulations from the diluvial waters, during a continued action of several months. On examining sections of other coal districts, as in Staffordshire, and in Scotland, we find the same constant repetition of *sand-stone*, *slate-clay*, *fire-clay*, *argillaceous iron-stone*, &c. without, in any instance, intervening formations, such as chalk, containing shell fossils, or others obviously *of slow and gradual marine formation*, indicating a long period between the deposition of the different strata of coal. It has been already observed, that the coal fields are generally, more or less, in the form of a *basin;* and as the upper edges of these calcareous, or sand-stone basins, are in many instances traced round the whole circumference of the deposit; and as the same materials are, in such cases, found to form the bed on which the coal and other superincumbent strata repose, we have the strongest possible reason for concluding that the whole formed a valley or basin in the bed of the antediluvian sea, and received its contents, while that sea was depositing the whole movable matter of the former continents, with which, we feel satisfied, its waters must have been charged. In these deposits large trees are often found, *detached from the great strata of coal*, and extending *from one stratum through a variety of others*, which is sufficient proof of these strata, at least, having all been formed at *one period.* Some of these fossil trees are so perfectly petrified, that the roughness of the bark is distinctly seen, as well as the interior circles, which denote the yearly growth of the timber. At other times, the wood is *half carbonated*, like the *surturbrand* of Iceland. It is also a general remark in all coal districts, that the stratification which attends that fossil substance, *always terminates*, and is ill defined and disordered when it approaches any mountain range of primitive or early secondary rock. This is an effect which we should naturally look for, when we consider the nature of the *subsidence* of a moist mass of such extent, on being left to drain of its superfluous waters. For while that mass subsided more in one place than in another, and thus produced what, in the miner's phrase, are called *troubles*, *dykes*, and *slips*, we can easily suppose great disorder to have been occasioned where the mass touched the edges of the basin within which it was deposited; and where friction would prevent regularity in the subsidence for some considerable distance, and would consequently throw the whole stratification into disorder. That these *troubles*, *dykes*, and *slips*, are occasioned by such subsidence, is clearly proved by the well known circumstance in coal mines, that, even in such cases, each stratum usually retains its parallelism, with regard to those immediately *above* and *below* it.

We must feel satisfied, that, at the period of the deluge, the whole *forest scenery of the globe*, with the roots, branches, and foliage entire, must have been floated off upon the waters, matted together in groups, and forming immense islands, which must have been overwhelmed in confused masses, by the force of the waves, embedded at various depths, and covered up by strata, of various earthy and sandy composition, all which strata, having been subsequently placed above the level of the present seas, either by the depression of the former continents, or by the elevation of the bed of the former sea, (or by a combination of both these effects,) have been since drained of their former moisture, and have assumed the solid mineral substance which we now find so valuable.

It may be urged, in opposition to this idea, that such masses of vegetable substances would continue *to float* upon the waters for any length of time, and therefore could not be embedded at the depths we now often find the coal strata. But we are assured by daily experience, that though vegetable matter may float for some time upon the waters, it does not thus continue sufficiently buoyant for an indefinite period; but, on the contrary, becomes at length so completely saturated with water, as to lose its buoyancy, and to sink to the bottom, like any other heavy substance. We have, amongst many familiar proofs of this, one directly in point, which is described as now in progress, on a considerable scale, in some of the American lakes; where such collections of timber are, in many instances, being formed near the *embouchures* of the rivers which flow into them from the forests, that the extent, both superficially, and in depth, appears truly astonishing, and has been described as the incipient formation of future coal fields.

In the late survey of the boundaries between the United States and Canada, we have some interesting information on this subject. About 1000 streams of various sizes are described as emptying themselves into Lake Superior; and as sweeping into it great quantities of drift timber, which form *islands* near the mouths of the rivers. Within a mile of the shore, this lake is, in many places, 70 or 80 fathoms in depth; and within eight miles, it has been sounded 136 fathoms. The thickness of this lignite formation is, therefore, probably very considerable.

These accumulations are often at some depth under water; and it is probable that in the course of their long passage down the American streams, the trees become saturated with moisture, and arrive in the lakes in a state which causes them to sink, and accumulate in the manner described. In our own country we are so familiarised to floating *fir* timber in all our sea ports, that we are too apt to consider *all timber* as buoyant in a high degree. But when we extend our views to the immense forests of the *whole earth*, and consider the condition to which this forest scenery must have been reduced by the action of the deluge, we must be convinced that, on so great a scale, the buoyancy of the great floating masses could not have long continued; and that various succeeding masses must have sunk in the diluvial waters, at successive short periods, sufficiently distant, however, to admit of considerable intervening accumulations of earthy or sandy sediments, between the strata which were destined to the formation of coal.*

We feel satisfied that the plants and leaves now found in such abundance, impressed upon the strata in contact with the coal, and for a few feet distant from it, must have been embedded in a fine, soft clay, or mud; because their most tender stems are well preserved, and are often unbroken to a considerable length: and as many of these plants have been recognized as belonging to *tropical climates*, they must be judged by the same evidence by which the *tropical animals* now found in uncongenial climates can be proved to have been floated, by the currents of the ocean, from a southern to a northern latitude.* If, then, it can be proved, beyond a doubt, that the mammoth of the frozen regions, never could have been an inhabitant of those regions, where its remains are now found preserved in *ice;* we must, upon the same evidence, conclude that all tropical fossil productions now found in climates unsuited to their growth, were lodged in their present beds by the same powerful agent; and that that agent was the deluge described by Moses; because neither from *history*, *tradition*, nor *facts*, have we evidence of any other such destructive event.

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* For the most conclusive evidence on this part of our subject, see the Supplementary Note to Chapter XI.

In Iceland, and also in the lately discovered Melville Island, in the arctic regions, remains of large trees have been found, more or less converted into coal; and in some cases the stems are only partially carbonized. In both these cases, they are of a size that bespeaks the produce of a very different climate from that in which they are now found; and they must, therefore, like other southern products, in northern latitudes, be attributed to the action of the currents at the period of the deluge.

Amber may also be mentioned as an antediluvian fossil, found more frequently in the northern, than in the southern regions. It is not certainly known to what species of tree this gum must formerly have belonged; but it is evident, that it is the resinous juice of a tropical plant, in which insects have become entangled in the same manner as in similar cases, on modern trees. That it should be found more frequently in the *north* than in the *south*, is an additional evidence of the effects of currents; as from its great buoyancy in water, it would float for any length of time, and become embedded in the diluvial soils, from which it has subsequently been washed out by rivers, carried again to the sea, and thrown upon our coasts, or is found floating on the waters. It is, however, often found in its diluvial bed in France, and in Germany; and on many parts of our own eastern coasts, it is found associated with jet, or bituminized wood.

The above line of reasoning respecting stratification, must, no doubt, appear strange to all those who coincide with the following curious passage, to be found in a work intended "for the use of young persons, who may desire to become acquainted with the elements of Mineralogy and Geology." In treating of the general geology of England, and after explaining the commonly received theory of general and regular stratification, this author proceeds thus: "In fine, a view of the geology of England assures us of the truth of the assertion with which we set out,—*that order in regard to deposition is universally prevalent*, and that this order is never inverted. Keeping in view this important fact, we, who reside in a country which is of the newest formation," (alluding to London, or its neighbourhood,) "might *amuse ourselves with speculations upon the distance which any one of the more ancient strata dips beneath our feet.* This can only be done *as a matter of curiosity, for we cannot even hope to approach the truth,* because of the uncertainty whether the numerous strata to the west of us *do, or do not, actually continue to dip towards the east,* any considerable distance beneath the surface; and even if we were to assume this to be the fact, *for the sake of amusing ourselves with a calculation of some sort*, we should still be at a loss as to the probable thickness of the several strata. Coal is one of the most important deposits, and therefore claims our consideration in as great, if not in a greater degree, than any other. We find, then, that the nearest place to London at which coal is found, is in the neighbourhood of Bristol, near which place it dips to the east, beneath the red marl. In this country its geological situation is between it and the mountain limestone. Now, its geological situation being beneath *the* red marl, we may observe, that there are very many formations, or strata, *supposing them all to dip together towards the east*, intervening, *between* THE *London clay and* THE *coal.* And when we recollect that the outgoing of the nearest coal is upwards of 100 miles from London; that the wells there pass upwards of 130 feet through the London clay, before we reach the sand which lies upon the chalk, from which sand the water of the London wells springs; *if* again we consider that, *between* THE *sand, and* THE *coal*, the numerous strata extend on the surface, over a tract of country about 40 miles in length from east to west, as from Hungerford to Bristol; and *if*, moreover, *we imagine* all these strata to be compressed beneath *the* sand which lies upon the chalk, *into one-twentieth part* of what their outgoings occupy on the surface; *we shall, even then, be compelled to suppose, that the strata of coal are more than* TWO MILES *beneath the bottom of the London clay.* How near the *truth* this calculation may be, or whether the coal, and all the intervening strata *between it and the chalk*, pass away beneath our feet, *we have no reasonable ground for concluding.*"*

Thus, because "*the* coal near *Bristol* dips towards the east three feet in six," there may be a possibility of the existence of the *same seam*, at the depth of several miles under the deep *London clay*. For it is too much to allow a loss of *nineteen twentieths*, in the calculation, by the compression of the strata; for, instead of being *compressed*, they must be supposed to be *expanded*, to occupy so much more room than they would all have done, had the whole series been found at Bristol. It seems scarcely necessary to remark upon the extravagance of theory contained in the above passage. Instead of taking *London* for our point of calculation, we have only to extend the idea a few hundred miles *still further to the east of Bristol;* and, including in our calculation all the strata of secondary rocks, upon which coal reposes at Bristol, and following up the same line of reasoning, upon the *continuous stratification of the earth*, what would be the result of our calculation? What a deformed and irregular mass would a section of the globe present, under such a theory? It would, in some rough degree, resemble the effect of Indian turning on a watch: the primitive nucleus of the globe would be entirely absorbed by the irregular *segments of circles* of secondary formation; and we should be utterly at a loss to represent the strata which lie in a *vertical position*.

When such theories as the above can be proved, to demonstration, to be founded in *reason*, and supported by *facts*, the page of the Mosaic geologist must, indeed, be forever closed.

With regard to the comparative level of the extensive chalk formation of the north of France, and the great coal field of Belgium, we have the most convincing occular demonstration of that of the former being *below* that of the latter. For if we follow out the section of the chalk presented to our view on the sea coast, proceeding from Calais in an easterly direction, we find the cliffs becoming gradually *lower*, as the whole country inclines to a lower level, until, at length, the chalk *dips from our view*, and we are launched into that immense sea of level alluvial plain, of which Holland and Belgium form but a small part. Now, when we trace the borders of the great chalk formation in the north of France, proceeding inland from the neighbourhood of Calais, in a S. E. direction, we find, that, although, from the unbroken state of that country, we cannot perceive the actual dip of the chalk beneath the alluvial plains of Belgium, yet we must feel convinced, from the section of the coast which we had previously examined, that we may assume that dip with as much certainty, as if presented to our view throughout the whole line. It is in this great alluvial plain, then, that we find, in the neighbourhood of Brussels, all those proofs of diluvial ruin, precisely similar to what are presented to our view in so many other parts of the world. We discover in great abundance, and at various depths, the remains of elephants, and other tropical quadrupeds. We find, in great abundance, both coal and limestone, without in any instance having to pierce the chalk, which we had *seen* disappearing under the diluvial strata, with a gentle dip and inclination. Here, then, we have another convincing proof of the nature of the deluge, and of the great chalk formation having formed at least one

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*The species of fossil found near the coal, which has been called Lepidodendron, is very abundant, and is sometimes found of great size. Some specimens have been measured in the Jarrow Colliery, from 25 to 50 feet in length: and in the Fossil Flora, a specimen of this plant is mentioned, *four and a half feet in breadth.*

The unbroken *length* of some of the coal fossils has been urged as an argument against transportation, but without sufficient grounds. For if we consider the great floating masses of vegetation which must, in numberless instances, have been bound together at the period of the deluge, we may easily suppose that many of the reeds or tough canes must have become deposited with the whole mass, in an unbroken state. Amongst other vegetable substances found in the mines of Northumberland, ears of barley, and leaves of pineapples, have been noticed. Sometimes large trees extend *from one stratum, into another*, one end of this petrified timber being of a different mineral nature from the other.

*Phillip's Outlines of Geology, page 219.

portion of the bed of the sea, at this destructive period; and yet, in the usually received opinions of geology, the chalk formation is placed far *above* that of coal, apparently from no better reason, than that chalk usually presents an *elevation* on the upper surface, while coal must be looked for at various depths *below* the level of the ground.*

In giving a faint sketch of the scene that must have been presented, during the height and abatement of the deluge, I had occasion to notice the power with which the *currents* must have acted, in transporting the floating remains of animals and vegetables from one place to another, and the speculations which those fossil bodies have given rise to, in these latter times. There is, indeed, no part of geological research that appears to have been viewed in a more false light, or that has given rise to more wild and unreasonable theories, than the mode of accounting for the fossil remains of tropical productions, in climates quite uncongenial to their support in a living state. To account for the numerous remains of elephants in the *frozen regions*, theories have been formed to show that the climates of our planet have been changed, by a change or position of the earth with regard to the sun. Others have supposed, that the climates are now what *they ever have been*, but that the animals whose remains are now found in the north, *had a constitution fitted to a polar climate*, because some elephants have been there found to have hair upon their bodies, with which most modern elephants are usually very sparingly provided.

The complete state of preservation in which they have been found, has also been advanced as a conclusive argument in proof of their having *lived* where they *died*, and having been *suddenly* encased in ice, by which even their flesh and blood have been completely preserved, like the bodies of insects in amber.

To give some notion of the extraordinary grounds upon which philosophers have sometimes founded their wild theories, we have only to glance at the idea of the celebrated Buffon, with regard to the changes of the climates of the globe; and all this extravagance of theory was to account for the remains of *tropical* animals in *frozen* regions; and, at the same time, to lend a helping hand to the ideas respecting the earth which he had previously promulgated. Buffon considered, that our earth was nothing more than a piece of the sun, struck off from its orb, by the violent collision of a passing comet; that it was driven into space in a state of red hot fusion, and thus gradually lost its native heat; that in process of time the latitude of Siberia became sufficiently cool for elephants, and other animals to live there; that when Siberia became, at length, too cold, they migrated to the southward, until they at length settled themselves, and became confined to the torrid zones. We are not told, by this distinguished naturalist, whence the elephants come; how the plants migrated, or how so many thousands of elephants showed so little of their celebrated and well known sagacity, as to have permitted themselves to be caught in the ice of the polar regions. This theory of Buffon holds out but a melancholy prospect to the animated beings now inhabiting the earth; as, in process of time, the whole must cool down to what the polar regions now are. Our only comfort, in such circumstances, must arise from the *millions of years* which the great theorist reckoned upon, for the cooling of so large a mass, and of which, we must hope, there are some few thousands yet to elapse.

Such are the grounds on which opposition to the sacred history has been raised!—and this within the last half century! On a foundation nearly equally unsound, have the subsequent theories of French geology been laid.†

As the whole question of the nature of the deluge, however, may be said to turn upon the subject of fossils, it must be admitted to be a point of the very highest interest, and, consequently, well worthy of the most careful examination. The great difficulty of accounting for these, and all other fossil remains of *tropical productions* in *northern latitudes*, appears to arise from the constant, but erroneous conception, that we are now living on the identical dry land which existed before the flood, *and which the Almighty had declared he would destroy, together with its inhabitants*. From the moment the subject is viewed in a proper light, and the conviction is secured, in the total disappearance of the old lands, and of our now inhabiting the dry bed of the former ocean, the difficulties vanish, and the whole subject becomes consistent and clear.

The first objects in this inquiry ought to be, to show, from physical facts, that a mechanical force does exist, the nature and action of which is, to transport floating bodies to a great distance, and, in many cases, in a *northerly direction*.

In a former part of this treatise, I have explained, in a general way, the nature and causes of the currents of the ocean, and have shown, that one great branch flowing westward, from the western coasts of America across the Pacific, passes through the Chinese seas with great force, accelerated, no doubt, by the opposition it meets with amongst the numerous points and islands. Here, then, is one mechanical power, by which floating objects would be, and no doubt are, transported from one side of the great Pacific to the other.

This same current, advancing westward through the sea of Bengal, and forced to double Cape Comorin, on the south point of that peninsula, is urged, *by the present form of the eastern coast of Africa*, in a *southern* direction, whereas, if this opposing shore did not exist, it would more naturally flow to the *northward* and *westward*, in the direction of the present European coasts. Here, then, is another part of the same mechanical power, which, if not prevented by the form of the present dry lands, and left free, as it must have been at the period of the deluge, *would transport floating bodies in a direct course from Asia towards Europe*.

If we still further follow out the courses of the currents, we discover another great branch called the *Gulf Stream*, rushing, with great rapidity, along the coasts of the United States, *from a southern to a northern latitude*, washing the coasts of Newfoundland; from whence it is forced, in a north-easterly direction, across the Atlantic, over to the coasts of Norway and the British Isles, and would, no doubt, have continued in its north-easterly course, towards the Arctic regions, had there been any free opening into the North Pacific Ocean in that direction. In the present state, however, of the sea and land, this current passes through the Bay of Biscay, and advances, southerly, towards the equator. Here, again, is an existing instance of mechanical power, by means of which *floating objects are now constantly transported from the tropical climates of America and the West Indies, to the northern shores of Europe*.

Mr. Pennant, amongst others, has remarked the variety of nuts, and other vegetable substances, which are thrown on the coasts of Norway and the Orkneys, from these southern climes; and also the mast of a British ship of war, the Tilbury, which was burnt *at Jamaica*, being thrown by this current on *the western coast of Scotland*. The same naturalist, also, speaks of the amazing quantities of drift wood from the American rivers, lodged on the *coasts of Iceland*.

In further proof of the general system of the currents, the following instances may be given, out of many.

A bottle, thrown overboard off Cape Farewell, on the 24th of May, 1818, from the Alexander, (one of the ships in Captain Ross's first voyage, in search of a north-west passage,) was picked up on the Island of Bartragh, in the Bay of Killala, in Ireland, on the 17th of March, 1819, having floated across the Atlantic, probably at a rate of more than four miles per day.

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* The actual depth of the chalk formation, is a point with which we are, as yet, very imperfectly acquainted. In the Isle of Thanet, in Kent, a well was bored for nearly 500 feet, in the idea of finding fresh water beneath; but as the chalk and flint beds were equally solid throughout, the attempt was abandoned. This bore was continued upwards of 400 feet below the level of the sea, and must have also been far below the sea-bed of the adjoining coast; for, in the straits of Dover, the greatest depths are only from 18 to 24 fathoms, (or from 108 to 144 feet). From this circumstance, we may, with certainty conclude, that the chalk formations of England and of France form one continuous bed of much greater depth than we can easily penetrate; and especially as it does not offer the same inducement to mining speculations, which are so often presented among other secondary beds.

† There cannot, perhaps, be a more proper place, than, after the exhibition of so impious and wild a theory of French philosophy, to remark upon the very common notion, from time to time revived amongst the weak and the ignorant in Europe, that a comet is to appear, and to injure, or utterly destroy the earth; and the year, and even the day, is sometimes named for this termination to our human anxieties. This idea savours much of that very fortuitous philosophy which we have found such reason to condemn. Can it be for a moment supposed, that the Providence of the Almighty Ruler of the creation is so imperfect, or obscure, or the mechanism of the universe so ill regulated, that a collision *can* take place between any of the heavenly bodies, and an accident arise from the derangement of the Divine work, as constantly happens in the most perfect of the weak inventions of man? When has such an event occurred, in the lapse of ages? In what part of the annals of astronomy is it described? On those who repose with confidence in an All-wise Providence, and who have faith in the inspiration of Scripture, and consequently, in the unerring truth of prophecy, such vain alarms will have no effect; for they know that the foretold events of Scripture are not yet nearly fulfilled; and that, till these events take place, and while the earth remaineth, "seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease."—*Genesis*, viii. 22.

Some casks and shakes, (or empty casks taken to pieces, and packed tight, for the convenience of stowage,) belonging to the *Royalist* and *London* Hull whalers, which were both wrecked about latitude 61 degrees N., and longitude 56 degrees W., in 1814 and 1817, were picked up off the Butt of the Lewis, within a year of the time of these vessels being lost. And a shake that had belonged to the London, was found drifting through the Orkneys, about eleven months after the loss of that vessel. It had, therefore, performed the passage of 1600 nautical miles within that time, or, on an average, of five miles per day; and, in this instance, the transporting agent must have been quite unassisted by the winds, as these shakes are generally so soaked in oil, and are so heavy, that they float almost entirely under water.—*Scoresby's Arct. Reg.* vol. i. p. 208.

Mr. Scoresby, also, mentions a log of mahogany which was picked up at sea by Admiral Lowenorn, in 1786, when on his voyage to attempt the discovery of Old Greenland. "This piece of wood, which was so large, that they were obliged to saw it in two, before they could get it on board, they found in latitude 65 degrees 11 minutes N., longitude 35 degrees 8 minutes West of Paris. In the Danish settlement of Disco, is a mahogany table, made out of a plank drifted thither by the current; and it is now in the possession of the governor. A tree of log-wood was also picked up not far from the same place.

These logs of wood, the produce of the isthmus which connects North and South America, could only reach the places where they were severally found, by floating up the west coast of America, *towards the north*, through Behring's Straits, and so along the northern face of Asia or America, or across the northern pole."—*Scoresby's Arct. Reg.* vol. i. p. 7.

We have thus distinct instances produced by the above enlightened navigator and philosopher, of floating bodies being carried from an *equatorial* to a *frozen* region. Lieutenant Kotzebue found the current in Behring's Straits setting with great force *to the north-east*, and with a velocity of about two miles and a half an hour. If the same opportunities were afforded for scientific observations on the transporting effects of the currents, in the southern hemisphere, and in the unexplored or barbarous parts of the northern hemisphere, where European knowledge has not yet been introduced, there can be no doubt that these transporting effects would be as distinctly observed all over the earth, as they have been in the above instances. These are, however, fully sufficient to establish the existence of *a mechanical power of transportation*; and it would be both injudicious, and unnecessary, to endeavour to account for all the individual courses of the diluvial currents; for, as the lands by which these currents must have been influenced, no longer exist, the attempt could not be expected to terminate in any certain result.

Having now, however, found an agent, by which floating bodies are naturally carried *from a southern to a northern latitude*, let us follow the course of any animal body, such as that of an elephant, when deprived of life, *in a southern latitude*, and left to the influence of the natural currents of the ocean.

It is a well known part of the *laws of nature*, that an animal body, deprived of life by drowning, at first generally sinks by its own weight, and remains under water, until the *laws of decomposition* begin to operate. In the early course of this operation, and sooner, or later, according to the temperature of the atmosphere and the water, a quantity of *air* becomes disengaged;* and by this air, generated in the interior of the body, the whole becomes distended like a bladder, and rises to the surface of the water, by the same laws of gravity by which it had before sunk. The cause of this gasseous vapour, with which animal bodies become distended in the water, has not, perhaps, been yet examined with that careful attention which the subject appears so well to merit. It has been remarked by naval men, that when a body has sunk in a situation where no current is likely to remove it, it may be expected to appear floating on the surface, and in a shape any thing but human, about the ninth day after death, when a good look out is generally kept for its recovery. The time of such appearance on the surface, with regard to other animals, must, of course, depend upon their size, and the temperature of the water.*

In the common course of things, a body cannot long continue in this floating state, because it is immediately attacked by birds or fish, and again sinks to the bottom, as soon as the skin is broken, and the air thus suffered to escape. In the interesting accounts of the whale fisheries, by Mr. Scoresby, we find that the bodies of whales are often seen in the manner above described, and buoyed up by the air generated in the operation of decomposition. That remarkable whale, the skeleton of which has so lately excited the wonder and admiration of every beholder in London, (the weight of which, in an entire state, was 240 tons, or 480,000 pounds, its length being 95 feet,) even this monster of the deep polar seas, was found *floating* on the surface of the water, off the coast of Belgium, and was conveyed ashore near the port of Ostend. This whale was, no doubt, brought into these temperate regions by one of the very currents we have lately been considering. When a whale is struck *dead* by repeated wounds of the harpoon, its body often sinks, if not immediately secured to the ship, or to the neighbouring ice. When this occurs, a look out is kept for some days, and the body is generally found floating on the surface of the water, and attended by great flocks of sea gulls, and sometimes by white bears, which soon destroy its buoyant quality, when it again sinks, to rise no more; and we may easily suppose that such large remains become gradually covered up by the *marine soils*, or secondary formations, and would thus prove sources of wonder and speculation, if there were a possibility of their ever being exposed to the eyes of man, which, however, we know, from the very highest authority, is never likely to happen, as it has been declared by the Almighty: "I will establish my covenant with man; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.—Genesis, ix. 11.

But during the awful event we are now considering, all animated nature ceased to exist, and, consequently, the floating bodies of the dead must have been buoyed up until the *bladders burst*, by the force of the increasing air contained within them. The stronger, therefore, the hide of the animal, the longer it would resist this internal force; and, consequently, we can, without any difficulty, imagine the bodies of elephants, rhinoceri, bears, lions, and other large, coarse-skinned animals, floating upon the waters for several weeks, or even still longer, if they were rapidly carried into a cool latitude.

We have not many positive data on which to form a judgment as to the length of time *necessary* for floating a body from the equatorial to the more northern regions; but, as one instance, well authenticated, is as valuable for our purpose, as many, I shall quote that mentioned by Mr. Granville Penn, of the "Newcastle, 60 guns, Captain Fanshawe, which sailed from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the morning of the 12th of December, 1821, and anchored at Spithead on Christmas day, having traversed a space of 3000 miles in *thirteen* days.†

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* "When the operation of *flensing* is completed," says Mr. Scoresby, "the tackle by which the whale was supported is removed, and the carcase, or *kreng*, commonly sinks; but sometimes *it is so swollen by the air produced by putrefaction*, that it swims, *and rises several feet* above the water.—It thus becomes the food for bears, sharks, and various kinds of fish."—*Arctic Regions.*

* It is a singular fact, well know to many naval men, that the bodies of unfortunate individuals, who have been drowned in a harbour, or other situation, free from currents, may be recovered *by the firing of cannon* in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot where they have sunk. Many successful instances of this experiment have been mentioned to me; and especially one, wherein the chaplain and a whole boat's crew of the Valiant, were upset in a squall, many years ago, in Torbay, and the whole unfortunate people disappeared. On the following day, an order was issued by the Admiral, for each of the ships of the fleet to fire some guns, and, in about an hour afterwards, the whole of the bodies, amounting to 12 or 14, were found floating on the surface. A similar trial, attended by similar effects, was made with the guns of Sir Godfrey Webster's yacht, at Margate, when the body of a boatman, who had been lost, was thus recovered. The idea generally entertained of the cause of this effect, is, that the concussion occasioned by the firing, breaks the gall-bladder, when a chemical process takes place, in which a quantity of gas is produced, which swells up the body, and causes it instantly to rise to the surface. Whether this be strictly correct or not, must be left for chemists to decide. This effect of concussion, however, certainly deserves more attentive consideration than it appears hitherto to have met with. It may assist in leading us to an explanation of the manner in which fish are known to be affected, at a great depth, by sounds; as porpoises, dolphins, and other larger fish, are known to be roused to unusual exertion and activity, by the firing of cannon. The subject might also afford great additional assistance to the benevolent efforts of the Royal Humane Society, in the recovery of lost bodies.

† As the longitude of Halifax is 68 degrees west of London, the

Had it not been for an interruption of forty-eight hours, occasioned by contrary winds, this distance would have been run in *eleven days*. The average progress, therefore, was 273 miles in the twenty-four hours; and on one of the days, the vessel actually ran 288 miles. As the wind blew almost a constant hurricane, *very little sail was carried*."*

We have here a recent instance of a large floating body following the direct line of one of the very currents which we have traced, (assisted, it is true, by a high wind,) and passing over a space of nearly 4000 miles in about eleven days, with very little assistance from artificial means. One glance at the map of the world will show that the same favourable current, and the same powerful wind, would, in a few days more, have carried the same body *into the polar seas*. Now, from the latitude of 20 degrees north, (or about the meridian of the centre of Hindostan,) to that of 75 degrees, (or that of the north of Nova Zembla and Siberia,) is not more than a distance of 3300 miles; and, therefore, even allowing for a smaller floating body than a ship of war, without much sail, we cannot hesitate in concluding to the *impossibility* of large inflated animal bodies remaining entire during a longer time than would be necessary for the passage of this distance, at a period peculiarly marked by storms and tempests. We are not, however, to suppose it probable, that the greater number of dead bodies reached a high northern latitude in an *entire* state. On the contrary, numbers must have sunk in every part of the temperate regions, and become embedded, piece-meal, in the rapidly accumulating diluvial formations where we now find them in a fossil state. But it must be admitted to be a remarkably corroborative circumstance, in support of this view of the subject, that, as the elephant, the hippopotamus and rhinoceros, are the animals, of all others, we should expect to float longest in an entire state, from the great strength and thickness of their skins, so they are the very animals now found in such vast numbers in the frozen regions, as to make their ivory a very considerable and valuable branch of northern commerce.

CHAPTER X.

High Importance of the Evidence of Fossils.—Siberian Mammoth.—The entire Elephant of the Lena.—Theories founded on this Specimen, unsupported by facts.—Consistent mode of accounting for Tropical Productions in Cold Climates.—Unchanged condition of the Climates of the Earth.—Italian Deposits.—Monte Bolca.—Fossils on the Coast of Norfolk.—Formations of the South of England.—The same View extended to the Continent.

We may now proceed to the consideration of some of the most remarkable fossil remains of quadrupeds that have been found in the temperate regions, and in such quantities in high northern latitudes, as to have given rise to much speculation and vague theory amongst philosophers, respecting the means by which they came into their present unnatural situations.

The bones of large quadrupeds have been observed, more or less, in all the quarters of the globe, where any attention has been paid to the search for them. In early times they were considered as the bones of the giants which were supposed to have formerly inhabited the earth. As mankind became more enlightened, these absurd opinions gave place to something nearer approaching the truth: it is, however, only within the last half century that science has applied that attention to the subject, of which it is so highly deserving; though the number of different opinions relating to these animal remains, proves how uncertain philosophers still are respecting them. The great attention of late paid to comparative anatomy, more especially in France, under that distinguished naturalist, the late Baron Cuvier, has greatly increased our knowledge of the different classes of animals, the remains of which are now found in the earth. But the geological views of that eminent man by no means kept pace with his zoological and anatomical knowledge. His theories of the earth, though exhibiting much talent, are all formed upon those very principles of *secondary causes* which we have found to be so objectional and unsound. His *numerous revolutions*, his *alternate salt and fresh water deluges*, all bespeak the school from which he derived his earliest geological ideas, and of which he himself latterly became the head. We cannot, therefore, with any consistency, or hope of profitable instruction, follow the track by which he would lead us to the origin of these fossil remains.

It is in the arctic and north polar regions of the earth, that some of the most remarkable and best preserved of these fossil remains have been discovered. There cannot, however, be a doubt, that if the south polar regions were equally accessible, we should also find their icy masses charged with the remains of the antediluvian dead. In Siberia, that barren region, so associated in our minds with tyrannical cruelty, solitude and desolation, where

> ——— neque ullæ
> Aut herbæ campo apparent aut arbore frondes:
> Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
> Terra gelu late,———
> Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora cauri,

the great steppes, or plains, formed of a *sandy* and *gravelly soil*, intermixed with *salt lakes*, contain such quantities of the remains of elephants, that the fossil ivory forms a highly important and valuable branch of commerce. The natives of that country have given the name of *mammoth, or the mole*, to these fossil elephants; and, however strange it may appear, they look upon them as the bodies of animals *now living under the ground;* which idea is, however, founded on appearances and facts which render it in some sort plausible. For those who inhabit the northern regions, frequently find the remains of these large bodies still *fresh* and *bloody;* and as no such animals are ever seen on the surface of the ground in those regions, it is not unnatural for the ignorant peasants to suppose them to be a species of gigantic mole, which still lives and burrows in the earth. The able historian, Müller, who resided at Moscow in 1779, admitted that he was of the same opinion.

About the year 1799, a large object was observed by some fishermen, near the mouth of the Lena, on the coast of the Arctic ocean, to project from an icy bank, but beyond the reach of examination. For several following seasons the same object was remarked, and every year a little more disengaged from its icy bed, by the slow melting of the ice during the short summers. At length, in 1803, it became entirely detached, and the enormous carcase of a mammoth fell upon the sand bank below. This remarkable specimen was *quite entire* when it first fell, and the flesh so well preserved that it was greedily devoured by the white bears, and by the dogs of the fishermen.* In 1806, the remains of this carcase were examined by Mr. Adams, a member of the academy of St. Petersburgh, when the greater part of the bones, and a large portion of the skin yet remained. The brain was then still within the skull, but shrunk and dried up; and one of the ears was well preserved, retaining a tuft of strong bristly hair. The animal was a male, and is described as having had a sort of mane on its neck. As the description of Mr. Adams, however, was given nearly three years after the body fell on the sands, and as it had been partially exposed to the atmosphere during several years more, there can be little doubt that, if it had been dug out of its icy bed when first seen in 1799, we should have had a complete and minute description and drawing of one species of the antediluvian elephant.

Much stress has been laid by naturalists, whose theories of the earth required the aid of such evidence, on the remarkable shaggy coat of hair, with a species of wool at the roots, with which this antideluvian elephant was clothed: and it has been advanced, as a *positive proof* of the animal having *lived where his remains were discovered;* and, consequently, that he, and *thousands* of the same unwieldly race, the fossil bones of which are now found in such surprising quantities in the north, were all the *natural inhabitants* of these sterile regions,

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direct distance passed over by the Newcastle, must be fully 3700 geographical miles, or nearly 1000 more than Mr. Penn has calculated upon.

* Comp. Estim.

* It may appear to some, an improbable part of the history of this remarkable fossil, that any animal substance could have so long resisted decomposition, when acted upon by a solar heat, capable of melting the ice in which it was embedded. But it must be considered, that, in those high northern latitudes, as in the great atmospheric elevations of mountain ridges, in the regions of eternal snow, the air is of so rare and dry a nature, that the decomposition of animal substances can scarcely take place under any circumstances. It is true, that the direct rays of the sun act, in such situations, for a short time, with great power. But a general heat is never produced, such as occasions rapid fermentation in the equatorial and temperate regions.

where no appearance of vegetation for their support is ever now produced.[*] But notwithstanding this thick coat of hair and wool, we have not a shadow of ground for supposing the animal which it covered, ever to have been a native of the frozen regions; because, in their present state, the soils of those climates do not produce the food necessary even for the smallest graminivorous animals, much less, then, for creatures of the size of the elephant, which are known to require the most luxuriant forest scenery for their habitation. It is admitted that no such scenery exists within many degrees of latitude of the Arctic ocean; and it must, therefore, follow, that no such animals could find the necessary sustenance there, *in the present state of the world.* This difficulty is, however, easily overcome by those who insist on the mammoth having been a native of the countries where we now find its remains. For they immediately change the position of the globe, and endeavour to show, that what are now the frozen poles, were made so by some unexplained convulsion, after having enjoyed all the luxuries of a tropical climate; and they further endeavour to prove, that this convulsion must have been *quite sudden*, as the flesh and blood of this fossil elephant were still preserved entire. The *supposed* suddenness of this *supposed* convulsion, however, proves more than is demanded or desired by these theorists; for, if this elephant, together with the very great number of elephants and rhinoceri, whose remains are found in such quantities all over the frozen zone, were *suddenly* encased in ice, and thus, from that instant, preserved as entire as insects found in amber, why is it that we do not find, in the descriptions of these icy masses, any mention made of the quantities of *vegetable* productions amongst which they *must have lived*, and which would equally have been preserved in the most perfect manner? We should, in such a case, have expected to have found, on the shores of the icy ocean, a complete antediluvian herbal, which would have settled all discussions respecting fossil vegetables found in other parts of the earth. We can in no way conceive a convulsion taking place, to produce *suddenly*, such effects as exist at the poles, without freezing up, and preserving entire, the forests and jungles, as well as the wild beasts contained in them: nor is it in the least degree probable, that the elephants and rhinoceri would have been singled out for preservation, amongst all the numerous species of animals which inhabited the same forests as themselves, whilst almost every other creature was suffered to escape.

"There is not," says Pallas, "in all Asiatic Russia, from the Don, to the extremity of the promontory of Tchutchis, a stream or river, in the banks of which they do not find elephants, and other *large animals*, now strangers to that climate."[†] We no where hear, however, of either *fossil* or *recent luxuriance of vegetation* in these inhospitable regions, nor have we the smallest ground to conclude, that they have ever been less rigid than they now are, since the creation of the world; nor, consequently, that elephants, or other tropical productions, animal or vegetable, could ever have found subsistence there for a single day: nor will the undisputed fact of an elephant having hair on its body, afford us any conviction of its ever having inhabited so cold a climate: for though most of the present known species have but little hair, many of the most shaggy animals are natives of the tropics.

Pallas, in his Memoir on the remarkable fossils with which Siberia abounds, describes having there discovered *an entire rhinoceros*, the skin and flesh of which were preserved in ice, in the same manner as the specimen of the mammoth which we have now been considering: *but we do not find that this specimen was covered with a coat of hair.* Nor is it likely that so unusual a circumstance, had it existed, would have escaped particular remark and description by this philosopher.

To those who have well considered the condition of the earth at the period of the deluge, which has been so lately discussed, there can be no difficulty in accounting for the numerous fossil remains of tropical plants and animals every were found, more or less, in the upper strata of the globe; and that such remains should have been preserved *entire* in the frozen regions, towards which, I have shown, they would naturally be carried by some of the currents of the ocean, is only a consequence to be as naturally expected from such transportation. We must feel satisfied, that the elephant and rhinoceros would be, of all animals, *the most likely to float longest*, from their great bulk, and the strength and thickness of their skin.[*] If we follow the track which such large floating bodies must have taken, in a current flowing directly from the tropical to the northern latitudes; and if we consider that a *very few weeks* would, *at the utmost*, be necessary for their transport, as has been shown by the passage of a vessel, carrying little sail, over nearly 4000 miles in a similar course, in *eleven days*, we shall feel convinced of the *possibility* of their having been, in many instances, lodged in the icy regions of the north, with their skins *entire*, and their flesh and blood, consequently, preserved.

That those regions were *then* as cold as at the present day, is distinctly proved by the condition of the bodies themselves, which, with their icy covering, *must be in exactly the same state as when embedded four thousand years ago.* Why is it only in the colder regions that the *flesh* of these animals has been preserved, while in Britain, and in the other temperate climates, nothing but the bones remain, and generally in a detached and broken state? It is clear, that in the one case, the higher temperature of the soil has caused the decomposition of the softer parts; while in the other, the frozen state of the earth, at the depth of a foot or two, even in the heat of the short summers, has prevented decay;[†] and it must be equally evident, to an unprejudiced mind, that, in the course and prevalence of the waters upon the earth, and in so complete a wreck of animated beings, numberless bodies of every kind must have sunk and gone to pieces, and have become subject to the same laws of gravity and of fluids, by which we have seen that all movable bodies become classed and arranged in the bed of the ocean; while those that were floated off by more rapid portions of the currents, reached a higher latitude in a more entire state, where their subsequent preservation must have depended upon the temperature of the climates, where they became embedded.

It appears certain, then, that on the subsiding of the waters of the deluge into their new bed, the floating bodies, in the northern regions, must have been *stranded* on the gravelly and sandy bottom of what was formerly the bed of the antediluvian sea; that they were, in many cases, sunk at various depths in this soft soil, agitated as its surface must have been by the slowly retiring waters; that the inclemency of the north soon congealed *into ice* the moisture that was not quickly drained off upon the surface; and that the bodies so hermetically sealed up, have remained in the precise condition in which they chanced to be, not only until our days, but will be preserved for any length of time, unless brought within the action of the atmosphere by the mechanical friction of rivers, or by other natural causes. It is also certain, that all other embedded bodies, such as vegetable productions, would have been equally well preserved, both in *substance*, and in *colour*, had they existed in any great quantity, as in *their natural soils;* and, that as no such vegetable productions are found in the ice of the north, we must conclude, that the northern regions never were different in climate from what they are at present; and, consequently, that they have always been equally unfitted for the support of both the animal and vegetable world.[*]

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[*] I have seen the highly interesting portion of the skin and hair of this specimen, which was sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and is now in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. The skin is fully half an inch in thickness, in its dry and hard state, and must have originally been nearly an inch thick, and of prodigious strength. The hair is of three kinds, probably taken from different parts of the body. The longest is about a foot in length, of the nature of a thick bristle, and black in colour. The tufts of the second are of a dark chesnut colour, about four or five inches long, and of about the coarseness of the mane of a horse. The third kind of hair is of a dirty yellowish tint, and not more than about an inch long, closely covering the skin at the roots of the longest coat. Upon the whole, this hair presents us with the idea of a very rough and shaggy animal, of a dark brown, or chesnut colour, approaching to black, and which must, indeed, have exhibited a frightful appearance.

[†] Reliq. Diluv. p. 185.

[*] In Siberia, there are found the fossil remains of buffaloes, of a very great size, and said to be larger than any existing known species. But this latter fact we have every reason to doubt. Mankind are at all times fond of the marvellous; and without recent bones, with which to make the comparison, those of the fossil buffaloe must appear very great. The fact is, that there are few quadrupeds of a more unwieldy growth, than the full grown buffaloe in its native tropical climate.

[†] In the frozen regions, and near the poles, the heat of the sun, even during an unceasing day of several months duration, has so little power, that, at whatever depths trials have been made, the fissures in the rocks have always been found filled with ice, as eternal as that on the tops of the highest mountains. M. Patrin, who spent many years in Siberia, found this to be the case, on descending the mines of that country.

"The antiseptical effect of cold, in the polar countries, on animal and vegetable substances, is such as to preserve them unchanged for a period of many years. An instance corroborative of this remark, is given by M. Bleau, who in his Atlas Historique, informs us, that the bodies of seven Dutch seamen, who perished in Spitzbergen, in 1635, were found twenty years afterwards in a perfect state, not having suffered the smallest degree of putrefaction."—"Wood, and other vegetable substances are preserved in a similar manner. Things of this nature have been met with in Spitzbergen, which have resisted all injury from the weather during the lapse of a century."—*Scoresby's Arct. Reg.* vol. ii. p. 344.

The conclusion at which we thus unavoidably arrive, with respect to any ONE fossil body, in the condition of the mammoth in ice, at the mouth of the Lena, involves the history of almost all the fossil remains of quadrupeds found in the alluvial soils in every quarter of the world. For if we can, *in any one instance*, prove that a production of a southern latitude has been transported to one very far to the north, in so short a space of time as to have its most destructible parts perfectly preserved, we cannot stop short in our conclusions: we cannot suppose *that* to be a solitary instance. On the contrary, we must attribute all fossil remains, both of animals and vegetables, now found in climates uncongenial to them, to the powerful agency of the same mechanical law. What, then, becomes of the lions, tigers, hyænas, elephants, crocodiles, tortoises, and other animals of tropical regions, whose remains are now found in every land indiscriminately, and often in confused heaps, deeply buried, in what was once the muddy sediment of a deluge, but now hardened into calcareous or other secondary rocks, and worked into cavities probably in the course of dessication? Are we to conclude, from the *entire elephant* found near the pole, which we feel satisfied could not have *lived* within many degrees of latitude of where his remains were discovered, that all the polar and temperate latitudes of the earth were once inhabited by a class of beings now unnatural to them? or because palm trees and cocoa nuts are now found, in a fossil state, in the strata of Britain, that they formerly grew there?[†] No. We are forcibly and irresistibly drawn to a directly opposite conclusion, by the concurrent evidence both of history, and of physical facts. We must feel a conviction, as strong as is possible, in any case, of which we have not had occular proof, that the same mechanical power which transported the mammoth of the Lena from its natural climate, to its icy bed in the frozen zone, must have also brought along with it, all the various fossil productions found in climates which would now be uncongenial to their support.[‡]

By the same line of reasoning, we are led to the solution of what has been one of the leading subjects of discussion amongst philosophers for the last century; that is, the remarkable accumulation of fossil remains at Monte Bolca, near Verona, in Italy. This deposit may certainly be regarded as one of the most interesting now known; and from the attention which has been paid to it, and the care and expence bestowed upon the collection of its fossil treasures, there are few with which we are better acquainted. The district, of which Bolca forms a part, is calcareous, and the quarries in which the most remarkable impressions of fish are found, consist of a stone of a schistose structure, and susceptible of being split into laminæ, or flags, of various dimensions. It is called, by mineralogists, a marl, or marley schist, and is of a yellow, white, or bluish gray colour.

The most remarkable fossils of this deposit consist of fish, in a highly preserved state. In some collections that have been made from these quarries, there are from 600 to 800 specimens of various sorts, and of every size, from being almost invisible, up to four feet in length. Some of the species, which have, in all, been calculated at about 70, are recognized as being fish of the Mediterranean sea; others have been supposed to be now peculiar to the Pacific, and other southern waters. Some, however, are totally unknown.

This extraordinary deposit of fish has been the occasion of much speculation, and of many theories amongst naturalists, to account for its present elevation above the sea; and, like that of elephants in the polar regions, authors have endeavoured to account for it in various ways. The most generally received opinion is, though opposed by the most glaring inconsistencies, that, as a fish could not be so well preserved as those of Monte Bolca, unless thrown into their present position in a SUDDEN manner, their destruction must have been occasioned by a submarine volcano, before the great revolution happened, by which the present lands of Italy became elevated above the present seas.[*] It has been too often the custom to resort to volcanic agency, with regard to Italy in general, and to any such difficulties as were occasioned by Monte Bolca, in particular. The fact is, that few countries present more calcareous appearances than Italy; the greater part of the whole ridge of the Apennines, is composed of limestone and marbles of various kinds; and the existence of volcanic action, in such extensive secondary formations, as are found in Italy, exactly corresponds with what has been already remarked respecting volcanoes in general, and Iceland in particular, in an early part of this treatise. But about Verona, the whole country is calcareous, and Monte Bolca is admitted to be so, notwithstanding the above mentioned common opinion.

But we are led to the solution of this fossil mystery, by the same steps which guide us in our researches in other countries; and we thus find that Monte Bolca is only peculiar in the *quantity* and *beauty* of its specimens, and not in the manner in which they were deposited. When we hear of Monte Bolca, the idea of petrified *fish* instantly presents itself to the mind, so much more numerous are they, than other fossils. But other fossils, nevertheless, exist; and such as are totally inconsistent with volcanic origin, under the waters of the sea. The bones of huge elephants, stags, and bears, and likewise those of the intermediate tribe, the *phocæ*, have been discovered; besides many terrestrial *plants*, *birds*, and *insects*.

Here are evidences of diluvial origin, as clear as can be produced from any region of the earth; and the presence of the bones of elephants, or of other large quadrupeds, such as are found in the polar regions, surrounded, as in this instance, by *marine animals*, connect the two in a manner the most conclusive, and tend to the same point to which the Geology of Scripture, in all its parts, so consistently leads us. It is not, therefore, necessary, in such individual cases as we are now considering, to account for the accidental circumstances, which must have occasioned, in one instance, a preponderance of *terrestrial*, and in another, that of *marine* animal remains, in detached deposits. It is sufficient for the support of the general system which we are now considering, that,

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[*] It is much to be regretted, that the countries in which these most interesting and well-preserved specimens of fossil animal remains are alone to be found, are so situated, as to be beyond the convenient reach of philosophic eyes. For, although we only hear of the huge remains of the larger animals, because they naturally make the greatest impression upon the uncivilized peasants who discover them, there can be no doubt that the frozen regions must contain many other equally interesting and highly preserved remains, lodged by the diluvial currents: and it is probable, that if any journey were undertaken to the shores of the Frozen Ocean, for the express purpose of such research, the discoveries would amply repay the enterprise and trouble bestowed on the undertaking.

[†] Upwards of 500 kinds of seeds and fruits, many of which are now confined to tropical climates, have been found in the diluvial deposits in the Isle of Sheppey, on the Thames; and they are there associated with numbers of animal remains, of elephants, and other tropical quadrupeds. In Professor Buckland's collection, at Oxford, there are fossil and recent cones, of immense size; the former from the Portland quarries, the latter from a tropical climate.

[‡] "In the valley of the Arno, parts of the skeletons of at least a hundred hippopotami have been discovered. With these were also found, in great abundance, the remains of rhinoceros and elephant, together with those of horses, oxen, several species of deer, hyæna, bear, tiger, fox, wolf, mastodon, hog, tapir, and beaver; they are from animals of all ages, and one of the elephants could not have been a week old."—*Reliquiæ Diluv.* p. 182.

The latter part of the above passage, respecting an elephant of not more than a week old, is probably intended as conclusive evidence of its having been born in Italy. But it is obvious, that the overwhelming calamity which deprived its mother of life, in a tropical climate, could not be expected to respect its tender age, but would, on the contrary, transport its remains to the latitude of the banks of the Arno, with as little difficulty or pity, as those of the still smaller animals, whose remains are now associated with it.

[*] Amongst other proofs that the deposits in Monte Bolca were caused by a *sudden* revolution, we find an instance quoted, of a fish having another in its mouth, *yet unswallowed;* while others have the undigested remains of the stomach still visible. Had those instances related to *land animals*, instead of to fishes, who were naturally enjoying their own proper element, up to the very moment when the tides or the currents caused them to be suddenly overwhelmed by the muddy diluvial sediments, we should have at once acknowledged the force of the conclusion. But we have, in this, a remarkable proof, that a great proportion of the inhabitants of the deep must have been preserved alive at a time when almost all productions of the land were consigned to destruction. Had not this been the case, we must have found the fossil impressions of fish, in almost every direction, in our diluvial strata. But it is a well known fact, that fish, though abundant in some particular spots, are by no means common as fossils. In Dr. Buckland's fine cabinet of fossils, there is a good impression of a part of a large fish, with the scales of an undigested meal visible through the ribs. I believe this specimen is from Shotover, near Oxford, which has never been looked upon as a *sudden* formation.

in almost all instances of fossil remains of quadrupeds, the two are more or less blended together, and in a manner to lead to the instant conviction, that sea and land productions had, by some means or other, become indiscriminately confused; and that they were thus left in a dry state by the retiring waters, the action and circulation of which had been the agent in this unnatural combination. The Mosaic History is alone capable of clearing up the obscurity of such phenomena; and it does clear away all difficulties in a manner the most satisfactory to the reason and understanding.

It may almost be considered unnecessary to proceed further in the production of proofs of diluvial effects upon animal and vegetable productions at this eventful period. But our own country presents so many examples of the highest interest, which are in a great degree unknown to general readers, that some further account of them may be desirable.

All geologists are well acquainted with the rich mine of fossil remains along the east coast of England; and especially in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincoln. An account of those on the coast of Norfolk has been kindly communicated to me by the Rev. James Layton, of Catfield, in that county, now resident at Sandwich, a distinguished collector of such fossil treasures; and as this account will serve to throw a great additional light upon the *effects* of diluvial action now under consideration, I shall proceed to lay it before my readers.

After describing the strata of blue clay, locally called mud cliffs, of which an interesting section is presented along that coast, exhibiting, in the clearest manner, the violent effects *of some diluvial eddy*, at that particular point, by the action of which the intermixture and contortions of the strata, as they were formed, took place; Mr. Layton proceeds as follows: "One remarkable feature in this compact blue clay, is a *stratum of wood*, exhibiting the *appearance of a wood overthrown*, or *crushed in situ*. At Paling, the stumps of trees *seem* now to be really standing; the roots are strong, spread abroad, and intermingling with each other: were a torrent to sweep away the mould from the surface of a thick wood, leaving the roots *bare* in the ground, the appearances would be exactly the same. This phenomenon occurs again at Hasborough, the line of crushed wood, leaves, grass, &c., frequently forming a bed of peat, extends just above low water mark. About this stratum are found numerous remains of mammalia: the horns and bones of at least four kinds of deer; the ox, the horse, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and elephant. These fossil remains are found at Hasborough, and its neighbourhood, on the denuded clay shore: at Mundesley they are found in the cliff. The great mine, however, *is in the sea*, some miles from land, where there is an oyster bed, on a stratum of gravel, about six fathoms deep. The sea gains rapidly on this coast; two yards at least every year. We may, therefore, conclude, that the land once extended considerably beyond that bed; and that the stratum of fossils was left, because they were hard and heavy, while the mud and sand have been carried into deeper water.

"How far this bed of fossils extends, I cannot pretend to say; but in 1826, some fishermen, while dredging for soles on 'the Knowl,' a bank *twenty miles off shore*, brought up an entire tusk of an elephant, which is now in my possession; it is nine feet six inches long, one foot nine inches in its greatest circumference, and weighs 97 pounds. It is cornuform, and exactly resembles the tusks of the mammoth, said to have been found in the ice in Siberia.* The elephants must have been *abundant*. I have at least 70 grinders, of all sizes, from four laminæ to twenty; and so various in their features, that, at first, I fancied I could distinguish a dozen different species; but I now believe that they all belong to the same, and that *most resembling the Asiatic*. Those which I now have, are reserved from more than *two hundred*, which have been in my possession; and the oyster dredgers reported, that they had fished up immense quantities, and thrown them into deep water, as they greatly obstructed their nets. Amongst these fossils, that is, from the oyster-bed, are some supposed to be of a species of the whale.

"In 1820, an entire skeleton of the GREAT MASTODON was found at Horstead, near Norwich, lying on its side, stretched out, *between the chalk and the gravel*. A grinder was brought to me, (it is still in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq. of Yarmouth;) but so long after it was discovered, that scarcely any other part of the animal could be preserved. The whole had been carried away with the chalk, and burnt for lime, or spread in minute fragments over the fields.*

"Perhaps, I should also tell you, that upon this compact blue clay, so rich in fossils, is generally, but not constantly, a stratum of light blue clay, varying in thickness up to four feet: this is always delicately laminated; often having the appearance of the leaves of a book when pressed on one side. Above this are sand, (frequently stratified,) brown clay, gravel, and *chalk* RUBBISH, *intermingled, or alternating*, and surmounted by a deep rich soil. *These upper beds occasionally present* FOSSIL SHELLS, *probably from the crag stratum*."

It is scarcely necessary to make any remark on the interesting and corroborative evidence of diluvial action, presented to us throughout every word of this singular and distinct account.

We here have every thing that the imagination can require, in painting the effects of a great DILUVIAL EDDY, collecting in its vortex an indiscriminate mixture of floating animal, vegetable, and marine productions, from every climate under heaven. The description of the *washed state of the roots of the trees* is particularly striking, as every one, who has seen a high land flood, bearing along its vegetable booty, must be familiar with the appearances which these fossil forests exhibit. But instead of single trees, we must endeavour to present to the mind's eye such *floating and matted forests*, as the wilds of America could still produce, in the event of a renewal of so awful a calamity; we must enlarge our views, in considering such vast effects; and imagine this portion of the diminishing waters of the deluge to be completely charged with a floating mass of objects, collected by the currents from "the four winds." We must endeavour to conceive, what mortal eye never saw, nor ever can see; and we shall then be fully able to elucidate and unravel the mystery which has so long overshadowed this awfully grand subject. The whole scene now presents itself to the imagination; and we are thus led to a period in the history of our native land, when its soft and chalky surface, for the first time, showed itself above the level of the waters; and when all its valleys and its basins first became the depositories of what we have so long speculated upon in darkness and in error, under the guidance of a false and theoretical philosophy. The same level of the waters, which deposited this mingled mass of organic destruction on the coasts of modern Norfolk, must have been extended over the whole of the south of England, and, also, over by far the greater part of the north. If we consider, on the great scale, the general structure of this southern portion of England, and follow out the formation of *the chalk* on which all these animal remains and diluvial strata repose, and *below*, or *in which no quadruped*, or *vegetable substance has ever yet been discovered*, we shall find, that from that very shore of Norfolk, and of the neighbouring counties of Suffolk, of Essex, and of Kent, ramifications of chalk, in the form of high bare downs, stretch from east to west, across the whole of this part of the kingdom; and in three well defined ridges, are known by the names of the Oxfordshire Hills, the Surrey Hills, and the Sussex Downs. Between each of these hilly ridges, *on which little or no soil is to be found*, excepting in the dips or hollows, which are *invariably* filled with *stratified diluvial clay and gravel*, we find extended plains of the richest soils, often of a depth which cannot easily be penetrated, and containing abundant animal and vegetable testimonies to their formation having taken place at the same destructive period when the strata of Norfolk became so charged with animal *debris*. To the north of the Oxfordshire hills, (one part of which, called Nettlebed, is considered *the highest point of England, south of the Trent*,) we find, in the vale of Oxford itself, numerous instances of the common diluvial strata, in the form of deep soil, gravel, clay of various kinds, and stratified rocks of a calcareous description, *full of sea shells*.

In one of these strata, the quarries opened up on the rising ground at Shotover, a few miles from Oxford, furnish a rich treasure of fossil animal remains; and it was from this place that one of the Saurian, or Crocodile tribe, was lately procured for the cabinet of Professor Buckland, on one of the bones of which *a large* OYSTER *is seen attached*, together with two *fine ammonites*, in their natural position. Those speaking witnesses of marine action could not have been produced on this *fresh water* animal, without its having been, for some time, subjected, like the bones of the mammoth mentioned by Cuvier, to the waters in which they naturally dwelt.

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* The largest specimen of a fossil tusk that I have seen or heard of, it in the cabinet of Dr. Buckland, at Oxford, and was found at Rome. Is is but a small portion of what the whole has been, being not more than about two feet long; but, from its great size and straightness, it must have been of prodigious length, and of nearly four hundred weight. Its diameter is about 10 inches, and in its present decayed state, it much resembles a piece of fossil timber.

* For a further account of this fossil, see Chapter 12.

Now, if we suppose the level of the sea to have gradually, and in the course of weeks, sunk from the heights at Nettlebed, drifting off, as it fell, every movable substance, either animal, vegetable or mineral, into the lower levels, where they were submitted to the *lateral* action of the tides, and, consequently, arranged in stratified order, as has been before fully explained, and as always must happen in such cases; we shall have a clear and well defined idea of the effects observed in this and every other vale or plain in the south of England, formed almost invariably of the same materials and structure. By this means, we have a distinct conception of the *London basin*, situated between these same Oxfordshire hills, and the ridge of those of Surrey, to the south. By this means, we learn how the rich wealds of Kent, and of Sussex, came to be formed of such unfathomable depth of blue clay, marl, sand-stone, iron-stone, &c.; all reposing, in alternate strata, upon the chalk, which there can be no doubt extends below, from the Sussex Downs to the Surrey hills; and from these latter again, to those of Oxfordshire.*

By extending this line of reasoning to other parts of our own native country, and from thence carrying the mind's eye over the plains of France, of Germany, of Europe, and of the rest of the world, there is at once a full conviction presented to the reason, of the manner in which such *uniform effects* have been produced by so universal and prevailing *a cause*. The basins of Paris, of London, and of the Isle of Wight, so long the subjects of blind speculation and of error, must all have then received their load of fossil treasures; and then, also, might be seen the inflated and colossal forms of the animal kingdom, bending their gradual but certain courses towards their present icy beds in the Polar regions.

The work of destruction had at length been consummated; and the new dry lands were now to assume those forms and qualities, which experience shows us are so happily suited to the wants and comforts of postdiluvian generations.

CHAPTER XI.

The Cave of Kirkdale.—Dr. Buckland's Theory founded on its Fossil Remains.—Contradictory Nature of this Theory.—Fossil Bones from the Hymalaya Glaciers, and from the Heights of South America.—Natural mode for accounting for them.—The Habits of the Elephant.—His most perfect form.—His love of the Water, and of a swampy and woody Country.—Habits of the Rhinoceros.—Cuvier's Opinion of Fossil Remains.—Inconsistency of this Opinion.—Evidence of Astronomy.—Evidence from Fossil Trees.—Conclusive Nature of this Evidence.—Evidence derived from Peat Moss.—Foot-marks of Antediluvian Animals.—Scratches occasioned by the Diluvial Action.—Formation of Valleys.—Scripture alone capable of explaining these Evidences.

There probably never has appeared any geological work, that excited so much attention and interest at the time of its publication, as the *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ* of Professor Buckland; in which that excellent and learned geologist endeavours to account for the fossil remains found in our own island, of quadrupeds which are now confined to much more southern latitudes.

It is with the most sincere respect for the well-known talents of Professor Buckland, that I consider it a duty, in this place, and while considering this part of my subject, to advance any thing in opposition to one whose opinions are so influential in the geological world. But the whole theory, under the impression of which that work is written, is so directly opposed to what has now been advanced, that I feel it due to myself, as well as to my readers, to make some observations upon it; not only in the fair support of an opposite argument, but for the sake of advancing, in at least a nearer degree, towards the same great end, to which all such inquiries ought invariably to point.

After describing the remarkable and indiscriminate mixture of fossil bones, found in a cave at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, in 1821, Dr. Buckland proceeds with the following remarks upon the general theory of the fossil remains of quadrupeds.

"It was *probable*, even before the discovery of this cave, from the abundance in which the remains of similar species occur in superficial gravel beds, which cannot be referred to any other than diluvial origin, that such animals were the antediluvian inhabitants, not only of this country, but generally of all those northern latitudes in which their remains are found: the PROOF, however, was *imperfect*, as *it was possible* they might have been drifted or floated hither by the waters, *from the warmer* regions of the earth; but the facts developed in this charnel-house of the antediluvian forests of Yorkshire, demonstrate that there was a long succession of years in which the elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, had been the prey of the hyænas, which, like themselves, inhabited England at the period immediately preceding the formation of the diluvial gravel; and *if* they inhabited this country, it follows as a corollary, that they also inhabited all those other regions of the northern hemisphere, in which similar bones have been found under precisely similar circumstances, not mineralized, but simply in the state of grave bones, imbedded in loam, or clay, or gravel, over great part of northern Europe, as well as North America and Siberia."

"It is in the highest degree curious to observe, that four of the genera of animals, whose bones are thus widely diffused over the temperate, and even over the polar regions of the northern hemisphere, should at present exist only in tropical climates, and chiefly south of the equator; and that the only country in which the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and hyæna, are now associated, is in southern Africa. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, they all live and die together, as they formerly did in Britain; whilst the hippopotamus is now confined exclusively to Africa, and the elephant, rhinoceros and hyæna, are diffused widely over the continent of Asia.

"To the question which here so naturally presents itself, as to what might have been the climate of the northern hemisphere, when peopled with genera of animals, which are now confined to the warmer regions, it is not essential to the point before me to find a solution. *My object is*, to establish the fact, that the animals lived and died in the regions where their remains are now found, and were not drifted thither by the diluvial waters from other latitudes."

In the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, (in 1827,) a letter was published by Dr. Buckland, which he had received from Colonel Sykes, on the subject of hyænas dens in India; and the object of this publication was, to show the solidity of the foundation on which the professor's theory of the Kirkdale cave was built. This letter from India gives the exact description which we should naturally expect, of the *earth*, or hole of a carnivorous animal. A good many bones were found in it; but not more in proportion to the size of the animal, and the prey on which he usually feeds, than we always find in a fox's hole in our own country. I have lately had the pleasure of conversing with Colonel Sykes, and of discussing this, and other subjects of equal interest, connected with a tropical climate, and of the animals natural to it. His description of the hyæna is any thing but favourable to the theory of the cave of Kirkdale, even supposing that we had no stronger ground on which to combat it. He considers that the hyæna does not live in a gregarious manner; on the contrary, he never but once saw three full grown animals in the same hole; and he supposes that one of them was a young one, not yet expelled from the family, which always happens as soon as the young are able to shift for themselves. This is the well known habit of foxes and of wolves, between which, and the hyæna, there seems to be considerable similarity of character. Colonel Sykes inclines to think that they do not live so much in caves of a large size, as in fissures and burrows similar to fox earths; and that it is probable that they do not haunt even these, except when they have young; but lie out in the open country, or in the woods, as wolves are known to do.

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* The form and structure of the weald of Kent and Sussex, are, indeed, truly worthy of our most attentive observation. In outward form, there is the greatest variety of hill and dale, without, however, in almost any instance, being provided with the brooks or rivers, which, in other circumstances, we should look for as certain in every hollow. This peculiarity is obviously occasioned by the nature and extent of the prevailing clay, which, in many instances, is unfathomable. It is not a little singular, that coal has not yet been discovered in the wealds of Kent; for, as the soils and strata are almost every where identical with those of many of our richest coal fields, there can be no reason given for its absence from the iron and sand stone strata which so much abound, than that the diluvial waters, in this particular locality, were not charged with the same floating vegetable masses which they have deposited in such abundance in other more favoured places.

In the earth which Colonel Sykes laid open, he chose one, which, from its beaten and used appearance, seemed a well established haunt; and in such a country as India, if such a haunt be not disturbed, or destroyed, it is probable that it may be so tenanted for many successive years. There was, however, no unusual quantity of *bones;* and such as were found, were of a very recent character. The abundance of *teeth* was entirely wanting; nor could I learn that there were any indications of hyænas, *who had died of old age*, having been devoured by their own species.

The learned professor then proceeds to state the differences of opinion that exist, on the subject of climate, amongst the highest authorities, and he mentions the opinion of Cuvier, that these animals probably had a constitution adapted to endure the rigours of a northern winter, which opinion was supported (and indeed was probably formed) by the "large quantity of wool" found, with the skeleton of an elephant, discovered in 1771, in the frozen gravel of Vilhoui.

He proceeds, however, with much candour, to state the opposing objections to such an idea, and to destroy both his own and Cuvier's theory, upon the very natural and unanswerable principle, that food could not have been found in those rigorous climates, proper for the sustenance of such large animals: he proceeds as follows; "for though the elephant and rhinoceros, if clothed in wool, may have fed themselves on branches of trees and brushwood, during the extreme severities of winter, still I see not how *even these* were to be obtained in the frozen regions of Siberia, which, at present, produce little more than moss and lichens, which, during great part of the year, are buried under impenetrable ice and snow; yet it is in those regions of extreme cold, on the utmost verge of the now habitable world, that the bones of elephants are found, *occasionally crowded together in heaps*, along the shores of the icy sea, from Archangel to Behring's Straits, FORMING WHOLE ISLANDS, COMPOSED OF BONES AND MUD, at the mouth of the Lena, and ENCASED IN ICE,[*] from which they are melted out by the solar heat of the short summer, along the coasts of Tungusia, in sufficient numbers to form an important article of commerce."—*Reliq. Diluv.* p. 46.

In concluding this *fundamental* part of his subject, on which, indeed, Dr. Buckland had before admitted that his whole theory entirely depended, he proceeds: "Between these two conflicting opinions," (viz. either that of Cuvier, that the animals had a constitution fitted to a colder climate; or that of other philosophers, who supposed the climates, now so inclement, to have been formerly warm, and the change to have suddenly taken place by an alteration in the inclination of the earth's axis, or by the near aproach of a comet;[†]) "between these two conflicting opinions, we are *compelled*," says Dr. Buckland, "*to make our choice;* there seems *to be no third or intermediate state* with which both may be compatible. It is not, however, my purpose *to discuss the difficulties that will occur on both sides*, till the further progress of geological science shall have afforded us more ample information, as to the structure of our globe; and have supplied those data, without which all opinions that can be advanced on the subject must be premature, and amount to no more than plausible conjectures. AT PRESENT, I AM CONCERNED ONLY TO ESTABLISH TWO IMPORTANT FACTS; first, that there has been a recent and general inundation of the globe; and, secondly, that the animals, found in the wreck of that inundation, were natives of high northern latitudes, and not drifted to their present place from equatorial regions, by the waters that caused that inundation."—*Reliq. Diluv.* p. 47.

The most remarkable feature in this part of the work of Dr. Buckland, is the very loose, and even contradictory reasoning, to be found throughout the above quotations. In one part, he considers it as *positively proved*, that the animals, whose bones are now found in Yorkshire, *inhabited England* "at a period immediately preceding the formation of the diluvial gravel in which they are embedded;" and that "IF they inhabited England, *it followed as a corollary*, that they also inhabited *all the other regions of the north*, in which similar bones have been found;" and yet he soon after states, that he "cannot see how even *branches of trees and brushwood* were to be obtained for their support, in climates now producing nothing but *moss* and *lichens*, which are covered with impenetrable ice during the greater part of the year."

The fact is evident, that the contradictory difficulties of such a theory were not concealed from the searching mind of the learned professor; who, however, leaves the whole question precisely in the same unstable condition, in which the mind is left bewildered by the theories of *first formations* by *secondary causes.* He admits the evident and close connexion between the fossil remains of quadrupeds, found in all countries; but though he sees the utter hopelessness of ever being able to provide the necessary food for *elephants* in the *polar regions*, he yet casts aside this *insuperable difficulty*, and twice presses the two important facts HE IS MOST CONCERNED TO PROVE, regardless of the contradiction in which he must, unavoidably, become involved in the attempt. I cannot agree with the learned professor, that the subject of *climate*, and, consequently, of *food*, was of secondary importance in the support of his theory; and there surely may be better means of "establishing *the fact*, that animals *lived* in the regions where their remains are now found," than by showing the *impossibility* of their finding the necessary food, which the professor not only perceived, but very candidly admitted.[*]

But the above reasoning of Dr. Buckland must appear the more remarkable, from his having, in a subsequent part of the Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, and in the course of most ably proving the inundation of high levels, fully admitted *the principle of transportation, or drifting of animal remains*, as the only possible means of accounting for the fossil bones found in the high elevations of Asia and America, and in the *avalanches* from the regions of *perpetual snow.* "With regard to the bones of animals," says he, "that perished by this great inundation, although they have not yet been discovered in the high Alpine gravel beds of Europe, (which is but a negative fact,) we have, in America, the bones of the mastodon, at an elevation of 7800 feet above the sea, in the Champ des Géants, near Santa Fe de Bogota; and another species of the same genus in the Cordilleras, found by Humboldt at an elevation of 7200 feet, near the volcano of Imbarbura, in the kingdom of Quito. If the animal remains of this era have not yet been discovered at such heights as these, in Europe, let it be recollected, that we have no elevated mountain plains like those in America; that our highest mountains are but narrow peaks, and ridges of small extent, when compared with the low country that surrounds them; and that if it were proved (*which it is not*) that the animals inhabited these highest points, it is more than probable that their carcases would have been *drifted off*, as the greater mass of their gravel has been, into the lower levels of the adjacent country.

"But in central Asia, the bones of horses and of deer have been found at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the sea, in the Hymalaya mountains.[†] The bones, I am now speaking of,

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[*] In order to trace such islands of bones and mud encased in ice, to their true origin, we have only to imagine the same kind of scene as we have just been contemplating on the coasts of Norfolk. And in order to disprove so obvious a cause, or to show that such effects are produced in the common course of things, as some have supposed, it must be shown in what part of the world such deposits ever now take place, and by what possible event the destruction of so prodigious a number of elephants, and other large quadrupeds, could, at any one time, have been effected: for it must be evident, that, had the mud cliffs of Norfolk been formed in the polar regions, we must have had the natural addition of ice, wherever they are now saturated with water.

[†] It was a part of the theory of La Place, in his Systeme du Monde, that the stroke of a passing comet was the most probable cause of the Mosaic deluge. But, at the same time, he endeavours to allay those fears which were then, as now, so common, of a repetition of so dreadful an accident, upon the principle of the improbability of such a chance, in so wide a space as the heavenly bodies have to move in. How strange it is to find so great a mind incapable of appreciating the provident wisdom of an Almighty Creator, and conceiving that such supposed events were left to the guidance of chance!

[*] "Though the soil of the whole of that remote country (Spitzbergen) does not produce vegetables suitable or sufficient for the nourishment of a single human being, yet its coasts and seas have afforded riches and independence to thousands."

"The only plant I met with in Spitzbergen, partaking of the nature of a tree, (a salix, allied to the S. herbacea,) grows but to the height of three or four inches."—*Scoresby's Arctic Regions.*

[†] Dr. Buckland has given an interesting note from Gilbert's Annalen, 1821, in which a discovery by Lieutenant Kotzebue is described as follows: "On the western part of the gulf, to the north of Behring's Straits, a mountain was discovered covered with verdure, (moss and grass,) composed interiorly of solid ice. On arriving at a place where the shore rises almost perpendicularly from the sea to the height of 100 feet, and continues afterwards to extend with a gradual inclination, they observed masses of the purest ice 100 feet high, preserved under the above vegetable carpet. The soil is only about half a foot thick, and is composed of a mixture of clay, earth, and mould.

The portion of the cliff exposed to the sun was melting, and sending much water into the sea. An undoubted proof of this ice being *primitive* (*i. e.* not formed by any causes now in action) is afforded are at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and were sent home last year (1822,) to Sir Everard Home, by captain W. S. Webb, who procured them from the Chinese Tartars of Daba; who assured him that they were found in the north face of the snowy ridge of Kylas, in latitude 32 degrees, at a spot which captain Webb calculates to be not less than 16,000 feet high: they are only obtained from masses that fall with the *avalanches*, from the regions of perpetual snow, and are, therefore, said by the natives to have fallen from the clouds, and to be the bones of genii."[*]

"The occurrence of these bones, at such an enormous elevation, in the regions of eternal snow, and, consequently, in a spot now unfrequented by such animals as the horse and the deer, can, I think, be explained only by supposing them to be of antediluvian origin, and that the carcasses of the animals were drifted to their present place, and lodged in sand by the diluvial waters."[†]

"This appears to me the most probable solution that can be suggested; and should it prove the true one, it will add a still more decisive fact to those of the granite blocks, drifted from the heights of Mont Blanc to the Jura, and the bones of diluvial animals, found by Humboldt, on the elevated plains of South America, to show that 'all the high hills, and the mountains under the whole heavens, were covered,' at the time when the last great physical change took place, over the surface of the whole earth."—*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, p. 222.

Now, it must be considered not a little singular, that this distinguished writer should at once admit the drifting of animal remains into the regions of perpetual snow, occasioned by *elevation in the atmosphere;* and, at the same time, deny the same mode of transport to those found in such abundance in the equally unnatural regions of eternal ice, occasioned by their *polar elevation*. It must be evident, that the two cases are perfectly similar. For, in order to elevate those fossil bodies, found in the mountains of Asia, they must have *floated* on the surface of the waters; and, in order to effect the transport of such bodies to high latitudes, there was only required that power of *currents*, which may be (and, I trust, has been,) proved to exist at all times over the whole surface of the ocean. But this is only *one* of the many difficulties and contradictions which must occur in the course of supporting a theory so wide of the truth. One difficulty, for example, would be removed, with regard to the cave of Kirkdale, and other similar caves, in many parts of Europe, if we could hear, from the Cape, of any one instance of a hyæna's den, furnished in the same remarkable manner as the cave of Kirkdale in Yorkshire;[‡] and there, surely, could be no great difficulty in doing this in our own colony at the Cape, "in the immediate neighbourhood of which the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and hyæna, are now associated, and live and die together, as they formerly did in *Antediluvian Yorkshire*." We have many anecdotes and amusing accounts of all these animals, in the travels of that indefatigable sportsman, *M. Le Vaillant*, in that very part of Africa; but from his silence, and that of other naturalists, on this alleged habit of hyænas of amassing, from age to age, the broken remains of the very food they are said to be most fond of, we have the greatest reason to doubt that such a thing ever occurs. Both the elephant and rhinoceros are described by that author as swimming well, and being exceedingly fond of the water; rolling themselves in swamps for the purpose of defending their bodies from the flies by a thick coating of mud; and feeding on branches of trees torn from a height which no other animal can reach. But it seems unnecessary to search further into the difficulties and contradictions in which we become involved by adopting the theory of Dr. Buckland, on this highly important subject.

The following observations on the natural history of the Asiatic elephant may be found both amusing and instructive, while we are considering the nature and habits of that race of animals. They are taken from that most amusing work, "The Wild sports of the East," by Captain Williamson; and though the general tenor of that and of similar writings, may, by some, be deemed frivolous, and uncongenial to the pursuits of the man of science and the philosopher, yet it must be kept in mind that, however the information obtained from such sources may be digested in the *closet*, it is from the *tented field*, with the sportsman and the native savage, that our first knowledge of these noble animals of tropical climates must originally be derived; and it may be, with justice, asserted of the beautiful work in question, that if all sportsmen in foreign countries could convey the results of their exhilirating pursuits, with the same intelligence and judgment, we should soon have a fund of most instructive information upon many points in natural history, of which we have yet much to learn.

Captain Williamson's account of a *perfect* elephant is as follows:

"An elephant should have an arched back, a broad barrel, the hind quarters full and square, the hind legs short and firm, the toe nails thick and black; and, to please a native, there should be five on each forefoot, and four on each hind foot;—odd numbers are considered by them unlucky. I have known some with 15 nails, which no one would purchase; and I have heard of one with 20; but never saw one with more than 18. The tail should be long, very thick at the insertion, and tapering well towards the end, where it should be well furnished on each side with a row of single hairs, or rather bristles, for about a foot, forming a fork at the end, and resembling the feathers or wings of an arrow. This circumstance respecting the tail is considered by the natives perfectly indispensable; for a short tail, or a broken one, or a want of hair at the termination, are formidable objections. No man of consequence would be seen on an elephant whose tail was devoid of hair; and particularly if broken short, as is frequently the case. This latter deficiency is owing to a habit elephants have, in a wild state, of seizing each other by the tail, with their trunks, and twisting them off sometimes very close to the croup. Even servants of inferior degree are averse to ride on an elephant so blemished. The chest should be wide and full, the fore legs muscular and well turned; the forehead broad, and ornamented between the eyes, with a protuberance gracefully harmonizing with the surrounding parts. The top of the head should be thickly set with hair, carried high and square; the trunk thin, and very elastic; the teeth of males should be exactly alike, thick and long; they should diverge from each other, so as to be rather more distant at the tips, than at the insertion; and with a graceful curve. The ears should be large, and free from raggedness at the edges; the cheeks full; and, above all things, the eyes clear of specks and rheum."

An elephant, having all these rare perfections, and from nine to ten feet high, is worth 8 or 10,000 rupees, or upwards of £1000.

"Elephants are generally black; but few of them entirely so; many are sprinkled over the ears, trunk, jowl, shoulders, and legs, with dun coloured spots, which are far from displeasing. The Nabob Vizier had one, which was called *white;* but it was really *dun*. It was *unique* in Bengal; but I have been informed that in Ceylon they are by no means rare."

"In some years, very few wild elephants can be found near the sea coast, whence they retire into the immense jungles which lie between Chittagong, and the Chinese frontier. At other times, the coasts are overrun with them, to the utter ruin of the peasants, whose crops and plantations are often destroyed in the course of one night. This gene-

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by the great number of bones and teeth of mammoths, which make their appearance when it is melted."—*Reliq. Diluv.* p. 46.

[*] I have had much pleasure and the highest interest in the examination of these bones; they appear decidedly to have been embedded in lime-stone rock, of a gray colour; they are much broken, though not taken from a hyæna's den, and the hollows of some are filled with the most beautiful crystals. In others, these crystals have filled up the whole cavity with pure gypsum, of the whitest colour. It seems, then, probable, that the masses of rock in which they were embedded at the deluge, were torn from their lofty situations by the avalanches, as in our European Alpine heights: the bones are not easily assigned to their proper species, but one is evidently that of the horse.

[†] Mr. Temple, in his light and amusing sketches of Peru, describes some fossil bones found in the province of Tarija. They proved to be those of an animal of the elephant tribe, and probably the mastodon.

He says, "It is a subject of interest to inquire how these monstrous animals came into the valley of Tarija, surrounded, as it is, by a mountainous rampart, accessible, as I have been credibly informed, in only four places, and those with great difficulty, even to mules and horses. Over three of those places, the most frequented and most convenient in the whole rocky barrier, I have myself travelled, and certainly I do not think it possible that any elephant could have there passed."—*Travels in Peru*, vol. ii. p. 295.

[‡] A collection of the fossil bones of quadrupeds has lately been discovered in a lime-stone cave in Wellington Valley, in New Holland. One of the bones was submitted to the inspection of the late Baron Cuvier, who ascertained that it was the thigh bone of a young elephant. We thus find that this new continent forms no exception to that general rule which is applicable to the other great continents of the earth; and that, though elephants have not yet been found there in a living state, their fossil remains bear testimony to the same transporting powers, which are so distinctly traced in our own more northern latitudes.

rally happens in a dry season, when *want of water, and of succulent herbage*, in the interior, causes the herds to descend to the ever verdant plains bordering the sea, where the diurnal breezes inspire fresh vigour."

"Nature has wisely proportioned her *animal* to her *vegetable* productions. Thus we find the districts furnishing elephants, replenished with immense tracks of high grass, and abounding in lakes and streams; without such ample stores, such stupendous animals as the elephant must perish. For, exclusive of the large quantity of grass, &c. which an elephant daily consumes, his broad feet will destroy immense qantities. As to his thirst, which requires both frequent and copious libations, the ordinary puddles, such as furnish a supply for cattle, would by no means answer. *The elephant, like the buffaloe,* DELIGHTS IN WALLOWING, and never thrives so well, as when he is allowed to visit a rapid stream, there to exercise himself in swimming, as well as to lie immersed in the water."

"Chittagong elephants, growing to a much larger size than those to the North, or Nepaul district, and being of a more substantial form, are peculiarly valuable to those who catch elephants with the *slip knot*, or *phaun*. The only objection is, their want of speed. They are more healthy *after being seasoned to the climate of the Nepaul country*, while the native elephants of that northern climate are extremely deficient, not only in the three grand points, viz. *stature*, *strength* and *beauty*, but in *constitution* also. Hence they are of much less value than those of Chittagong, Tipperah, and Silhet."*

"The Ceylon breed far exceeds that of the continent; and it becomes a curious and interesting question whence Ceylon was first furnished with elephants, there being none on the opposite shores, nor to be found in all the great peninsula, from the west bank of the Ganges to the Persian Gulf! Besides, the generality of the Ceylon elephants are of a *brown*, or *dun colour*."

"Elephants are natives of a *wet soil*, and, in the wild state, feed on very watery aliments. They also take great delight in ranging among *swamps*."

"They rarely exceed nine feet in height. The tallest ever found in Bengal, was the *Paugul*, or mad elephant, (about 1780). It was nearly 12 feet high; but the medium size is from seven to eight feet."

There is no definite mark by which the age of the elephant can be known. We can only judge by his general appearance.

While we are thus instructed, by this active and intelligent sportsman, on the subject of the elephant in its wild state, I shall here also extract the few particulars he was enabled to give, on the subject of the haunts of the rhinoceros, an animal whose remains are also now found in a fossil state in the northern and temperate regions, and frequently in the same situations, *though never in the same abundance* as those of the elephant. We shall find that this wild and very mischievous and savage animal is equally a native of the hottest and most wooded countries; and we, therefore, come to the same conclusion with regard to it, that we have reached with regard to the various races of elephants, viz. that it never could have been the inhabitant of a very cold climate.

"The rhinoceros is an animal whose natural history is very imperfectly known. He resides in impervious jungles and swamps; he is seldom to be found on the west of the Ganges, though the jungles there are fully competent to afford abundant shelter; nor, indeed, has an elephant ever been seen in a wild state, but to the east of that noble stream. It would seem that these animals are partial to the immense tracts of the *surput*, or *tassel grass*, which skirts the vast jungles bordering our possessions on that side; and which, being composed of lofty forests of saul and sissoo trees, filled up with various sorts of underwood, offer an asylum to the ferine species, such as cannot be equalled in any part of Europe, and can be compared only with the prodigious wilds of the American interior."

The rhinoceros is never seen in herds, nor often even in pairs. He may, therefore, be properly termed, like the largest wild boars, and the oldest chamois, a *solitaire*.

We may now shortly pass under review the opinions of the late Baron Cuvier, on the subject of fossil remains. This able philosopher has long been considered the head of the scientific world on the continent; and his indefatigable research, and wonderful anatomical knowledge, have given him the highest claims to our esteem and regard in many branches of geological research. We have already found, however, that his theories of the earth, and of the numerous revolutions to which he supposed it had been subjected, were not founded on what history teaches, or physical facts bear witness to; and, therefore, we cannot be surprised, if we find, on the subject of fossil remains, some portion of that contradiction and inconsistency which must always attend a departure, however well meant and unintentional, from the direct and simple path of truth.

On the subject of the fossil elephant, as published in his "*Ossemens Fossiles*," vol. i. p. 199, &c. Cuvier designates it "The Mammoth of the Russians, (Elephas primigenius, Blum.) or elephant with prolonged cranium, concave forehead, very deep sockets for the tusks; lower jaw obtuse; grinders very large, parallel, and marked with narrow stripes.

"The bones of this animal are only found in a fossil state: they are in great numbers in many countries, *but better preserved in the north than elsewhere.* It resembled the Indian rather than the African species. It differed, however, from the former in the grinders, in the form of the lower jaw, and in many other bones, but especially in the length of the sockets for the tusks. This latter character must have modified, in a remarkable manner, the form and organization of the trunk, and have given him an appearance much more dissimilar to the Asiatic elephant, than could be expected from the general resemblance of the rest of the bones. It appears that his tusks were generally large, often *more or less* bent in a spiral form, and pointing outwards. His size was not much greater than that which the Asiatic race sometimes attains; and he appears to have had, in general, a more thick and solid form. We cannot determine what was the size of his ears, nor the colour of his skin, but it is certain, that *at least some of the species* had two sorts of hair; viz. a reddish wool, *coarse* and *bushy*, with stiff black hairs, which, upon the neck, and along the back, were pretty long, and formed a sort of mane.

"Thus, there is not only nothing impossible in his having been able to support a degree of cold, in which the Asiatic race would die; but it is even probable, that he was so constituted, as to prefer cold climates. His bones are usually found in the upper alluvial beds of the earth; aud most commonly in those *which fill the hollows of valleys*, or which form the beds of rivers.

"They are scarcely ever alone, but pêlemêle, together with the bones of other quadrupeds of *known kinds*, as rhinoceros, ox, antelope, horse, and frequently with the remains of *marine animals*, such as shells, &c., some of which are even *fixed upon them*.

"The positive testimony of Pallas, of Fortis, and of others, *admits not of a doubt* with respect to this latter circumstance, although it is not invariable. I have now, myself, under my eye, a portion of a jaw, loaded with *millepores*, and with small *oysters*.*

"The bones of elephants are rarely *petrified;* and we know of but one or two instances in which they are embedded in shell limestone or other rock." (Such instances are as good as thousands, for the purpose of showing how they become thus embedded.)

"Every thing, then, announces, that the *cause* of their destruction was one of the most recent of *those events* which have contributed to change the surface of the globe. It was, however, a physical and general cause. That cause was an *aqueous* agent.

"But it was not these waters which transported them to the places where they now are. An *irruption of the sea*, which would only have brought them from where the Indian elephants now inhabit, could not have spread them to such a distance, nor dispersed them so equally."

It would appear from this remark of Cuvier, that he had no belief in the *general* and *total immersion* of the whole dry lands of the earth, at the period of the deluge; and he must, therefore, probably have considered the Mosaic account of "all the hills, upon the whole earth, being covered," as a mere piece of Eastern allegory. Such "*irruptions of the sea*," as he had in view in the above remark, must have been considered as only *partial convulsions*, and producing such partial effects as he there alludes to. Had he believed in *a general aqueous covering* over the whole globe, for the space of *several months*, and had he then considered the *laws of nature*, acting, in this flood of waters, on the *floating* bodies of the animal world, by *tides* and CURRENTS, this able naturalist and philosopher could not but have perceived, that it was ONLY by such means, that so "*equal a dispersion*" of animal remains could possibly have been effected.

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* Here we have it distinctly shown, that, even within the tropics, the elephant is in his most natural climate, in the hottest parts; and if the constitution of the animal, in its wild state, cannot be fully sustained in regions of the most luxuriant vegetation, but subject to occasional slight frosts, how are we to suppose, for a moment, that elephants could have lived in the temperate or frozen regions of the earth?

*In the splendid collection of fossils of Dr. Buckland, at Oxford, there is a highly interesting specimen of one of the crocodile tribe, obtained from the quarry at Shotover, near that city, and several hundred feet above the level of the sea; on one of the bones of which there is a large *oyster* attached; and also two beautiful and perfect specimens of the *ammonite*, with the shell entire, and seemingly fixed to the bone by suction, as a snail adheres to a stone or plant.

After some other equally unsatisfactory reasoning, Cuvier expresses his idea of the *impossibility* of *entire carcasses* having been transported to such distances by violence.

"It is true," says he, "that in such a case, the bones would have been *unworn by friction;* but then they would have remained together, and not been found so scattered as they now often are.

"Every thing then renders it *extremely probable*, that the elephants to which these fossil bones belonged, *inhabited the countries* where we now find their remains. They were there scattered, as the bones of horses and of other animals now are, over our own lands, the carcasses of which are found in our fields."*

"But, whatever that cause was, *it must have been a* SUDDEN ONE. The bones, so perfectly preserved in the plains of Siberia, could only have been so from the effect of *cold.* If this cold had only come on by *degrees and slowly*, the bones, and especially the softer parts, would have had time *to become decomposed, like those we now find in our fields*."

The remark cannot here be omitted, how contradictory is the reasoning of the baron in this place. He first considers, that the bones of the animals must have been scattered over the country, like those of our domestic cattle, in the present day; and ought to have been "decomposed, like those we now find in our fields;" and then proceeds to show, that they are *not decomposed*, but preserved entire by a sudden convulsion, and excessive low temperature. We seldom find, in our own times, and in our *inland counties*, the bones of cattle covered with OYSTERS, or other sea animals. But if we suppose a bone, or an entire animal, to remain for a few weeks, subject to the action of the tides and of the currents, we should not be surprised at finding upon it, what every piece of floating wreck is generally covered with.

"It would have been especially impossible for the carcase seen and described by Mr. Adams, to have preserved its *flesh and its skin* ENTIRE, *if it had not been* IMMEDIATELY *enveloped in the* ICE in which it was found." We must here pause one moment in our perusal of Cuvier's argument, to consider what effect would have been produced by this SUDDEN *formation of an icy bed*, on the *woods and jungles* through which this shaggy monster must naturally have been wandering, when embraced and sealed up by so SUDDEN a disaster. The same element which had so *preservative* an effect upon his unwieldy carcase, must have entirely decomposed or evaporated the *vegetable productions* on which he fed; as they are no where to be found in any part of the frozen regions, even preserved in ice.

"Thus," continues he, "the hypothesis of a *gradual* cooling of the globe, or of a *slow* variation of its temperature, either from *inclination*, or from the *position of its axis, falls to the ground by its own weight*."

We may here remark, that this groundless hypothesis was proposed by Buffon, as we have already had occasion to notice.

"The various mastodons, hippopotami, rhinoceri, &c., must have inhabited the same countries and the same districts, as the fossil elephants, since we find their bones in the *same situations, and in the same condition*. One cannot imagine any cause which would have destroyed *the one* and spared the *other*. And yet the first, most certainly, no longer exist, as we shall show in subsequent chapters."

"The elephant is the existing animal which most resembles the mastodon; and may serve as the principle object of comparison. In short, I call mastodon, quadrupeds of the size and form of the elephant, having, like him, a trunk, and long tusks; the feet of the same structure; and, in a word, only differing in an essential manner in the molar teeth, which, instead of being formed of transversal laminæ, had a simple crown, and were furnished with tubercles or rounded points, more or less numerous, and more or less prominent.

"Our continents do not now nourish any animals of this exact kind; although the upper strata contain the bones of three or four different varieties."—*Ossemens Fossiles*, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 205.

Such are the ideas of Baron Cuvier on the subject of the fossil elephant: and as it may be truly said, that the whole question of fossil remains, and, consequently, many of the most important and fundamental points in geology in general, turn upon the true and consistent history of those elephants now found in northern latitudes, it cannot be considered irrelevant to our purpose, to have gone, at considerable length, into the opinions of some of the great leaders of science on so fundamental a subject. To all who have considered, with an unprejudiced mind, the course and tendency of the arguments which have been urged, in opposition to these generally received theories on the subject of tropical productions in polar regions, it must appear unnecessary, in this place, to proceed further with the subject. It has been clearly shown, that no elephant could possibly find subsistence in those inclement and barren regions *at the present time.* It is equally clear, that had a SUDDEN change of temperature, with an irruption of the sea, overwhelmed and frozen up the animal productions of the antediluvian world, in what are now the polar regions, we must equally have discovered, in the ice which has preserved them, a perfect and entire series of the vegetable productions, amongst which, it is admitted, *they must have lived*, and *without* which there is no conceivable way of accounting for the supply of food necessary for such vast numbers of gigantic animals. When we add to this incontrovertible point, the consistent and natural method by which those animal bodies *might have been transported*, by an agent in the common laws of nature, to which the waters of the earth have been subjected by the Creator, for a great and benificent purpose, we cannot retain a doubt as to the *actual means* by which those larger animals were conveyed to their icy beds in the polar regions; and having arrived at this conclusion, with respect to those now found within the arctic circle, we have every right to judge, by the same line of reasoning, concerning all other tropical productions in *unnatural* climates, on every part of the surface of the earth; and, consequently, that the globe has undergone no material change in its position, nor in its temperature, since the creation.

Our inquiries have, it is to be hoped, led us to a consistent and natural conclusion on the whole question of fossil remains; and we thus find, that in adopting the system of geology, grounded on the Inspired History, and so strongly supported by the evidence of physical facts, instead of those philosophical theories, *founded on physical facts*, but *rejecting* the evidence of Scripture; the current of the narrative runs smoothly along, and our minds feel satisfied, and at rest, instead of being constantly suspended in doubt and uncertainty.

If we come to the conclusion, that all the present dry lands of the earth were formerly the bed of the antediluvian sea, and that Britain was no exception to this, (as is evident from the appearances every where visible around us,) it must follow as a corollary, that all the fossil remains of quadrupeds, whether in our upper soils, or in the upper strata of rock, over the whole earth, must have been lodged in their present situations by the waters of that destructive deluge, of which we have now been treating.*

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* I have been informed by Colonel Sykes, than whom we can have no higher authority on such a subject, from his long residence in the East, and the great attention and ability which he has displayed on every subject connected with science, that, as far as his observation goes, it may be looked upon as a striking and extraordinary fact, that in the forests of India, peopled as they are by thousands of animals of every size, and of which there must naturally be a considerable annual destruction as well as increase, the bones, or other remains of the dead, are scarcely ever to be seen. We cannot, indeed, wonder that this should be the case, when we consider the laws of nature, by which so just a balance is at all times kept up. In so hot a climate as that of the tropics, the decay of the softer parts must be most rapid; and in order to obviate the bad consequences which would attend this natural course, we find myriads of the insect tribe at all times ready to remove what the birds and beasts of prey cannot readily consume. A large animal body, therefore, would almost entirely disappear in the course of a few days; and even the *bones* must soon become decomposed under the powerful action of so hot an atmosphere. It is almost proverbial even in our own woods, well stocked as they are with hares and other game, how seldom we discover any indication of natural death. In the animal world, in every climate, each individual becomes the prey of his fellow, for "dust we are, and unto dust we soon return."

* Since writing the above, one of the most remarkable works of our times has appeared, in which we find the following passage:—

SUPPLEMENTARY PART TO CHAPTER XI.

Since entering upon the subject of the Geology of Scripture, the evidences in support of the general principles, which have been explained in the foregoing chapters, have so crowded upon my observation, that I have experienced some difficulty in confining myself within those limits which I had previously laid down, in order to bring my work within the compass of one single volume. In a late journey which I have had occasion to make throughout a great part of the longitudinal extent of the kingdom, I have found, in every direction, the most complete corroborative proofs of the solid foundation on which the Scripture system is constructed. Amongst many of these proofs, I cannot resist the present opportunity, of giving some short account of a few of the most remarkable; the particular importance of which must at once be acknowledged by every candid student in this interesting science. I allude particularly to the subject of *entire fossil trees*, frequently, of late, discovered in the coal strata; and to that of the foot-marks of animals distinctly imprinted upon the sand when in a soft state, and discovered on the upper surface of the strata in several free-stone quarries.

The instances of entire fossil stems of trees, and numerous smaller plants, have long been remarked in the coal formations in various countries; and have, also, been noticed in the former part of this work. But the stems of the larger plants have, hitherto, in general, been observed to lie in the same direction as the strata themselves; and, consequently, they could afford us little or no indication of the period at which they were embedded, or of the time necessary for their having become surrounded by their present mineral envelope. Late observations, however, have thrown a new and vivid light upon this hitherto obscure subject. Trees, of very considerable size, have been found, placed in a position perpendicular to the direction of the beds or strata, and intersecting many of these, of various kinds and thickness. One of the first that attracted particular notice in the North, was found in Cragleith free-stone quarry, in 1826, where the different visible strata exist to the extent of 160 feet in depth; and upwards of 60 feet more are known to lie below, which have not yet seen the light of day.

The stone in this immense quarry is of very white and pure-grained quality, and is the same which we find forming the roof of the coal beds in many of the Lothian collieries. It is every where, more or less, marked with impressions of leaves and stems, which are, in this case, however, far from the coal seams, but the latter of which invariably present a thin surrounding mass of the purest jewel coal, generally about a quarter of an inch round the bark; the whole of the rest of the interior being filled with the same mineral in which it is embedded. These fossil stems are called, by the miners, *coal pipes*, ignorant as they are of their real nature. This small portion of the purest coal, serves to give us considerable insight into the nature of the larger beds of this fossil production, which are evidently the consequence of great pressure, and some chemical process, connected with the nature of the wood itself, with which, however, we have, as yet, no acquaintance. In 1830, a second and more remarkable fossil tree was exposed to view in this quarry; and excited, from its particular position, a degree of interest which no other vegetable fossil could before lay claim to. Its total length was upwards of 60 feet; and at angle of about 40 degrees, it intersected 10 or 12 different strata of the sand-stone. Its diameter at the top was about seven inches; and it had become flattened by pressure near its base, in such a manner as to measure *five feet*, in its greater, and *two feet* in its lesser diameter. There were no branches, nor marks of them on its bark; nor were there any roots, although the lower part formed a species of bulb. As in the former specimen, the bark had been converted into a thin coat of the *purest* and *finest coal;* and the whole, as it lay exposed in the quarry, presented the appearance of charred wood, forming a striking contrast in colour with the white stone in which it lay.

Before making any remarks upon the important evidence depending on this fossil, I shall describe some other instances, which have come within my knowledge, of trees standing in an upright or slightly sloping position, and intersecting a great variety of strata.

In a colliery, near Dalkeith, which I lately inspected, I found a stem of nearly two feet in diameter, proceeding *out of the floor* of the coal seam, *passing through the coal* itself, and *entering the roof* above. In the floor, and in the roof, it was *petrified*, whilst, in passing through the coal stratum, *it had become one mass of pure coal*, and its shape was with difficulty distinguished. How far its top or roots extended could not be ascertained; but it is probable that it was of much greater length than met the eye.

In Cullelo sand-stone quarry, near Aberdour, in Fife, numbers of trees are found, supposed to be of the palm-tribe, and often intersecting the strata in the rock.

In Killingworth colliery, north of Newcastle, there are many large fossil trees discovered in the coal strata, and they frequently have some indication of roots. One of these is particularly described and figured by Mr. Wood, in the Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumberland. Its roots rested in the shale, immediately above the coal bed, and its stem pierced 10 or 12 different strata.

In Wideopen free-stone quarry, near the house at Gosforth, in Northumberland, a tree, of 70 feet in length, and lying across the strata, was lately discovered in a petrified state.

In Jarrow colliery, also, similar plants are found in considerable abundance; and in the Gosforth pit, down which I lately went, (a depth of 190 fathoms in one shaft, being the deepest now in the kingdom,) I found the roof of the main coal stratum to be entirely composed, in many places, of trunks of trees, lying in every direction, and of very considerable size.*

From all these instances, (and many others might be quoted if it were necessary,) we cannot but perceive, that our previous notions of the formation of strata in general, have been of the most erroneous description; for when we look at a lofty cliff of sand-stone rock, without any embedded fossil, we at once conceive to ourselves *the vast length of time* which we had been taught, by geology, to assign, for so extensive and gradual a formation. But such an example as the Craig-

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"It appears, from the marine shells found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in almost every part of the globe, that immense continents have been elevated above the ocean, which must have ingulfed others.

"Such a catastrophe would be occasioned by a variation in the position of the axis of rotation on the surface of the earth; for the seas would leave some portions of the globe, and would overwhelm others. But theory proves, that neither nutation, precession, nor any of the disturbing forces which affect the system, have the smallest influence on the axis of rotation, which maintains a permanent position on the surface, if the earth be not disturbed in its rotation by some foreign cause, as the collision of a comet, which may have happened in the immensity of time." The able authoress then proceeds to show how little influence the sea would have, even in such a case, upon the general equilibrium; and concludes thus,—"It thus appears, that a great change in the position of the axis is incompatible with the law of equilibrium; therefore, the geological phenomena (of fossils) must be ascribed to an *internal cause*. Thus, amidst the mighty revolutions which have swept innumerable races of organized beings from the earth, which have elevated plains, and buried mountains in the ocean, the rotation of the earth, and the position of the axis on its surface, have undergone but slight variations."—*Mechanism of the Heavens, by Mrs. Somerville.*

Upon the above passage, the Quarterly Review has remarked, that "the lunar theory teaches us, that the internal strata, as well as the external outline of our globe, are elliptical; their centres being coincident, and their axis identical with that of the surface; a state of things incompatible with any subsequent accommodation of the surface, to a new and different state of rotation from that which determined the original distribution of the component matter."—*Quarterly Review*, No. XCIV. p. 552.

Although I cannot subscribe to the doctrine which dictated the latter part of the above remark, nor to the idea of Mrs. Somerville, that the collision of a comet "may have happened in the immensity of time," although, we thus have acknowledged proof against the probability of any such collision, which is, therefore, quite uncalled for; we must hail, with pleasure, the step that has thus been gained by the admission of so able an authority. The theory of a change in the axis of the earth, which was only engendered for the purpose of accounting for tropical productions, in polar latitudes, is, therefore, for ever destroyed; and we thus arrive at the same point by various different roads.

After this concession, that the phenomena of geology must have originated in a cause *not external* to our earth, we may hope, that the true internal cause will, ere long, be equally admitted. One other such departure from the usual theories of the deluge and the union which is every day approaching, between Philosophy and Scripture, will be at length completed.

[*] I cannot here omit remarking, that in Jarrow colliery, the muscle beds or strata, containing sea shells, are very abundant. I saw some specimens of these shells in the museum at Newcastle; they exactly resemble those muscles found in the blue clay, reposing on the chalk at Pegwell, in Kent.

I also find, that in some of the coal pits in Scotland, (and that of the Drum, near Dalkeith, was particularly mentioned,) sea shells, as large as oysters, are frequently found in the roof of the coal stratum, as if they had been stuck into clay from below.

leith fossil tree exhibits, must serve at once to show, that instead of *thousands or millions of years*, for such deposits of sand-stone rock, but a very short time indeed must have been occupied in the formation of the whole of this quarry; and, consequently, of the whole coal formation which rests below it. The tree could not possibly have remained in a reclining posture, if only held by a few of the strata near its base. Nor could it have been long exposed with its top protruding in air or in water; a few passing waves, or, at most, a few days of the agitated and turbid waters of the deluge, must have been sufficient for the formation of the whole bed in which it is now found, and which we are apt to look upon as of vast extent. In the same manner we are instructed by those fossil stems, which pass through a coal bed from the floor, into the strata above, to a great height. These are only further indications and proofs of the truth of what I have before stated, that the formation of coal, under every circumstance, must be attributed to the progressive sinking and covering up of the diluvial vegetable ruin at the period of the flood; and that this invaluable fossil production, in its present state, has been the result of prodigious *pressure* on the one hand, and of *chemical action* on the other.

We cannot, for a moment, doubt that all the beds through which these stems now pass, were once in a soft or semi-fluid state, like the sands upon the sea shore, about the ebbing of the tide. The whole strata, however horizontal they must once have been, have since become more or less deranged, *not by elevation*, but by *depression;* and upon this principle alone I have already explained the origin and cause of the *slips*, *dykes*, and *troubles*, so well known in all mining countries. We now account, in a natural and consistent manner, for a large proportion of all the upper soils and strata with which the surface of the present earth is covered. Let us only suppose, for a moment, a greater number of these fossil stems acting, as they do, as *measures*, cast into various parts of the deluvial strata, one above another. If a series of twelve or fourteen solid beds of sand-stone, and other strata of the coal formation, were formed in the short space of time necessary to support *one tree of sixty or seventy feet long, in a reclining posture*, we have a full right to carry our ideas much further on the same scale. Our notions of *lacustrine quiet deposits*, in an immense *period of years*, must be for ever laid aside with regard to the coal fields. The presence of sea shells, in even a few of the coal strata, is sufficient for the total destruction of this long received theory. And if we are forced to give up this *proof of the great antiquity of the globe*, we must naturally enter upon that more consistent and well defined system presented to our contemplation in the geology of Scripture. We thus attain, by these *vegetable evidences*, the same strong ground we had already taken up, by the testimony of *animal fossil bodies*, on every part of the earth's surface. Every thing is consistent and agreeable to history, instead of being contradictory in all its parts, and directly opposed to what the sacred narrative so plainly lays before us.

I feel it scarcely necessary here to remark upon the singular notion entertained, by some, of these fossil trees having *grown* in the sandy or argillaceous strata in which they now happen to lie. This mistake arises, like most of the other erroneous notions in geology, in the constant idea that we are now living upon the antediluvian dry lands; an idea which we have already found it necessary entirely to lay aside. Had the trees grown where we now find them, their roots must have been fixed on a different material from that which now covers the stems; and we must have discovered, which has never yet been done, some indication of a former soil, suited to the nourishment of so rich a vegetation.[*]

With regard to the fine fossil tree, we can have no sort of doubt of its having been embedded, together with all the other vegetable matter found in the quarry of Craigleith, in the course of a few days, or, perhaps, of a few *tides;* a conjecture for which we shall presently find that there are the strongest possible grounds. And as this free-stone formation, *of at least* 220 *feet* in depth, is of precisely the same nature as that which forms the roof of many of the coal beds in that neighbourhood, and containing the very same fossil vegetable productions, we come at once to the strongest evidence, both as to the *nature* and the *period* of the whole contents of the coal basins; and, also, of the very great rapidity with which they must have been deposited.

All these facts tend, in the strongest manner, to confirm the opinions I have before, and at greater length, expressed; that the coal beds were formed at the period of the deluge, by successive deposits of great vegetable masses, which must have been matted together, and floating on the waters at that eventful time; and that the contents of all the *basins* of geologists, whether containing coal, or not, must have also become deposited at the same period; the whole of these moist formations being stratified according to the common laws in constant action in the ocean; and, on the depression of the waters into their new bed, becoming, in many places, deranged by *depression*, and, subsequently, hardened into the stony masses now exhibited to our admiring view.

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[*] In a lately published work of Mr. Lyell, to which allusion has, more than once, been made, and in which that able writer takes a very luminous view of the secondary causes in constant action on the surface of the earth, we find a very striking (though altogether unintentional) argument against the generally received theory, of the fossil remains of tropical quadrupeds now found in our upper soils and strata having belonged to animals formerly naturalized to our climates, and inhabiting our "antediluvian forests." This argument is found in his account of the formation and extent of peat mosses in the North of Europe, in the course of which, this author clearly shows, "that a considerable portion of the European peat bogs are evidently not more ancient than the age of Julius Cæsar;"[*] an admission we could scarcely have looked for, from a writer, whose whole theory is founded on "the economy of Nature," having been "uniform," and the laws, which direct the changes on the earth, having "remained invariably the same:" for, as a great part of his work is occupied in endeavouring to show that the present system of Nature has been regular, and has proceeded in the same course for millions of years, we can in no way account, in a system of such indefinite extent, for the origin and growth of peat, within so comparatively trifling an era as the days of the Romans.

"The antlers," says he, "of large and full grown stags, are amongst the most common and conspicuous remains of animals in peat. Bones of the ox, hog, horse, sheep, and other herbivorous animals, also, occur; and in Ireland, and the Isle of Man, skeletons of a gigantic elk; but no remains have been met with belonging to those extinct quadrupeds, of which the living congeners inhabit warmer latitudes, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, hyæna, and tiger, though these are so common in superficial deposits of silt, mud, sand, or stalactite, in various localities throughout Great Britain."—Vol. ii. p. 218.

Now, it must be evident to every one, that if England, and the rest of Europe, where peat is now found in such abundance, (and containing the remains of animals preserved in the complete manner peculiar to this substance,) were formerly in existence above the waters, and were covered with forests and wilds, suited to the shelter and nourishment of elephants, and other large quadrupeds, now confined to the tropics, there can be no conceivable reason why peat should not have been, as it now is, in constant progress; nor is it consistent with analogy and facts, that such animals as are said to have been so abundant in these supposed forests, should not occasionally have been found in such situations. In this dilemma we naturally look for the means by which so great an inconsistency is accounted for by its author, who, accordingly, proceeds as follows: "Their absence seems to imply, that they had *ceased lo live* before the atmosphere of this part of the world acquired *that cold and humid character which favours the growth of peat.*" Why they "ceased to live," we have no reason given, nor can we conceive any reason that would agree with the rest of Mr. Lyell's theory. Their disappearance could not have arisen from cold, because we are told by this author, in another part of his work, when treating of the fossils of the polar regions, that the greater part of the elephants lived in Siberia, after it had become subject *to intense cold*, which is confirmed, amongst other reasons, by the state of the ivory," &c.[*] This "intense cold" could not have existed in Siberia, when inhabited by elephants, without its influence being also extended, as in our own times, over Russia, Germany, Sweden, and England; and consequently, these countries must have, even then, enjoyed precisely "that cold and humid character which favours the growth of peat."

"Some naturalists," says Cuvier, "reckon much on the thousands of ages which they accumulate with a dash of their pen; but, in such matters, we cannot venture to judge of what might be produced in a long time, except by multiplying, in idea, what a shorter period does produce."

We have never yet had any geological account of the extensive peat mosses which ought to have existed in the "antediluvian forests of Yorkshire," and in the rest of Europe; nor can we readily believe that elephants and rhinoceri, could have inhabited such forests, or passed over such swamps, without having been occasionally buried in the peat, and preserved in the same manner as cattle are in our own times.

There can, perhaps, be no stronger ground taken up for the support of the Geology of Scripture, or for the destruction of the theory of indefinite periods, than the argument arising from the nature and extent of peat moss; and, by doubling the short period, admitted by Mr. Lyell, or, obtaining from his abundance, so trifling a boon as a couple of thousand years more than he has already freely given us, we can perfectly account for its comparatively recent formation, as well as for the total absence of tropical animals and plants. Peat is, as Mr. Lyell has well explained, a recent formation, in constant progress in certain favourable situations and circumstances. It is, in short, of post-diluvian growth, and contains only such animal or vegetable remains as are natural to our European climates. The beds of "silt, mud, sand, and stalactite," in which tropical organic remains are mixed up with those of temperate latitudes, are equally superficial; but they owe their formation to a different period, and to a different cause. They are diluvial formations; and as they owe their origin to that destructive period, we cannot wonder that they should contain proofs of the indiscriminate organic ruin, which naturally resulted from that preternatural judgment.

[*] Principles of Geology, vol. ii. p. 214.

[*] Principles of Geology, vol. i. p. 3.

I now come to the second subject on which I proposed making a few observations in this place; and which presents perhaps, one of the most difficult problems in the whole extent of our geological inquiries.

I allude to the *fossil foot-marks*, if I may so call them, of animals, which have, in a few instances, been distinctly discovered on the surface of the strata, in sand-stone quarries. I am not aware of more than two known instances of this remarkable fact. The first occurred in a red sand-stone on Corncockle muir, in Dumfriesshire; and the second, in the same free-stone quarry of Craiglieth, where the large fossil tree was discovered in 1830. I do not happen to have read or heard, what are the opinions of philosophers on this remarkable subject; but I cannot help thinking, that the evidences to be found in Craigleith quarry, with respect to the above-mentioned fossil trees, will serve as a ground for the most probable conjecture with respect to the true nature of those animal foot-marks on the diluvial sands.

These impressions, of which some of the originals, as well as casts in stucco, are to be found in various collections, indicate a small animal, having a foot about the size of that of a fox. There appears to be considerable variety in the size, but as to the identity of conformation in every case, I have not yet had an opportunity of correctly ascertaining the facts. Trials have been made, by making a variety of animals walk over sand, or moist clay; and I have been informed, that it was the opinion of Sir Everard Home, that the impression of the track of the tortoise was the nearest to those hitherto found in the quarries.

As I am entirely ignorant of the locality of Corncockle Muir, I shall confine myself to those impressions found in the Craigleith free-stone, and of which casts have been placed in the Museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

In endeavouring to solve this geological mystery, we must bear in mind two positive facts, with which we are made acquainted by the evidence of the fossil trees above described: first, that the whole formation of the rock, in which both are found, must have been *very rapid;* and, secondly, that there is no conceivable means, within the common laws of nature, with which we are acquainted, by which such rapid formation could take place at the present time.

In the course of the view I have formerly taken of the action of the deluge, and its effects upon the "*earth that now is*," I had an opportunity of explaining what the appearances must probably have been, both on the rise and on the decline of the destructive waters. I have shown, that as the position of the globe, during this awful judgment, remained precisely the same as it was before, and as it ever since has been, the effects of the sun, and of the moon, as exhibited in the *tides*, must have remained in equal, if not in greater force, than at other times. This action of the tides must have been particularly powerful on the gradual decline of the diluvial waters, at a time when the new lands, in a *soft state*, began first to appear above the surface; and, in process of time, to be, for a short space, periodically left dry by the ebbing tide, in the same manner as the sandy or muddy shoals on our own, or on the Dutch coast.

Now, in the present course of things upon the earth, the footsteps of any animal, passing over the smooth sands on the ebb tide, could not long resist even the gentlest action of the waves, because the waters of the ocean, in their natural state, are so nearly pure, and free from sediment, that the progress of secondary formations is so slow as to be almost imperceptible to our view. But, at the awful period of which we are now treating, the case must have been totally different. The waters of the whole sea must then have been, as we have before shown, heavily charged with their preternatural burden; and every successive tide must, consequently, have deposited some additional beds upon the growing earth. In this manner alone can we account for the rapid deposition of the trees we have just been considering; and, in this same manner alone can we also account for the preservation of those animal foot-marks now discovered between the strata.

But it will naturally be asked, where was the animal to come from, at a time when the whole living kingdom was in the act of being destroyed; or, (if the foot-marks were made, as appears most probable, on the *decline* of the deluge,) when all had already perished? To this we reply, that we have here the most positive evidence, that *all* had not yet perished when these sandy formations were being so rapidly deposited. At whatever period of the deluge this deposit took place, we see, that at least a few individuals, of the animal world, were lingering out a miserable existence, perhaps preserved for weeks or months upon these same vegetable islands which we have seen were being deposited in the immediate neighbourhood, and now exhibited in the form of coal. If the animals in question were of the tortoise or turtle tribe, as has been generally conjectured, and, consequently, of an amphibious nature, we can have the less difficulty in finding a solution for this interesting problem; for, in considering the fossil remains of the natural inhabitants of the sea, we have before found it probable, that by no means a general destruction took place amongst this extensive class at the period of the deluge.

The impressions I have had an opportunity of seeing are of various degrees of freshness; but none of them have the appearance of a longer time than would occur between one ebb tide, and the following flow. If an animal pass along a fresh sand bed, on the present shores, the impression of his steps soon becomes less sharp, as the moisture is evaporated from the drying sands.

These *fossil* foot-marks have all the appearances exhibited on a recent *sand bank.* They, in some instances, indicate a short and shuffling gait, with the feet pressing *outwards*, and are such as we can suppose an amphibious animal to produce. Had the marks occurred in *clay*, instead of in *sand*, we can suppose the air to have completely *hardened* the impression, so as to have preserved it a long time before being covered up. But such is not the case; and we can, therefore, have no manner of doubt that they were occasioned by some animal coming *ashore on a sand bank left dry by the tide;* and that the returning waters, heavily charged as they must have been, with diluvial sediments, immediately covered up the former strata, and thus preserved entire those most interesting and solitary indications of a still living antediluvian race.

We find in this same quarry of Craigleith, another remarkable evidence of the truth of what has now been stated. For it has been remarked, by the intelligent individual who has the management of these valuable works, that, on the upper surface of the whole quarry, wherever it has been covered up, and protected by the mixed diluvial soils and rounded stones, now so general on the surface of the earth, the upper stratum is marked with *grooves* or *scratches*, *generally lying in a S. W. direction*, and, evidently, attributable to the impression of gravelly substances hurried along by the currents, about the termination of the flood. Similar grooves have long since been remarked, especially by the late Sir James Hall, whose active and intelligent mind has suggested so many original and acute remarks on the phenomena of nature, as well as in the wide field of scientific research. As we have already found that the action of currents is at all times most powerful in the ocean, and must have occasioned many wonderful effects at the period now in question, we cannot be surprised, on the discovery of such self-evident proofs; nor can we avoid being struck with admiration at the consistent and remarkable manner in which all these evidences concur towards the same points, exhibited in the Inspired History. It is to this eventful period, and to it alone, that we must also look for a solution of the great question with respect to the valleys of the earth's surface, about which so many remarkable theories have been, from time to time, brought forth. We can now plainly perceive what, in these philosophical *theories*, has never been made clear to the intelligence, that the rounded forms of our hills, and the easy rotundity of our secondary slopes, must all have been occasioned by the action of the retiring waters upon the soft and recent deposits. We now plainly perceive why our mountain lowland valleys are much longer and more extensive than the action of their *running streams* could possibly have occasioned, even in MILLIONS *of years.*

We now also find a natural and consistent reason for many deep sections of sandy and calcareous rocks by rapid streams, on every part of the earth's surface. We find the strata of one side so exactly corresponding with those of the other, that no doubt can exist as to their once having formed one united deposit, through which we have, hitherto, supposed the rivers must have taken *unlimited periods*, to work their deepened beds. We cannot now wonder if we found a difficulty in making these phenomena correspond with the existing laws of nature; for they differ in a manner so material from every thing now observed in action in the world, that no *human* ingenuity could possibly clear up the difficulty. Nothing short of that Divine Inspiration in the Sacred Scripture History, which has been vouchsafed to us, for the most beneficient ends, could ever have enlightened our benighted minds, which, in rejecting this powerful evidence, have hitherto wandered in a maze of inextricable obscurity. Let it not be urged for the future, as has hitherto so often been done in our philosophical schools, that Scripture was graciously bestowed upon us only for *moral*, and not for *scientific* purposes. If we make a humble and proper use of the indications on many philosophical inquiries, which are presented to us in the Inspired Writings, however slight they may appear, we cannot but confess, that every word of Scripture "has been written for our learning," and that no part of it has, consequently, been given us *in vain*.

From the indications derived from this inspired source alone, could we have attained the conclusions to which the above phenomena consistently lead us:—

First, that coal is an undoubted vegetable production.

Secondly, That it became embedded at a much more recent period, and in a much more rapid manner, than we have hitherto thought.

Thirdly, That it was an *aqueous* deposit.

Fourthly, That that *aqueous medium* was MARINE, and not LACUSTRINE; and,

Fifthly, That one or more beds, in many secondary strata, were formed with intervening ebb tides on the decline of the diluvial waters; and, consequently, that the theories of geology, which advocate *unlimited periods* for the age of the earth, are not only contrary to our reason, but entirely opposed to those leading beacons which Scripture holds out for our guidance and instruction.

CHAPTER XII.

Elephants clothed with Hair and Wool.—Existing Instances of this Variety, even within the Tropics.—Probable Identity between the Mammoth and the Asiatic Elephant.—Cuvier's Theory on this Subject inconsistent with Facts.—More Natural Conclusions.—Erroneous Theories respecting Fossils.—The Mastodon not confined to the Continents of America, as commonly supposed.—Instance of the great Mastodon in England.—Form of the Tusks of the Mastodon.—Erroneous Ideas on this subject.

Having now tried upon its own merits this interesting and important question, respecting the former history of the earth, by the presumptive evidence derived from the northern fossil remains; and having, by conclusive, though *indirect* proofs, shown that the elephants, found in the ice of the Arctic regions, never could have been *inhabitants* of such high latitudes, but must, on the contrary, have *all* been drifted to their present beds by the natural currents, which have, at all times, prevailed in the ocean; and that these natives of tropical climates never could have existed but in the latitudes in which we now find them naturalized, notwithstanding the startling fact of some individuals having been found *entire*, and covered with a warm coat of *hair* and *wool;* I now proceed to bring forward, what may truly be considered a positive and *direct* evidence of the correctness of those conclusions to which we have been led. For, as many of the theories of geology may be distinctly traced to the remarkable fossil animals, covered with a shaggy coat, which have already been so fully described, it is a point of the very highest interest and importance to geology, to find that the arguments, grounded on this hairy covering, can no longer be of the smallest service in the support of such false and contradictory opinions. For it has, within a few years, been indisputably proved, that though neither the common Asiatic, nor the African elephant, requires, in general, such natural protection, owing to the heat of the climates which they most delight in; yet that a variety of the species *actually exists* in one district of Hindostan, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hymalaya range, *having a thick and shaggy coat of hair;* and being thus suited, by the common laws of nature, to become the inhabitants of a region *comparatively cold.*

When we consider the admirable manner in which animal as well as vegetable productions accommodate themselves to the particular temperature in which they are placed, we cannot feel surprised, that, in some instances, elephants *with hair*, should be found to exist. For the common Asiatic elephant cannot be regarded with any attention, without our perceiving that, on almost every part of his bare hide, there is an indication of hair, such as we see on some species of the dog from Turkey, or of the hog from China;* and we may, therefore, safely conclude that, as in both these familiar instances, the clothing, natural to most other animals, is only wanting in the case of the elephant, from the warmth of the climates to which he is, for the most part, confined. This natural clothing, however, which circumstances alone have, in general, caused him to lay aside, is immediately called into action, when a cooler temperature requires its presence. An elephant does not continue long in our temperate climates without this provision being more or less developed; and we have, at this moment, in London, most decided instances of this incipient roughness, in the two elephants belonging to the Zoological Society in the Regent's Park.

The *recent* discovery of this zoological fact, in a country which has so long been occupied by numbers of our countrymen, may, perhaps, be looked upon as one of the most remarkable parts of it; and though the work I am about to quote has now been for several years before the public, I do not any where find that this new and interesting variety of the elephant has met with that attention to which it may certainly lay claim. That it bears in a most remarkable manner, on the great questions in geology, must be apparent to all who have attended to the line of reasoning so recently explained. For it must be evident, that if the common elephants, of the hottest climates, *without hair*, were floated by the currents from a tropical to a frozen region, and were there *stranded*, and *sealed up*, on the subsiding of the waters; all such as inhabited a *cooler* climate, *even within the tropics*, must also have been subjected to a similar mechanical power. But we are not to suppose, because a few fossil specimens may have been found with hair, that *all* the elephants, whose remains are embedded in the northern or temperate climates of the earth, were of this rough species. On the contrary, it may safely be looked upon as certain, that the number of bodies *with hair*, bore no greater proportion to those *without*, than we now find to exist in the living species. We have every reason to conclude, that the elephant is a native only of such climates as furnish, in luxuriance, the vegetable productions on which he feeds. They are no where found, in a natural state, in temperate latitudes; but only in those countries where the herbage may be termed *gigantic*, and where the jungles are so thick, that the animals may not only be completely concealed from their enemies, but may also find an easy and abundant subsistence. Such is the case, not only in the low and swampy plains of Hindostan, but, also, in the districts of India, bordering on the mountains, where a higher elevation in the atmosphere counteracts, in some degree, the powerful effects of the sun, and occasions a temperature, which, in India, is termed *cold*, though the thermometer may rarely indicate the freezing point.

The first, and, as yet, only notice we have of this shaggy variety of the elephant, is to be found in the interesting journal of Bishop Heber. It was in the course of that long tour round the district over which his spiritual government extended, that the bishop arrived in the residency of Bariелly, a city situated in the plain, in the 28th degree of north latitude, and about 50 miles from the lower range of the Hymalaya. It was at only one day's journey from Barielly, on his way to the mountains, and while passing through the unwholesome forests and jungles of the plain, that he was visited by a native border prince of that district, who invited him to join in the hunting of a tiger, which had lately been seen in that neighbourhood. It is in the short and animated description of this hunt, that the bishop makes use of the following terms: "The rajah was mounted on a little female elephant, hardly bigger than the Durham ox, and *almost as shaggy as a poodle*. She was a native of the neighbouring woods, where they are generally, though not always, of a smaller size than those of Bengal and Chittagong."

Heber again mentions having met the same rajah, a few days afterwards, "on his little elephant;" and we cannot peruse this concise, yet particular description of so casual a circumstance, without perceiving, that, though he does not enter into details upon the subject of this rough-coated elephant, yet his attention was, on both these occasions, particularly attracted to so uncommon an animal. I am the more desirous of drawing the attention to the artless and familiar description contained in the above passage, from having found, on inquiry from many who have spent a great part of their lives in the East, that this variety of the elephant is so little known, that much doubt is entertained, by some, as to the correctness of the account of it.

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* It is well known, that many of the hog tribe, especially those from China, have little or no hair, when first brought into our climates. The laws of nature soon, however, take effect; and they not only, in the end, become covered with hair, but they also acquire a complete under-covering of wool, as is well known to all fly-fishers.

Setting aside, however, for a moment, the character of the individual from whom alone we have, as yet, derived our information of this new living variety, let us consider the collateral circumstances of the case; and we shall find, that this generally, though not invariably *small* race of elephants, are said to be the natural and wild inhabitants of an extensive range of jungle, where, *though ice is rarely seen*, yet *hoar frost* is quite a common occurrence; and where, consequently, the clothing of the native animals might be expected to be warmer than in the burning plains, at a greater distance from the highest mountains on the globe.

We find, that this very animal on which the rajah was mounted, accompanied the bishop to the town or village, where he was to leave his elephants for a time, and to continue his journey on "little white shaggy ponies," in every respect similar to those of Wales, or of Scotland, to which Heber likens them; and in the course of one day's journey further, he begins to mention *chamois*, which are well known to be naturalized only in very cold climates.[*]

It is not necessary, however, to urge the *probability* of the account of any object of that description given by the pen of the amiable Heber. For, however mistaken his views may sometimes have been upon Indian affairs, in the short acquaintance which he was permitted to enjoy with that immense range over which his spiritual authority extended, we cannot, for a moment, doubt his exactness on such points as we are now considering; and as he was, at the time, accompanied by Mr. Boulderston, who had for many years held an official situation in that district, and from whom, Heber says, he derived much information on the natural history of the jungles they were then traversing, it is but reasonable to suppose, that the short description above quoted, was the result of the conversation and inquiry which this new and strange looking animal must naturally have given rise to.

I am happy to say, that, in as short a space of time as the great distance will permit, we may hope to have a full and particular account of the rough-coated elephant. Through the kindness of Dr. Wilkins, Librarian to the honourable the East India Company, in London, letters have been written to the gentleman who is, at present, engaged as a naturalist, in traversing some of the extensive districts of Hindostan, for the purpose of drawing his particular attention to this animal; and to all who enter into the consequences, to be naturally deduced from its discovery, a more particular description of it, from the pen of a naturalist, must afford a subject of the highest interest and expectation.

In the mean time, I must not omit to take notice of one point which has come under my observation, and which certainly corroborates, as far as it goes, my idea of the complete or approximating identity of species, between this existing caste of the elephant, and the shaggy fossil of Siberia, as well as between the common Asiatic race, and the animal whose bones and teeth are so generally distributed over the surface of the earth, and known by the name of the mammoth.

I have before alluded to the interesting specimens of the skin and hair of the fossil mammoth of the Lena, preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London. After having examined the three different varieties of hair of which this sample is composed, viz. a sort of wool or short hair; a longer kind, about the coarseness of that of the mane of a horse; and a stronger sort, thicker than any bristle with which I am acquainted; I had an opportunity of seeing, in the same fine collection, the tail of the common Asiatic elephant, with the curious arrangement of hair of which it is composed. This hair is from one to two feet in length, and of such thickness, that it more resembles long rounded strips of whalebone, than any thing else to which I could liken it. The peculiarity of this coarse hair, however, is, that it is neither perfectly *round*, nor perfectly *flat*, as that from the tail of the horse is occasionally found to be; but it is *irregularly rounded and flattened* over its whole surface, in a manner so unlike any other hair, that it may, probably, be looked upon as quite peculiar to the elephant.[*] It immediately occurred to me, to compare this unusual construction with the coarser sort of hair of the fossil specimen; and though there is not in that sample, (which was sent to Sir Joseph Banks, from St. Petersburg,) any hairs which could be supposed to belong to the *tail* of the antediluvian animal, yet it is most obvious and surprising, to see the *exact similarity* which exists between the coarsest hairs or bristles of that sample, and those of the tail of the common Asiatic species.

Such corroborative points, in the chain of our evidence, are not to be overlooked, nor despised; and though Bishop Heber does not give us the slightest notion of the *colour* of the animal he saw, yet we may naturally conclude, from what we already know of the existing species, that it must have been of a dark brown tint, nearly approaching, in the coarser hairs, to black. If this be the case, it will agree, most perfectly, with the description I have *read*, and the samples I have *seen*, of the shaggy coat of the antediluvian animal.

The coarsest hair in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, is, in colour, like that of some dark chesnut horses, which are often called black, but whose manes and tails show a reddish colour when viewed transparently. The tufts of hair from the fossil animal, evidently indicate an inclination to *curl;* the woolly hair, at the roots of the coarser sort, shows this even more distinctly; and the whole gives at once the idea of its having formerly belonged to exactly such an animal as Heber so graphically describes as being "*almost as shaggy as a poodle*," to which animal alone it could, perhaps, be properly likened.[†]

As we have now found, therefore, a situation, *within the tropics*, sufficiently cold to produce a thick coat of hair, on a race of animals usually bare; but, at the same time, sufficiently hot to furnish a climate fitted for the richest Eastern vegetation, and a jungle grass so high, as nearly to cover the elephants of the hunters, let us imagine, for a moment, such an event to occur, as is supposed by Cuvier to have *actually* happened in the present Polar regions, at the period of his *last* revolution, or, what we term the Mosaic deluge. Cuvier supposed that a SUDDEN flood of waters must have occurred, and, at the same time, an equally SUDDEN and violent *diminution of heat*, so as first to envelope the animals in the water, and then to convert that water, almost instantly, into ice; which has been the means of preserving, *in an entire state*, even the most perishable parts of some of the animal bodies embedded in it.

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[*] "The pahariahs, or hill people, are quite a distinct race from the rest of the inhabitants of Bengal; and, from every circumstance, may be, with reason, considered as aborigines. They are in stature and figure very like the Welsh," &c.

"Most people conclude the climate of India to be invariably sultry and scorching, whereas the months of December and January are often so cold as to produce a thin coat of ice upon the puddles; and, very commonly, a smart hoar frost on the grass and vegetation."—*Field Sports of the East.*

[*] The hair that is next in coarseness to that of the elephant's tail, is that of the tail of the cameleopard, which is of a fine round form, and from two to three feet in length. The hair of the hippopotamus is also very strong; but the skin of this animal is usually nearly bare. About the mouth are tufts of strong bristles—as also in the ear: and it is singular, that the form and arrangement of the tail should be the same as that of the elephant. Both are *flattened* towards the point, and the hairs are only on the edges, and not upon the sides of the flat part of the tail.

[†] Since writing, the above, I have, by the kindness of the Zoological Society, been permitted to take specimens of the hair from different parts of the body of their small Ceylon elephant; and have compared them with the fossil specimens, in the presence of Mr. Clift, at the Royal College of Surgeons.

This small elephant in the Zoological Gardens of the Regent's Park, has not been many months in England. It is three or four years old, and is not yet larger than a small Highland ox. He is as hairy as many species of pigs; and his coat has a decided tendency to be "*shaggy*" or curly. His colour is a dark chesnut brown on the back, dirty gray on the stomach and lower parts of the body; and there is most hair, (of a yellowish colour,) about the mouth. In the interior of the ear, the hair is close set, and of a light gray colour, much resembling that called *wool*, in the descriptions of the Siberian fossil.

The keepers are conscious of the gradual increase of this hair, since the animal has been in England: and the older and larger Mysore elephant, of the same collection, has also a thin coat of hair, of a few inches in length, all over his body, and of the same colour as in the smaller animal. In both, the longest hair is on the neck and shoulders; but it has not yet assumed any appearance of a *mane*. It is, indeed, probable, that the mane described on the fossil specimen did not more resemble that of a horse, than the longer bristles always found on the neck and shoulders of the hog. Upon the whole, the small Ceylon elephant appears fast approaching to such a shaggy appearance as Heber describes, and as Mr. Adams found on the Siberian fossil elephant.

The resemblance of the hair of the fossil, and of the recent animal, is complete, having that general inclination to *red*, before remarked; and the longer hair of both is chesnut when viewed transparently, and so similar in this respect, that the one cannot be distinguished from the other.

I have, also, by the kindness of Mr. Cleft, been permitted to examine the tooth of a Siberian fossil, which was sent to Sir Joseph Banks at the same time as the hair. It is completely identical in form and structure to that of the common Asiatic elephant.

It must be obvious to every one, that if such an event were, at the present day, to occur in the jungles and forests in the vicinity of the Hymalaya range, now inhabited by a race of elephants more or less "shaggy;" and also by innumerable other animals of every sort, usually found in such latitudes, we should expect to find, on inspecting the frozen mass, that the animal remains were INVARIABLY *entire*, and, in no instance, exhibiting such decided marks of marine action, as *oysters*, and *other sea creatures*, firmly attached to them. Instead of prodigious beds of "*mud*," mixed with "*ice*," and "*bones*," so correctly described by Professor Buckland, as the state in which the shores and islands of the Polar seas are now found, we should look, with a confident expectation, amounting to *certainty*, for the mass of vegetable substances, and *entire trees*, which must have equally shared the melancholy fate of the unhappy elephants.

Such, however, is by no means the state of things in the latitude of the mouth of the Lena, in Siberia; and, as every thing there denotes total ruin, and diluvial confusion, we have a right to assume, as a demonstrable fact, that the theory of Cuvier is entirely groundless. It must, however, in justice, be admitted, that the shaggy coat of these fossil animals formed a strong and plausible ground for some such theory. But the enthusiasm, too common on the discovery of a new and interesting fact, was, in this instance, permitted to outrun the discretion so necessary on a point which was to lead to such sweeping conclusions. For the *undeniable facts* which were assumed from this discovery, led to the following unavoidable results; first, that ALL northern fossils must have been "*clothed in wool;*" secondly, that the remains of the same class of animals found in less rigorous climates, such as our own, were also *those of natives of such climates respectively;* and, thirdly, that the climates of the antediluvian earth, as well as the nature of its animal productions, must have been widely different from what they now are.

All these conclusions, and innumerable others which naturally flowed from them, we must now hold to be utterly *false* and *groundless*. Every thing denotes, on the contrary, that the earth, and its productions, have been *nearly*, if not *entirely*, uniform, ever since they came from the hand of the Creator. We have not yet discovered, it is true, an existing variety of the elephant, exactly similar to that which has received the title of mastodon among geologists; but, as we have now advanced so important and unexpected a step with respect to the mammoth, we may not altogether despair of still becoming acquainted, at some future time, with a *living mastodon*. Science is a plant of but tardy growth, even under the most favourable circumstances of civilized society; much more, then, in countries where such fostering care cannot be afforded for its protection. In our eastern possessions, for example, so far removed as they are from the parent country, there must still be the richest field for scientific research in every branch of Natural History. Our young men have, however, for the most part, hitherto gone out at an age when the mind is unprepared to take advantage of the vivid impressions which novelty affords. We soon become familiarized to what was, at first, new and surprising; and we are, afterwards, incapable of perceiving that, what is an every day occurrence in a foreign land, may prove of the highest interest to science in our own more cultivated societies. Thus, for example, has this shaggy race of elephants been seen, for years, by numbers of our countrymen, without any one having thought of its being more interesting than the common breed. Geology, or general science, is, probably, but little thought of, in a country where business must require all that exertion and energy of the mind, which is not dissipated by the debilitating effects of the climate. We have, it is true, made a most rapid progress in our knowledge of Natural History within the last half century; but, with almost all China, the greater part of Africa, and nearly the whole of New Holland, still before us, unexplored, we probably have much to learn, before we reach the boundaries of so wide a field for inquiry.*

When we consider, on the other hand, the unfathomable depths of the ocean, an element to which many of those animals must have belonged, which we now generally look upon as *extinct*, it must be admitted to be extremely probable, that many of our conclusions on that head have been inconsiderate and hasty. We have long been amused, from time to time, with reports of what have been termed *sea serpents*, of enormous dimensions; and these accounts, though coming from a great variety of persons and places, have usually been set down to the account of ignorance and fable. Without being, by any means, an implicit believer in such stories, I cannot but think it *possible*, and even highly *probable*, that there are still many things in the wide earth "but little dreamt of in our philosophy;" and that some such monsters of the deep may exist, and be occasionally seen, as has so often been asserted by many respectable persons.*

It was, formerly, one of the *well know facts* of geology, that there had once existed a species of CARNIVOROUS *elephants*. This extraordinary idea, arising from the form of the teeth of the mastodon, is now entirely exploded. It was, also, a prevailing opinion, and reasoned upon as another of these *well known facts*, that that animal must have been *a native of America*, as his fossil remains were only found in that country; thus encouraging the groundless notion, that the continents of the New World had existed, *as they now do*, before the flood. This idea has been subsequently proved to be as unfounded and false, as so many other parts of the theories of philosophy. It may be admitted, that the remains of this particular species of the elephant have been, hitherto, oftener observed in America, than elsewhere; and if it were necessary, it would not be difficult to advance very plausible theories to account for the predominance of the fossil remains of one species over another, in particular localities, in the same manner as we find the greater part of one deposit to consist of fish, and of another of bones, or shells.

Such currents of the ocean as now sweep along the coasts of New Holland, must, at the period of the deluge, have *somewhere* deposited those animal bodies which might have belonged *exclusively* to any similar portion of the former dry lands. In the direction of this branch of the currents, or in any of the eddies which it might chance to have occasioned, we should certainly look for such fossil remains as would be rarely found in other parts of the bed of the sea. In the event of such a calamity, in the present day, the peculiar animal and vegetable productions of New Holland would certainly attract a great share of attention, and be productive of much theory in philosophy, supposing that we had still remained ignorant of the existence of that immense country, and of its curious productions, as we were half a century ago. But, as my object is rather to treat of *facts* than of *theories*, I shall proceed to give an interesting instance of the fossil mastodon in our own country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of one of the most extensive and remarkable diluvial deposits with which we are any where acquainted. We know, that, in America, the remains of both the mastodon and mammoth are constantly discovered in the same soils. This circumstance would, of itself, be sufficient to destroy the whole theory of geologists, who confine the mastodon to America, as they do the gigantic elk to Ireland, or the Isle of Man, because his remains happen to have occurred in those countries, in several instances. One undoubted instance of the mastodon in Europe would be sufficient, then, for the support of the system we are now defending; and we cannot have the smallest doubt, that, however rare these instances may, as yet, have been, a more intimate and general acquaintance with the distinguishing features of the two fossil varieties, (which are only to be known by the form of the grinders,) will make us acquainted with many more instances than we have at present heard of.†

In a former part of this treatise, and in quoting from the interesting communication of Mr. Layton, on the fossil remains of the coast of Norfolk, mention is especially made of the skeleton of the "great mastodon" having been found *nearly entire*, in the neighbourhood of Norwich. Being desirous of ascertaining upon what certain grounds this skeleton was called that of the great mastodon, I wrote to Mr. Layton, to request some further explanation on the subject; and, in reply, I had the pleasure of receiving the following interesting statement.

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* We cannot peruse the Monthly Transactions of our different Scientific Societies, without perceiving descriptions of animals and things not already described, and entirely "new to Science."

* Amongst the fossil animals which are now looked upon as extinct, are some species of the saurian, or crocodile tribe. When we consider, that by far the greater part of the interior of Africa is still unexplored, and that we are but partially acquainted with the productions, even of its known rivers, we must suspend our judgment on the subject of the extinct species of the crocodile; and we may reason from analogy, that we shall still become acquainted with many new things; and may conclude, that every new discovery will tend to show the literal truth of the Inspired Record, and the provident care of the Creator, for the preservation of all created species. The crocodile of the Ganges differs much in form from that of the Nile, and greatly resembles one variety of the supposed extinct fossil species.

† Professor Buckland mentions the bones of the mastodon as having formed a part of that remarkable fossil deposit, formerly alluded to, on the banks of the Arno, in Italy.

"Your doubt, as to the great mastodon being found in Norfolk, came not at all unexpected. I should have doubted it myself under almost any other circumstances; as it is, I feel sure and certain of the fact.

"I lived at Catfield, in Norfork, six miles from Hasborough, and about as far from Horstead. From this latter place, marl (*soft chalk, with regular layers of flint, about four feet apart, or less,*) is carried to all the villages in the neighbourhood, to be spread upon the lands. A boatman, who was in the habit of bringing me fossils, brought a grinder of this mastodon as a curiosity, saying, it had been found in the marl, and given to him by the head pitman. It was the posterior portion of the grinder of the great mastodon, (I am certain of the fact,) containing, as far as I recollect, eight points, none of which had been cut, or brought into use. On the first opportunity, I went to make inquiry about it at the chalk pit. The pitman pointed out to me the place where it was found, and said, that the *whole animal was*, as it were, *lying on its side, stretched out on the surface of the marl.* He described it as being very soft, and that a great part of it would at first *spread like butter;* the whole, however, had been thrown down along with the marl, and carried away. He said he had looked upon it as *very curious* indeed, but *of no use;* and he had kept that piece of the tooth merely by accident. He afterwards found another fragment or two of the bones, in his garden, where he had thrown them, and he sent them to me. They are now in my possession, but I am not able to identify them with the *mastodon*, as distinguished from the *mammoth*, or elephant. The grinder I sent to Dawson Turner, Esq., of Great Yarmouth, who, probably, has it now. Smith, in his 'Strata Identified,' has given the figure of a very fine grinder, (mastodon's,) said to have been found at Whitlingham, by Norwich; and Mr. Woodward, of Norwich, has a fragment, which appears to be half of one of the points of a mastodon's grinders, found at Bramerton, adjoining Whitlingham."

We have here the most clear and unquestionable statement of this interesting fossil body, and on the testimony of one, who not only possesses, perhaps, the most perfect collection of the teeth of the mammoth any where existing, (amounting to 70, of all ages and sizes, selected out of nearly 200,) but who has, also, made this curious part of geological research his particular study; and who, therefore, could not possibly be misled with respect to the animal in question, distinguished, as it so clearly was, by the form of its grinders. And we have thus a well-defined instance of the fossil existence of a species of animal, in our own soils, which has long been looked upon as exclusively confined to the continents of America alone.

One of the most remarkable features of both the known fossil varieties of the elephant, appears to have been the occasional horn-like, or spiral form of the tusk. It is the opinion of some able comparative anatomists, that all the tusks, even of modern elephants, have a tendency to this particular shape; but this opinion does not appear to be supported either by the fossil or the recent specimens of ivory. The largest recent tusks with which we are acquainted, have seldom been found to exhibit much indication of this form; and, on the other hand, many fossil tusks have been found as uniform in their bend as those of the common elephants most generally exhibited in Europe.[*]

We are not, however, to infer from these variable evidences, either that *all* fossil elephants had spiral tusks, or that *all* recent ones have those of a simple bend upwards.[*]

On this latter point, as upon the subject of the teeth of the mastodon, we must reserve our judgment until we have a more perfect knowledge of all the existing varieties. We ought to learn caution on subjects which involve such important conclusions, from the numerous instances we, from time to time, experience, of being forced to give up what had long been looked upon as well established facts. From such instances we may safely infer, that *nature* has not undergone such total changes as we are generally taught to suppose. The planet we inhabit, together with its animal and vegetable productions, remains governed by the same general laws it ever has been subjected to, since the creation. The *numerous revolutions* of the continental geology must, therefore, now be reduced to the ONE great revolution, recorded in the Inspired Writings, and of which we have now been tracing so many unquestionable proofs. We are thus, every day, more and more securely confirmed in the confidence to be reposed in these inestimable records; and the more closely we examine the evidences by which they are corroborated, the more striking is their resemblance to some deep bedded rock, on which the angry waves of scepticism are for ever breaking in vain.[†]

CHAPTER XIII.

Human Fossil Remains.—Why they cannot be so numerous as those of other Animals.—Lime-stone Caves and Fissures.—An Example in the Cave of Gaylenreuth, with its Fossil Contents.—Dr. Buckland's Theory of Caves and Fissures.—Human Fossils found at Guadaloupe.—Also at Durfort.—Great Fossil Deposits in Spain, containing Human Bones.—Quarries at Köstritz, containing Human Bones.—Natural Conclusions from the above Account.—Dr. Buckland's Conclusion respecting Köstritz inconsistent with other parts of his Theory.—Caves and Fissures in Lime-stone.—General spread of Diluvial Effects.

We now come to the consideration of a part of the subject of organic fossil remains in rocks and soils, which has, hitherto, occasioned very considerable difficulty, and has

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[*] It is highly interesting to trace the history of such immense animals as the elephant; and when we consider the high value that has, at all times, been set upon his tusks as an article of commerce, it appears surprising that the whole race has not, long since, become extinct. We know that elephants are in some countries hunted exclusively for the sake of their ivory, although some portion of our supply may also be derived from teeth found in the woods, when the animals die, or are destroyed by wild beasts. From the year 1788 to 1799, there was imported into Britain at the rate of 1576 hundred weight of ivory annually! Now, if we take the average weight of each tusk at 40 pounds, which is a very low estimate, we find that upwards of *two thousand* of these noble animals must have perished each year, to supply the British market alone! Some tusks have been known to weigh from 325 to 350 pounds: and 100 pounds is not an uncommon weight; so that the above number is, probably, rather below than above the real annual consumption. If we add to this the supply necessary for the rest of Europe, and of the Eastern nations, our astonishment is excited at the number of elephants that must *annually* perish; and at the vast extent of wild country through which such herds must range, in seeking their subsistence.

[*] In the Museum of the College of Edinburgh, there are two very large fossil tusks, from Siberia. One of these is perfectly formed, with one simple bend; the other is very slightly of the cornuform, which appears, in that instance, quite accidental.

[†] Before concluding the consideration of the varieties of the fossil elephant, I cannot omit this opportunity of correcting an error in which our ideas of these antediluvian animals have been involved: and this explanation may serve to show how easily the public mind may be misled by the most trifling and casual circumstances. I am enabled to mention the following fact, on the authority of Mr. Clift, of the Royal College of Surgeons, who kindly communicated it to me, and has permitted me to make it public.

In the year 1799, a great fossil deposit, of animal remains, was discovered near Newburgh, on the Hudson River; and in this there were found so many bones of the fossil elephant, called the mastodon, that two nearly complete skeletons were constructed, with some little assistance from artificial means. The most perfect of these remained at Philadelphia, while the other was brought over for exhibition in London; and, in the year 1802, we were thus, for the first time, presented with a specimen of the *carnivorous* elephant, (as it was then thought to be.)

This curious specimen excited much attention for a time, and some idea of its purchase was entertained; but the price demanded being great, a report arose, and was soon circulated, that it was nothing but the skeleton of a common elephant, and was, therefore, not worthy of so much attention. This idea threatened seriously to affect the profits of the exhibitor; and, in order to prevent this, and to keep up public attention in favour of a highly ingenious and deserving individual, who had, at great expense, introduced so rare an object amongst us, the late Dr. Shaw, of the British Museum, suggested the idea of humouring the public; and, by changing the position of the tusks, of thus giving a totally different appearance to the animal, and restoring its credit as a rare and interesting object. This idea was immediately adopted. The tusks, which had been very properly placed so as to point upwards, as in the common elephant, were now reversed, and placed downwards; and one of the great resemblances to the common race having now disappeared, the animal again came into public favour, and, no doubt, was considered as much more thrown a shade of doubt and uncertainty over the historical account of the deluge, which, however, appears to be totally unwarranted by facts. I allude to the rarity of *human fossil remains* amongst those of the animated beings, which are frequently discovered in such abundance on the earth. For, it is objected, if all the human race, excepting one single family, perished by the flood, at a period when the population of the world must have been very considerable, there can be no good reason given why we should not also find their remains in the same abundance as those of other animals, on every part of the surface of the present dry lands.

In reply to this objection, it may be answered, that there can be no doubt that we have a consistent right to expect, *occasionally*, to find such fossil remains. But that we should discover them in any thing like the abundance in which we find the remains of other animals, would be to expect what, from the very nature of the case itself, must be an utter *impossibility.*

When we look back to the early history of the world, and consider that man was created, *one male* and *one female*, from whom the whole human race was to spring; while all the other species of animated beings were produced "*abundantly*," and the earth at once replenished with them; we must readily perceive, that at the end of any given period, such, for instance, as the 1656 years between the creation and the deluge, there could be, *numerically*, no proportion between the race of man and that of other animals.* We should come to the same conclusion, even in our own times, and in the most populous countries, where, as in England, the number of inhabitants bears but a small proportion to that of quadrupeds and birds.† Much more then, if we extend our view generally, over the whole inhabited earth, where the immense forest tracts are peopled with *millions* of quadrupeds and birds, for every *hundred* of the human species.

For instance, if we conceive any such event as the deluge to happen to the continent of America, at the present time, when the wilds of that country are swarming with deer, wild cattle, horses, and every inferior race of quadrupeds and birds, with a human population, scarcely worthy of calculation, in proportion: we should feel no surprise, if, on being enabled to examine the wreck, we should discover the remains of the former, in thousands of instances, for one of the latter.‡ Instead, then, of exciting astonishment, or creating doubt, the circumstance of the *comparative rarity of human fossil remains*, ought rather to be looked upon as the strongest confirmation of the general history of the earth, which we are now considering. We must keep in mind, too, that it is only within a few years, and in a very confined portion of the whole earth, that fossil remains, in diluvial formations, have excited the attention which they now do: and that before the study of comparative anatomy became so common as it now is, many bones must have been frequently discovered which ought to have been considered under this head, but which were, in ignorance, mistaken for those of other animals, or attributed to some more recent era. It is certain that, at all times, since the deluge, such remains must frequently have been found; but, in the ignorance and darkness of past ages, these instances have generally been overlooked and forgotten. Besides, as such discoveries must almost always be made, even in our own enlightened day, by the most ignorant of the people, instances must still frequently occur, which would be of the highest interest to science, but which are lost or forgotten from the thoughtless ignorance of the peasants who discover them.*

This darkness is, however, at least in our own country, passing rapidly away; and the love of science is now spreading from our own shores into every part of the habitable globe; from whence, we may hope, that the instances of diluvial *human fossil remains* will soon be greatly accumulated, and will afford us, from year to year, additional corroborative evidences of the true history of the earth. When we consider, indeed, the few spots on the surface of the globe, either by art, or by nature, laid open to our inspection, we ought, perhaps, to feel surprise at the extent to which our knowledge has already attained.

There is no part of the systems of geology, of the present day, in which more scepticism is evinced than in the instances which have occurred of *human fossil remains;* and it has even been, by some, considered nearly certain, that human beings *had not been created* at the period when the other animals, whose remains we find in a fossil state, were the inhabitants of the earth. The instances of human remains, which have been, hitherto, discovered, are not indeed numerous; but they are abundantly sufficient for the support of the general system now under consideration: and the instances which I am now about to mention, bring this branch of our subject, in the most natural and consistent method, within the very same class of facts, as those we have been, hitherto, occupied in passing under our review.

Before entering upon these statements, however, it may be necessary to say a few words upon the subject of the limestone caves and fissures, in which such animal remains are so generally found. The nature of some lime-stone rocks to split into fissures, and to become perforated in all directions, by cavities more or less extensive, is well known to have given rise to one of their geological names, that of *cavous limestone.* This particular character is, as may naturally be supposed, not confined to any country, nor to any district; but is as universal as the extensive secondary formation to which it belongs. Accordingly, innumerable instances of such cavities may be found in all countries; but they have, of late, come more especially into notice from the organic remains of diluvial destruction, which they have, in a great variety of instances, been found to contain. The cave of Gaylenreuth, in Franconia, has long been celebrated for such animal remains; and as an account of one will serve to give a very general idea of all such caverns or fissures, I shall here give Dr. Buckland's account of it; without, however, entering, in any degree, into his theory of the means by which the animal remains of this, or other caves, came into their present remarkable situation.

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fierce and *carnivorous* looking than it was before, being thus furnished with hooks for the capture of its prey.

Drawings and engravings were made of the skeleton in this disguise; and, from that time to the present, the common impression of the public, with respect to the mastodon, is, that it was a fierce and *flesh* eating animal, and quite unlike the modern race of elephants. In a late number of a cheap and popular publication, intended for the diffusion of knowledge amongst the poor, the figure of the mastodon, or the mammoth, is accordingly given with the tusks placed in this unnatural and inconvenient position.

* "The kingdom of Congo, like most other parts of Africa, produces a prodigious variety of wild animals. Amongst the most remarkable are the elephants, which are found chiefly in Baurda, a province abounding with woods, pastures and plenty of water. They go in troops of 100 or more, and some are said to be of so monstrous a size, that the prints of their feet measure from four to seven spans. They delight in bathing during the heat of the day. Lions, of immense size, tigers, wolves and other beasts of prey, abound in this country. The zebra, the wild ass, the buffalo, and numerous tribes of deer and antelopes, are all most abundant; and the forests swarm with hyænas and wild dogs, which hunt in packs with dreadful howlings."—*Bibliot. Univers. de Voyages.*

† The population of England, which is not exceeded by that of any country in Europe, in proportion to its extent, is about ten or eleven millions. It is calculated that there are about twenty-six millions of sheep in this country alone; and if we include Scotland and Wales, where the disproportion is infinitely greater, we may form some tolerable idea of how the matter stands, when we add to the sheep, every other species of quadruped and bird, with which our woods and plains are so abundantly peopled.

‡ "The Missouri and Arkansas territories, which would be capable of sustaining, probably, more than fifty millions of inhabitants, if in a state of civilization, are, at present, occupied by something more than one hundred thousand Indians; and they have been computed to contain about one million of square miles."

"The buffaloes go in immense herds, and no one, ignorant of the extent of these fertile prairies, can form any idea of the countless myriads that are spread over, and find support on them."—*Hunter's Memoirs of his Captivity among the North American Indians.*

"On the south of the river Saladillo, (in Buenos Ayres,) are the immense plains of Pampas, which present a sea of waving grass for *nine hundred miles.* Their luxuriant herbage affords pasture to innumerable herds of cattle, which rove about unowned and unvalued: they are, also, the abode of immense troops of wild horses, deer, ostriches, armadillos and every sort of game."

* On three several occasions, I have lately had opportunities of remarking the careless apathy with which discoveries, most interesting to science, were regarded, both by overseers and labourers, in extensive works, where objects were every day discovered, most likely to attract their curiosity and attention. In the coal mines, both of England and of Scotland, I have seldom met with any workman who was aware that trees and plants were visible in almost every part of their works; they have no difficulty in admitting the fact when pointed out to them; but the situation of these remains must appear so improbable to them, that they would scarcely credit the evidence of their senses. One pitman, in a Scotch coal mine, appeared, however, to have viewed the interesting objects around him with more attention. Observing that I held my light towards the walls and roofs of the gallery, without, however, having made any remark to him, he said, "there must have been fine confusion here, sir, in the time of Noah." I could not help wishing that this remark had come from some leading member of our scientific societies.

"The mouth of this cave is situated in a perpendicular rock, in the highest part of the cliffs, which form the left side of the valley of the Weissent river, at an elevation of more than 300 feet above its bed. We enter by an aperture, about seven feet high, and twelve feet broad; and, close to it, we observe an open fissure rising from the cave, towards the table-land above.[*] The whole consists principally of two large chambers, varying in breadth from ten to thirty feet, and in height from three to twenty feet. The roof is, in most parts, abundantly hung with stalactite; and, in the first chamber, the floor is nearly covered with stalagmite, piled in irregular mamillated heaps, one of which, in the centre, is accumulated into a large pillar, uniting the roof to the floor.[†]

"From the first chamber we descend, by ladders, to a second, the floor of which also appears to have been overspread with a similar crust: this, however, has been nearly destroyed by holes dug through it, in search of the *prodigious quantities of bones* that lie beneath. This last chamber is connected by a low and narrow passage, with a smaller cavern, at the bottom of which there is a circular hole, descending like a well, about twenty-five feet, and from three to four in diameter. The circumference of this hole, in descending, is, for the most part, composed of a breccia of *bones, pebbles, and loam*, cemented by stalagmite. The depth to which this extends has not yet been ascertained. The roof and sides of all the artificial cavities, (formed in the search,) *are crowded with teeth and bones:* but these do not occur in the roof or sides of any of the upper, or *natural* chambers, above the level of the stalagmitic crust that covers the floor. This observation applies equally to all other lime-stone caverns of this description, and is important on account of the erroneous statements and opinions which exist on this subject. The floor of the first chamber has been already stated to be almost entirely covered with a crust of stalagmite. Through this crust large holes have been dug, and in these we see a bed of brown *diluvial loam* and *pebbles*, mixed with angular fragments of *rock*, and with *teeth and bones*. I could not ascertain the depth of this diluvium.

"In the second chamber the formation is of the same description, but *more abundantly laoded with bones.* Its depth appears to be irregular, and, in some parts, extremely deep. A side chamber descends rapidly into the body of the rock, and contains *cart loads of teeth, bones*, and *pebbles*, dispersed through a loose mass of brown diluvial loam, but not united by stalagmite." "The distribution of the component materials of the breccia of these caves is irregular; in some parts the earthy matter is wholly wanting, and we have simply a congeries of *agglutinated bones;* in others, the pebbles abound; in a third place, one half of the whole mass is loam, and the remainder *teeth* and *bones*. The state of preservation of these animal remains, when incrusted with stalagmite, is quite perfect, and the colour a yellowish white."[‡]

This cave of Gaylenreuth is only one of many such lime-stone caverns in the same neighbourhood, all furnished, in this manner, with similiar witnesses of diluvial destruction.

Dr. Buckland's account of the cave of Kühloch is truly remarkable. "It is literally true," says, he "that in this single cavern, (the size and proportions of which are nearly equal to those of a large church,) *there are hundreds of cart-loads of black* ANIMAL DUST, entirely covering the whole floor to a depth which must average, at least, six feet, and the cubit contents of which must exceed 5000 feet. If we allow two cubic feet of dust and bones for each individual animal, we shall have, in this single vault, the remains of at least 2500 BEARS, a number which MAY HAVE BEEN SUPPLIED in the space of 1000 years, by a mortality at the rate of two and a half per annum."

Dr. Buckland's theory of the mode by which such animal remains became enclosed in caves, in every similar situation, is simply, that all such caverns were, before the deluge, *inhabited by wild beasts*, which, in some cases, as at Kirkdale, *accumulated the bones of their prey in great quantities in their dens;* and in others, as in the above mentioned caves of Germany, the animals died a natural death, when their decomposed remains were gradually added to the common stock; and while the diluvial currents were in force, the waters, filling these caverns, and drifting into them a mixture of mud and rolled pebbles, the whole mass of loam, gravel, and bones, subsided into the hollows of the cave, became mixed up together in the confused state we now find them; and, in the course of subsequent years, the whole surface became incrusted with stalagmite, often forming a hard and stony breccia.

As to the bones of animals, accompanied with loam and gravel, contained in the *fissures*, or more confined cavities of lime-stone rocks, Professor Buckland looks upon it as certain that these were *open fissures before the deluge*, and that numbers of the wild animals of that period, endowed, it would seem, with a much smaller degree of natural instinct than those of our own day, carelessly wandering among the woods and pastures, *fell in*, and *perished.* That the bones of these animals were of a much *less perishable* nature, than in our own times, is thus evident; for, during the whole period, previous to the deluge, or for upwards of 1600 years, these open fissures preserved their animal prey; and when the diluvial gravel and earthy sediments came to be lodged in them, the whole of the bones were not compressed at *the bottom*, as we should naturally have expected, but were mixed up in complete chaos, together with these earthy sediments in every part of the fissures; though they are, in numberless cases, of prodigious depth and extent.

Had the above theory respecting caves, being formed upon the solitary instance of *one* cave, or even a set of caves in the same locality, containing the bones of *one species of animal*, such, for instance, as *bears*, we might have looked upon it as not only highly ingenious, but as having even much appearance of probability: but when we extend our view over the whole earth, and coolly examine all the circumstances of innumerable cases, of a similar nature, we cannot fail to perceive the inconsistency of the whole theory, and consequently, that the abovementioned "ANIMAL DUST" must be attributed to a different cause from that of the gradual decay of "TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED BEARS *in the space of* 1000 *years, at the rate of* TWO AND A HALF *per annum!*"

Amongst other proofs of the solid foundation on which this singular theory has been offered, and so generally accepted as satisfactory, by the scientific world, we must be informed, on the surest evidence, of some one *post-diluvial cave*, inhabited, like Gaylenreuth, *by hundreds of bears at the same time*, and of the unnatural habit of these animals to admit of even *two and a half putrid carcasses* in the year, to rot and moulder to a black "*animal dust*" under their very feet. The range of the Jura mountains is the exact situation where the professor's search ought to be directed; for there, in a climate very similar to that of Germany, are to be found, in considerable abundance, not only bears in the most savage state, but caves and fissures, of lime-stone rock, of exactly a similar nature. In Geneva, the tables of the curious are every winter spread with this species of game; and the peasants, on both sides of the Jura, are so partial to the chase of the bear, that his haunts and habits are as well known as those of the red deer to the Scottish Highlander. We may add a hope, that the Zoological Societies of London, with that zeal for scientific information for which they are so distinguished, will turn their attention to this important and interesting trait in the natural history of the bear.

I shall now proceed to lay before my readers the accounts of such undoubted instances of human fossil remains as are at present known to science: and that I may avoid, as much as possible, all appearance of prejudice, in favour of the views I am at present supporting, I shall quote the statements of these instances from the works of writers who have held very different opinions from myself; and who appear, in some instances, to have written these accounts under a general and commonly received impression, that any thing, of human form, could not be of *antediluvian* date, or, strictly speaking, *fossil.* It is not difficult to trace this very common, though erroneous impression, to those theories of geology, which cannot imagine any stratum, or formation of rock, to have taken place, except *in the course of a very long period of years;* and by which the immense, yet indefinite age of the globe, is thus looked upon as a firmly established fact. By those theories, a regular *succession of creations* is taught; the animals, found in the *lowest secondary strata*, being, as a matter of course, *less recent* than those whose remains are found above them. Man, therefore, having been rarely found in a fossil state, his remains, when discovered in rocks or soils, are generally regarded as *accidental occurrences*, arising from ancient battle fields, falling into fissures, or the like.

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[*] It may here be important to remark, that nearly the whole of this part of Germany forms one great table-land, of little variety on the surface, and in which the rivers, (and amongst others, the Rhine,) run, as it were, in trenches, the sides of which often present a perpendicular section of this whole secondary formation; and the sameness of character in both sides of which greatly detracts from the beauty of the scenery for which the Rhine is more particularly celebrated. That all this plain country, connected as it is with the lower levels of Belgium and Holland, on one side, and of Poland and Russia on another, once formed the bed of the sea, is a fact so generally admitted, that it is here unnecessary to dwell upon it. The period at which this state of things existed becomes a more important question; and if I have succeeded in proving that the chalk formations of France, and of England, were in this state immediately previous to the Mosaic deluge, and by that event were elevated to their present level above the waters, we can have no hesitation in carrying the same level, and the same line of reasoning, over all those plains of Germany, in which these cavities are found.

[†] When water is filtered through lime-stone, it becomes impregnated with a calcareous principle; and when exposed to evaporation in the atmosphere, it deposits a stony matter, in the same form as icicles in a moist cave or cellar; such stony icicles are often seen depending from the arches of bridges lately constructed, being formed from the mortar used in the building. When the matter is formed on the roof of a cave, it is called stalactite; when on the floor, it is named stalagmite.

[‡] Reliq. Diluv. page 133.

It may, however, be safely asserted, that in the whole history of fossil animal remains, there is nothing more clearly defined, or more completely certain, than the antediluvian date of many human fossils; and it is to be hoped, that the following statements will at once be stripped of all their mystery, to those who have entered into the line of reasoning adopted in this treatise, with respect to the newer secondary, or *diluvial* strata of the earth.

The first account which I propose considering, is contained in a letter from Mr. König to sir Joseph Banks, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1814. It relates to the *human remains embedded in lime-stone rock*, at Guadaloupe.

"All the circumstances," says Mr. König, "under which the known depositions of bones occur, both in alluvial beds, and in caves and fissures of the flœtz lime-stone, tend to prove, that the animals to which they belonged, met their fate in the very places where they now lie buried. Hence, it may be considered an axiom, that man, and other animals, whose bones are not fonnd intermixed with them, did not coexist in time and place. The same mode of reasoning would fully justify us in the conclusion, that if those catastrophes, which overwhelmed a great proportion of the brute creation, were general, as geognostic observations, in various parts of the world, render probable, the creation of man must have been posterior to that of the genera and species of mammalia, which perished at the great cataclysm, and whose bones are so thickly disseminated in the more recent formations of rocks."

I must here remark, that it is not my object, in this place, strictly to criticise the very interesting paper from which the above is taken; but I quote the preface, in order to show the general impression under which the whole of this account was written; an impression which was then pretty generally felt amongst all geologists.

After nearly 20 years of additional experience and knowledge in this interesting science, it may be, by some, considered scarcely fair to bring forward the written opinions of those *early times;* and I should certainly feel disposed to take this view of the subject, were it not that, however the geological views of the able author of this paper may have changed, with regard to human fossil remains, it must be admitted, that the general impression on this branch of geology, is, at the present day, exactly such as is so clearly defined in the above passage: and when we consider the importance and weight which are very naturally attaehed to the opinions of the great leaders, in the scientific, as in the political world, we cannot but admit the necessity which brings those public and important documents under our strictest review.

"The human skeletons from Guadaloupe, are found in that part of the windward side of the *grande terre*, called La Moulle; and they are enveloped in what M. Lavaisse, in his Voyage à la Trinidad, (1813,) calls 'Masses de Madrépore petrifiés.' The block brought home by sir Alexander Cochrane was about eight feet long, by two and a half wide, and one and a half thick, being of nearly two tons weight. Its shape was irregular, approaching to a flattened oval. Excepting the few holes, evidently made to assist in raising the block, there were no marks of a tool; and, indeed, the whole had very much the appearance of a huge nodule, disengaged from a surrounding mass. The situation of the skeleton in the block was so superficial, that its presence in the rock, on the coast, had, probably, been indicated by the projection of some of the more elevated parts of the left fore arm."

Mr. König then proceeds to describe minutely the deranged condition of the bones, and states, that the whole of them, when first laid bare, had a mouldering appearance; but, after an exposure of some days to the air, they acquired a considerable degree of hardness. The calcareous rock in which these human remains are embedded, is an aggregate, *composed chiefly of* ZOOPHYTIC PARTICLES, and the detritus of common lime-stone. Its general colour is grayish yellow, and it is harder than statuary marble. *There were shells in the mass;* one of which appeared to be the *turbo pica* of Linnæus; it was in a worn state, and the brown spots were still distinctly seen on its surface. "Besides these bodies," continues Mr. König, "I found near the surface of the block, part of a bone of a concentric lamellated structure, apparently the fragment *of a tusk*, but of what animal I was unable to define. From this description of the rock, it will be sufficiently clear, that it is by no means of a stalactetic character, and, therefore, cannot be compared either with *travertino, or any other chemical calcareous deposition of this kind.* Its origin seems unquestionably to be that of *common sand-stone;* only, that the grains of which it is composed, have, in some parts, become *confluent*, and have formed *a nearly compact lime-stone.*

"Respecting the age of these fossil remains, if not much positive information can be derived from the preceding details, this will prove, at least, that the enveloping rock *is not of a stalactetic nature;* and that the bones, after they were deposited, underwent a degree of violence, which dislocated and fractured them, without removing the fragments to a distance from each other. It may, therefore, be safely concluded, that the surrounding mass must have been in a *soft* or *semi-fluid* state; which, whilst it opposed no effectual resistance to a shock from without, readily filled up the chasms produced by it." M. Lavaisse, above mentioned, states, that 'the bed of lime-stone in which these nodules, containing, in many instances, human fossil bones, are found, is nearly an English mile in length along the shore, and is covered by the waves at high water.'"

The head is wanting in this most interesting fossil specimen, and, also, the right arm, both the feet, and the ribs of the right side. Notwithstanding, however, this imperfect condition, the general form stands in high relief from the embedding lime-stone; and as the block is placed in an upright posture, the beautiful proportions of a female form, which appears to imply *youth*, and a striking, though fortuitous resemblance to the position of the celebrated Venus de Medicis, gives to the whole a degree of intense interest, which no other known fossil can, in the least degree, lay claim to. For, in contemplating this form "of other days," the mind experiences a mixed feeling of wonder, of curiosity, and of commiseration. We long to be made acquainted with the personal history, and to take an interest in the mental feelings which once belonged to this mortal form. What a tale of woe could she unfold, if now again endowed with speech! The dreadful scenes of her latter days would present a picture, which the most lively imagination is totally incapable of conceiving.

The mind derives a painful pleasure in dwelling upon the subject, and in tracing, in various colours, the incidents, the language, and the feelings, by which this stony body was once influenced, in a degree, as acute as we ourselves experience. The skull of Yorick is as nothing, when compared to this, as a moral lesson; for in the delicate female form now before us, we contemplate the actual bodily remains of one, who has painfully experienced the terrible judgments of an OFFENDED DEITY.[*]

I shall close this short, but interesting account of the human fossils of Guadaloupe, with the remark, that no hesitation could have been felt *as to their being of antediluvian origin*, had they been the remains of *quadrupeds*, and not of the *human race:* but so strong is the effect of pre-conception, that, although every thing here tends to demonstrate the fact in the clearest manner, yet the mind of the very able geologist I have just quoted, found a difficulty in admitting a fact so entirely inconsistent with all the received laws of the continental theories of geology.

We cannot question, however, the clearness of the fact, that this interesting specimen *is the mutilated body of an antediluvian female, which, having lost the head, and being, in other respects, far gone in decay, became embedded, in this shattered state, in the muddy sediments of the diluvial waters;* which sediments, composed of *shelly detritus*, and having, also, embedded in it the tusk of some quadruped, and various known marine shells, has since been hardened into "*a nearly pure lime-stone.*" When we examine the specimen of the crocodile, taken from the quarry at Shotover, (and now in Professor Buckland's collection at Oxford,) *having sea shells attached to it*, we never, for a moment, doubt that it was of antediluvian origin. Let us judge of this *human fossil*, accompanied, in like manner, by marine porductions, with the same degree of candour, and with an unprejudiced mind; and the theories which thus contradict the inspired narrative, with respect to the period of the creation of man, must for ever fall to the ground.*

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[*] In a former arrangement of our great national museum, this, the most interesting of all known fossils, occupied a highly conspicuous place. At the present time, it is concealed in an obscure corner of an obscure closet. It is to be hoped, that the managers of the British Museum will make such arrangement as may again exhibit this specimen, as it so well merits, in "the place of honour" of our splendid collection.

I now proceed to state the phenomena exhibited in the lime-stone formation at Durfort, in France, as they are detailed and published by M. D'Hombres Firmas, in the seventeenth volume of the Bibliotèque Universelle, for 1821, p. 33.

M. Firmas opens his account of these phenomena, by remarking, that the environs of Durfort, near Alais, in the department of Garde, in the South of France, are of the highest interest to mineralogists, from the mines of calamine, crystals of barytes, and other minerals, which are abundantly found in that neighbourhood; where are, also, displayed "the most astonishing quantities of silicious, calcareous, and pyritous *petrified* SHELLS, some of which are of the rarest sort."

When M. Firmas was, for the first time, at Durfort, in 1795, he was informed by the peasants of the existence of a cave, which contained what they called *petrified men*.

He, at first, thought that this idea must have arisen from the *stalactetic formations* common to lime-stone cavities; and that the ignorant superstition of the peasants must have attributed to these the supposed human form. They added, however, the supposition, common in the country, that after some very ancient battle, the dead had been carried to this species of catacomb, which was every where known by the name of the *Baoumo das Morts*. These reports, however, made him very desirous of visiting the cave, and he was, accordingly, conducted to it, a little way to the north of the village, and almost at the top of the mountain of Lacoste, which is "of the old limestone formation," and the height of which is about 500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The mouth of this cavern consists of a fissure in the rock, into which one is obliged to descend nearly perpendicularly for above 10 feet, pressing, with the back and the knees, against the sides of the fissures, as chimney-sweepers do. They at length entered the *baume des morts*, which is a cavity not more than 10 or 12 feet in its greatest width, and in which a man of common stature can scarcely stand upright. The roof, the walls, and the whole interior of this cave, are lined with stalactite of a dirty white colour, approaching to brown. It is neither vast nor brilliant in its interior. "The unequal ground on which he stood, *was formed of bones, covered with stalagmite*, filling all the intervals which had separated them, and forming a solid mass of various dimensions."

"We detached some fragments from this mass, by means of a hammer and chisil; they were filled with bones, which we recognized as human, or, at least, the greater part of them; for there were many *so broken and incrusted*, that we could not decide whether they belonged to our own species, or to the bodies of other animals.

"We have shown these bones, such as *the cranium, the jaws*, and other parts, to some of the *savans* at Paris, and they admit not of a doubt as to what they must have originally belonged to. They seemed thrown together, pêle-mêle, in the pâte, which incloses them; and they are in such quantities, that they formed more than the half of the whole mass."

M. Firmas then attempts to account for the circumstances and phenomena attending this remarkable cave; in doing which, he first attributes the stalactites to the action of *running water*; and then very naturally asks, where that water could have come from? "For," says he, "the mountain of Lacoste is entirely separated from all the neighbouring heights; and the brooks, which run between these heights, are, consequently, very low. The rains could not have occasioned them, as it is evident that these stalactites have not made any perceptible progress in the course of the last 25 years.

"This grotto is not accessible to quadrupeds; the bones which it contains do not appear to have been worn by rolling: it could not have been a burying-ground of the country; for they never would have chosen a place so distant, and in the midst of the woods; besides, it would have been too difficult to have introduced bodies by the fissure through which we descended; and we looked in vain, in every part, both of the interior and exterior of the cave, for any other opening.

"There exists," says he, "in other countries, similar deposits of bones. We need not speak of those of Germany, Hungary,* Gibraltar, and the Archipelago; but the human bodies found near Soissons, in 1685; petrified bodies found in Guadaloupe; the incorporated bones in calcareous rocks, in a cave in Somersetshire; and also those of this Baume des Morts, are all evident instances of the fossil remains of our own species."

There is little occasion for further remark upon the fossil remains found in this cave: they are evidently attributable to the same diluvial cause, by means of which the innumerable lime-stone caves of all secondary countries have been so abundantly furnished. In our own country we have a vast variety of instances of this sort; many of them have been very fully detailed by Professor Buckland, in his Reliquiæ Diluvianæ; but from the particular geological theory which has arisen in consequence of his views, with respect to the cave of Kirkdale, viz. *that it was inhabited by hyænas before the flood*, who preyed upon the ELEPHANTS and RHINOCERI *which pastured in the forests of Yorkshire*, the true causes of such animal deposits have been hitherto, in a great measure, distorted or concealed. Having elsewhere shown the total fallacy of the whole of this theory, it follows that we must look for a principle less contradictory, and more consistent with the laws of nature, and with the phenomena themselves. This principle I have already, in some degree, explained; but I shall reserve the few remarks I have further to make upon the subject, until we have perused the details of the other fossil deposits connected with this branch of our inquiry.

The third remarkable instance of indiscriminate fossil remains, in which *human bones* have been very frequently found, is an immense congeries, displayed in a hill called *Cueba Rubia*, (or red cave,) near the village of Concud, in the province of Arragon, in Spain. This hill takes its name from a kind of red diluvial earth, which has been intersected and laid open by the waters of a mountain stream. Some of the bones contained in it are of the nature of common church-yard bones; some are solid, and well preserved; others seem pulverized, and fall to pieces on exposure to the atmosphere. They belong to a great variety of animals, and lie confusedly huddled together, or, as the French term it, *pêle-mêle*. Seven or eight human shin bones are frequently seen in one spot, without any other parts of the body. There are many articulations of the larger bones of animals mingled with them; and they are often filled with a crystalline substance. Don Guillermo Bowlês relates, that he was informed of an entire human skeleton that had been there discovered: the thickness of this diluvial mass is described as being upwards of 60 feet. We have, in this remarkable instance, a complete identity of character and circumstances, with numerous other fossil deposits, which are of unquestioned diluvial origin: but, as is usual, wherever *human bones have been found intermingled*, it has been the custom with geologists, in their remarks on this mass, to attribute the whole to some comparatively recent cause. A candid and unprejudiced judgment of the facts cannot, however, fail to lead us to a very different conclusion.

Before proceeding to make any remark upon the similarity which obviously exists between the cave of Durfort with its fossil contents, and those of Kirkdale, Gaylenreuth, and so many others in all countries, now so well known to geologists, I shall proceed to the details of the only other instance, which I consider it necessary for my present purpose to produce; and should any doubt have still been felt on the subject of *human fossils*, in the accounts of the three instances just given, I imagine that the following statement will for ever set this question at rest; for it has long been admitted, on all hands, that any ONE *unquestionable instance of antediluvian human remains* would be perfectly sufficient for the solution of that dark mystery which has so long obscured this part of the history of our earth.

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* There cannot be a doubt, that if this lime-stone bed, on the sea shore of Guadaloupe, were properly examined, or if there were occasion to intersect it by quarries, we should soon obtain many other conclusive and undeniable proofs of its diluvial origin. A stratum of "pure lime-stone" cannot be supposed to extend a mile, or more, along a coast, without also extending laterally, in an inland direction, for a considerable distance. It has been long looked upon as the most probable origin of this bed, that the waters of the sea having, in many instances, a property of rapidly depositing calcareous matter, must have cemented together the sands upon that coast, and thus petrified every substance that happened to be embedded in them. This, it must be admitted, is taking a very prejudiced and limited view of the subject; for a conglomerate, thus formed of the varied particles of a common sea beach, would present a very different appearance in the fracture, from what is exhibited in the close and equal texture of the specimen in the British museum. There can be no doubt, that in a formation, containing one human fossil, accompanied by one *tusk*, and various shells, we might, on further inspection, discover such animals as that tusk must have belonged to, besides many other equally distinct proofs of the true period of the origin of this interesting formation.

* In the Carpathian chain of mountains, in Hungary, grottoes are very numerous, in some of the calcareous strata. The principal of these are, Mazarna, and Dupna, in the district of Thurotz; Drachenhole, in that of Liptau; Holgoez, in Zips; Altelek, in Geomor; and Sziliacz, in Torn. Bones and skeletons, partly petrified, are found in these grottoes; and the most beautiful stalactites of every size and form.

The following account is written by the Baron Von Schlotheim, and was published at Gotha, in 1820. It was translated from the German by Mr. Weaver, and laid before the English public in the Annals of Philosophy for 1823.

"The recent discovery of human bones, as well as those of other animals, in a fossil state, in the neighbourhood of Köstritz, cannot fail to render a description of that district interesting to naturalists in general. I had an opportunity of examining that part of the country this spring, (1820,) in company with M. Braun, Counsellor to the Land Chamber, a gentleman distinguished for his exact mineralogical knowledge. Its geological relations are so well exposed in the ranges of hills, and in the quarries on their declivities, that no room is left to doubt the disposition and order of succession of the different floetz formations which appear in that vicinity.

"The valley of the Elster extends from Köstritz to the north, in an average breadth of about two and a quarter English miles, flanked by heights, which are covered with fertile fields, and slightly wooded. These eminences form connecting ranges on both sides of the Elster, passing Politz and Kaschwitz; that on the east, near Politz, attaining the greatest elevation. The bottom of the valley itself is perfectly smooth, refreshing the eye with its verdant meadows, diversified with groups of trees.

"The foundation upon which the floetz formation reposes, consists of transition *reddish gray clay-slate*, and firm, fine-grained graywacke. The former rests on the graywacke, and is immediately covered by the *older* floetz lime-stone, which rests upon it nearly in a horizontal position." I give these details as they are found in Mr. Weaver's translation of the baron's paper. The names given by the continental geology to the various upper strata, have been adopted upon the usually received principle of *the position of each formation marking its comparative age*. We have, however, found the strongest reason to do away, in many instances, with such terms as "the oldest floetz lime-stone," as it is obvious, both in this instance of Köstritz, and in the basin of Paris, each exhibiting proofs in the solid gypsum, *of distinct diluvial formation*, that many of these upper strata, and EVERY INSTANCE *where bones of quadrupeds are found embedded in the solid substance of the rock*, must be attributed to the destructive period of the Mosaic deluge, and cannot, consistently, be considered as the formation of any other former period.

"*The lowest strata are sandy*, and occasionally somewhat *bituminous*. In the upper strata, the sand, mica, and bitumen, entirely disappear, and, in their stead, traces of *yellow ochraceous iron-stone become visible*.

"The lime-stone, just described, ranges principally on the left bank of the Elster, towards Gera, as far as the vicinity of Hartzmansdorf; and again, on the right bank, near Politz, where it is well displayed in several quarries. On the other hand, the *gypsum, which is embedded in, and subordinate to this lime-stone*, occurs at the foot of the opposite range, on the west, near Köstritz and Kaschwitz, in the whole of which extent, the numerous gypsum quarries afford an insight into its character. The depressions and sinkings of the earth, which occur in the valley, proclaim that we have entered upon the domain of the cavernous gypsum and lime-stone, the latter of which is, as usual, covered by the variegated or new red sand-stone formation, which appears near Hartzmansdorf, and on the ridge of the chain of heights near Politz. Over the whole of these floetz formations, is spread an alluvial loamy tract, which is sometimes sandy, extending many miles, and yielding to the landholder a rich return, when duly cultivated."

I cannot here avoid remarking the distinct and luminous character of the above description of the Baron Von Schlotheim; which is so clear, that, without having visited the spot, one can distinctly form a correct idea of the whole structure of that country.

It appears, that in no other situation are there to be found more convincing proofs of diluvial action having filled up a hollow, or basin, in the bed of the antediluvian ocean; and the principles of stratification, which have been before explained, are here exhibited, in the most beautiful manner, having the *finer deposits lowest*, and the coarser sands, gravels, and loams, being thickly spread upon the upper surface; the whole mass, *where pressure has taken place*, having been acted upon by those chemical laws of nature, the origin of which must for ever lie concealed from our view.

After the above concise general view of the country, M. von Schlotheim proceeds to give a nearer description of the lime-stone and gypsum formations, with a detail of the circumstances under which the bones of land animals are now frequently discovered in these rocks.

"The varieties of this lime-stone formation have obtained different appellations from miners; amongst which, that of *zechstein* is one of the principal. Near Politz, this zechstein appears particularly to prevail, which passes into the cavernous lime-stone, being traversed immediately under the new red sand-stone, by very considerable fissures, and cavities, which often extend 12 feet in breadth, the whole of which are coated with stalactite, while the smaller fissures are frequently wholly filled with that substance. In the vicinity of Gera, the rock appears as *gryphite lime-stone*, yielding fine specimens of *Gryphites aculeatus*, and *G. cymbium, besides indistinct remains of other shells;* on the other hand, in the Politz lime-stone, I have not observed any petrifactions of shells.

"At the latter place, the upper quarry, situated near the middle of the declivity, is particularly instructive, exhibiting wide fissures and caverns, entirely filled with the alluvial loam that covers the whole country to a great extent. Considerable masses of stalactite appear in several places; and here, principally, were found those bones of large land quadrupeds now in my collection. They were met with at the depth of 20 feet, embedded in the loam of one of the wider cavities." (The bones here found, consist of those of the rhinoceros, the hare, rabbit, horse, ox, deer, hyæna, owl, and other birds, and of the lion, or tiger). "All these bones are more or less changed, and penetrated with calcareous matter. The condition of the greater part is nearly the same as that of the bones found at Gaylenreuth, Scharzfeld, &c.; and hence, it seems probable that they are of an equal age, and referable to the same epoch of the ancient world.

"Turning now our attention to the north-west side of the Elster, to the heights above Kaschwitz, we find the gypsum there *embedded in the lime-stone*, and appearing in the declivity. The former seems to have been laid bare by the destruction of the superincumbent lime-stone.

"The gypsum seems to constitute, in this neighbourhood, a large isolated mass, included in the lime-stone. As far as it is exposed in the quarries, which have no where penetrated deeper than 30 or 40 feet from the surface, it is composed of so firm a consistency as to require to be blasted with gunpowder. It is sometimes striped, in the ribbon and undulating manner, and alternating with slight layers of clay."

We are here strongly reminded of the same undulating and alternating character and appearance, in the sections of our own chalk coasts, where the *superincumbent diluvial gravel mixes with the upper surface of the chalk*, clearly denoting the latter to have been soft and movable on the surface; and the two masses to have been mixed up in the undulating and contorted form of *marbled paper* by the action of a retiring and shallow, but violently ruffled sea.

"The entire gypseous mass is intersected, and perforated by fissures and cavities, which follow every direction, and are connected with each other by serpentine channels of larger or smaller dimensions. They are filled throughout with the alluvial (diluvial) deposits, even to the greatest depth; and this loamy sediment appears horizontally disposed, for short distances, yielding *in clusters*, as it were, and in precisely the same circumstances, a number of bones of land animals, *amongst which are disclosed to observation also human bones.*

"Even from the first opening of the quarries, 30 years ago, the bones of *man, and other animals*, have there been met with. According to the unanimous relation of the workmen, the former have usually been found at a depth of from 16 to 30 feet from the surface, and this has happened in almost every quarry that has hitherto been opened in the gypsum. The cases are *rare* in which human bones, and those of other animals, have appeared singly near the surface of the gypsum, and adjacent to the vegetable soil. These have undergone a much greater change; they are more penetrated with calcareous matter, and are heavier than the bones met with at a greater depth. Our own experience confirmed the affirmation of the workmen, that various bones are always found together, *assembled in a heap*, as it were, in the loamy deposit."

What a complete picture is here presented to us of the effects of *the tide* on movable animal remains, by which a species of *regular derangement*, if I may use the term, is, at all times, exhibited on our coasts, though on a scale so small as merely to suffice as an indication of what would happen under such circumstances as must naturally have presented themselves on the sinking of the diluvial waters!*

"On visiting Cornmann's gypsum quarry, we discovered, in a nearly vertical fissure, at the depth of 16 or 18 feet from the surface, a number of bones, belonging to quadrupeds and birds, firmly embedded in the loam; though, in a disjointed state they appeared referable to skeletons that were formerly more or less complete. The idea has been advanced, that the bones of the smaller animals might have been brought there by owls, foxes, or other animals of prey; being, however, found in cavities, *but invariably enveloped in loam*, under the same circumstances as the other bones, this supposition seems invalid, and it is besides contradicted by the appearance of the bones themselves.

"It is also evident that the human bones could never have been buried here, *nor have fallen into the fissures* in the gypsum during battles in ancient times; nor have been thus *mutilated*, and lodged by any other accidental cause in more modern times; inasmuch as they are always found with the other animal remains under the same relations, not constituting connected skeletons, but collected in various groups in the deposits of loam that occupy the fissures and cavities of the gypsum: they appear, therefore, to have been strictly *fossil*, and to have been swept hither by floods, with the other animal remains, at the period of the formation of the alluvial (diluvial) tract itself. It has already been remarked by Cuvier, (in his Recherches, &c. vol. i. p. 66,) that the epoch of A *great deluge*, by which many animals were destroyed, whose remains are now found *in alluvial tracts* ALONE, and not in any strata of an earlier era, nearly coincides with our chronology; and the traditions of such a deluge, preserved among all nations, *now* appears further *confirmed* by the instructive documents at present lying before us."

The following are the human bones hitherto found, (that is, up to 1820,) in these gypsum quarries near Köstritz, and which were almost all then in the collection of the Baron Von Schlotheim.

"A perfectly preserved *human forehead*, extending to one half the orbits of the eyes.† The upper maxillæ, with the teeth, mostly all preserved; the left humerus; the right and left ossa femoris. The right thigh-bone is in a more altered state than any of the other bones, being found, according to the statement of the workmen, near the out-crop of the fissure. Besides these, some other fragments of human bones are contained in collections in Gera, and in that of the Natural History Society at Altenburg. All these bones are of a rather large, but, by no means, *unusual size*, and certainly not gigantic, as stated by loose report."

The baron then proceeds to give a detail of the various other bones of animals found in the same situation; and, in a subsequent work, also translated, he observes, that "some of the bones have lost their animal gluten, and are even penetrated with gypsum,* while others are only slightly calcined and decomposed. This varying condition of the bones is likewise observed in all the other fossil bones of Köstritz. Of the animal remains generally admitted to have belonged to the inhabitants of the ancient world, the most numerous met with are those of the rhinoceros, although, upon the whole, they are of rare occurrence. Of the mastodon, or other gigantic animals, no remains have hitherto been found in that vicinity."

Amongst the other details of the fossil bones abovementioned, two perfect phalanges of the rhinoceros are described, found at the depth *of* 18 *feet from the surface*. "These pieces," says the baron, "are particularly deserving of notice, as *beneath them*, at the depth of eight feet further, were found fragments of the thigh and arm-bone of the *human race*."

"From the whole of the facts now detailed, therefore," concludes he, "*it is quite evident*, that in the cavities near Köstritz, HUMAN BONES *are found intermingled, without order, with the bones of animals of the ancient world.*"

"Such bones, and skeletons, have also been found *in other places*, within the tract of the alluvial (diluvial) formations, in the vicinity of the repositories of large land animals of the ancient world, but which have not yet received that attention which they so well deserve."

It is not my purpose, in this place, to enter into, or to attempt to confute the extraordinary arguments advanced by the baron himself, in the first instance, and, subsequently, by his translator, Mr. Weaver, for the purpose of bending these "stubborn facts" to suit the prevailing theories of the great geologists of that day. It ought fully to suffice for the purposes I have now in view, to have laid the facts themselves before the unbiassed judgment of my readers; and it must, I presume, be self-evident to every one whose mind is not warped by prejudice, or fully occupied by previous theory, that if the bones from the Hymalaya glaciers, *filled with the purest gypsum*, and belonging to the *horse* and *deer* tribe of the present existing species, are to be looked upon as true antediluvian fossils; and if the bones, found in the basins of Paris, *in the very same substance*, are also to be looked upon in the same light; we cannot have the smallest hesitation upon the character of the diluvial deposits, containing mingled *human and rhinoceros bones*, the account of which we have just perused. I cannot, however, suffer these details to go before my readers, without presenting them, at the same time, with the opinion respecting them, of the great asserter *of the truth of the Mosaic deluge*. I imagine, that it will scarcely be credited, without a reference to one of the most popular works of that very talented writer, into what difficulties and contradictions even the most philosophic minds are led, in the attempt to reconcile *error* with *truth*.

"In one quarry," says the author of Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, "the human bones were found eight feet below those of the rhinoceros, and twenty-six below the surface. It is *highly probable*, from the admixture of the bones of so many species of *recent* animals,† with the human remains in the gypsum quarries, that both these are of *later origin* than those in the lime-stone; they appear, I think, to have been introduced, at a subsequent period, into the diluvial loam, which had *before* contained *the more ancient bones and pebbles; but by what means*, or at what precise *period* of the post-diluvian era, remains," (and ever must remain,) "yet to be ascertained."—*Reliq. Diluv. p.* 168.

We here find this distinct and unequivocal instance of *human fossil remains*, (such as has been admitted to be *alone* wanting for the corroboration of the Scripture narrative of the deluge,) completely neutralized, by what Dr. Buckland calls a *high probability*, though he gives us not the slightest reason for the grounds of his scepticism. And yet we cannot but be forcibly struck with the *hesitation* and doubt with which the *thoughts* of the learned professor, respecting this fossil deposit, are expressed. The above passage is not written in that style of decided conviction in which he so beautifully expresses himself, when his geological views, however erroneous, are completely satisfactory to his own mind. We find no such hesitation with respect to the hyænas of Kirkdale, *although their remains were also accompanied by such* RECENT *animals as the fox, the weasel, the horse, the fallow deer, the ox, the* HARE, *the* RABBIT, *the mouse, and the water rat.**

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* It is on the same small scale, but abundantly sufficiently for our purpose, that we are taught, on our present sea shores, the great and important principle on which stratification, at all times, takes place. On examining minutely a portion of fine sea-sand, fresh from the shore, we find it composed of a mixture of various crystallized particles, probably the effects of the decomposition of primitive rocks. But amongst these crystals, we generally find a variety of small black grains; and, on inspection, these black bodies are often found to be portions of vegetable matter, probably decayed sea-weed, in a very reduced state. Now, these two descriptions of matter have a very different degree of specific gravity; and when both are submitted to the action of the waves, they are consequently disposed of in a different manner. We have frequent opportunities of seeing the two disposed, in regular strata, of the most minute and beautiful form, in the heaps of sand left by the tide after a gale, about the very limits of high water mark. Those heaps, when dry, crumble, or fall to pieces; and in the miniature cliffs, presenting a section of the whole heap, we there find exactly the same beautiful stratification, that is so often exhibited in the free-stone quarries of our upper strata.

† There is, in the description of this fossil, a singular coincidence between it and one of the same character now in my possession, which was found by Captain Martin, in the Rock of Gibraltar. It was accompanied with masses of other bones, embedded in the brecia, common to that place. One of these bones has since been recognized by Mr. Clift as that of a ruminating animal; and I have ascertained by comparison, that it is the lower part of the shin-bone of an ox. This discovery had thrown a shade of doubt upon the impression of the human forehead, discovered along with it. But I now have no sort of doubt of its being the actual impression of part of an antediluvian human being. The forehead is well defined, and the half of the orbits of the eyes so distinct, as perfectly to correspond with an ancient (though, comparatively, recent) head of a mummy also in my possession.

* These gypseous bones are in exactly the same state as those now in the museum of the College of Surgeons, which fell from the regions of *perpetual snow*, on the tops of the Hymalaya range, and which have already been described.

† Does the learned professor mean to imply, by recent animals, that birds, of the species of the cock, (the bones and spur of one of which were found at Kostritz,) the hare, the rabbit, or the owl, were all creations subsequent to the flood? Or to deny, that such animals could have, by possibility, existed contemporaneously, with the elephant, the rhinoceros, the horse, or the hyæna, as they do in the present day, though in the climates and latitudes best fitted to each species respectively?

The remains of all these animals, and of many more, that might, with equal reason, be termed *recent*, were found at Kirkdale, and in other diluvial deposits, accompanied by those of elephants, lions, rhinoceri, &c., *about which no doubt has ever been expressed:* and yet, in the instance of Köstritz, the rhinoceros is to be looked upon as ancient and antediluvian, while the *hare*, the *rabbit*, the *owl*, the *cock*, and *the man*, are all to be considered post-diluvian; although, it "yet remains to be ascertained, by what means, or at what period," the remains of the two eras became mixed up together.

I have but one remark further to make upon the opinions professed, and the geological doctrines taught by the able author I have just quoted; and I do so, with a repetition of my former sincere profession of my highest respect for him as a public character, though I totally differ with him in the whole view he has taken of the Mosaic deluge. But I can, by no means, perceive the principle upon which he is so constantly and strenuously opposed to the occupation of some parts of the antediluvian world by the human race: for the disbelief, even in the *probability* of their remains ever being found,† amounts, in fact, to at least a doubt of their having *existed* at the same time as the animals, whose bones he admits to have belonged to that ancient period.

If they then existed, they must have perished with the other animals by the waters; if they perished, their bodies *must have floated*, and been submitted to the very same laws of tides and of currents, by which other animal bodies were scattered and dispersed over the bed of the sea, in every direction.

If they were so scattered and mixed up, (and it could not *possibly* be otherwise,) we can imagine no reason, why we should not find them, as we do other diluvial remains, only in that small numerical proportion, which, we are assured, they must have borne, if the history of Scripture is to be depended upon. That we may place implicit confidence in the information conveyed to us from this Inspired source, we have found many convincing proofs in the whole course of this general treatise; and we can, therefore, have no conceivable plea, short of a distinct desire to prove it *wrong*, for strenuously opposing the evidence of numerous facts, on the subject of the fossil remains of our own species.

It may, perhaps, here be expected, that some consistent and natural mode should be shown of the *origin* and *cause* of these remarkable caves and fissures, which, in so many instances, characterize the lime-stone formations, and intersect them in every direction. I should be sorry to involve either my readers, or myself, in the difficulties which this part of the subject might very possibly lead to. It has, hitherto, been too much the custom for science to endeavour, *by some means or other*, to account for *every individual phenomenon* presented to the view on the surface of the earth. By such injudicious attempts, many able men have led themselves into contradictions, beyond which they could not advance, and from which it was difficult to retrograde; and it is to be feared, that many of the errors of our geological theories have arisen from this mistaken course. Upon this subject of cavernous lime-stone, therefore, I do not hazard more than a passing opinion, confining myself to the facts which all such cavities invariably exhibit, and leaving this branch of the subject open to the more extended researches of future observations.

If it be true, as the Inspired Writings informs us, and as every appearance on the face of the present dry lands corroborates, that the "*earth that* NOW IS," is different from the "*earth that* THEN WAS;" and if my idea of the probable means by which the deluge was effected, is founded in reason, viz. that either the former dry lands *sunk*, or that the bed of the former sea *was elevated*, (in either of which cases the *effects* would be the same;) if these premises be well founded, it must naturally follow, that the lands we now inhabit, formed, before the deluge, the bed of the ancient ocean. If this be true, and that many of the secondary calcareous formations, which now *almost every where* cover the surface of the continents, were the result of gradual marine deposits, embedding *sea shells* in vast abundance, *but no where containing remains of* QUADRUPEDS, *or other* LAND PRODUCTIONS, we must conclude, that on the subsiding of the ocean, (or, as we term it, the *diluvial waters*,) into its new bed, the lands that were then, for the first time, left above the level of the sea, must have been in a soft and saturated state, and containing abundance of that marine fluidity, in the midst of which they had gradually been formed. We have already found, in the instance of that most extensive formation, *the chalk*, containing, as it every where does, positive and invariable marks of *marine origin, without any indication of a single land production*, that upon its moist and still movable *surface*, the retiring waves had produced a partial mixture between it and the diluvial gravels and soils, containing the remains of elephants, and other quadrupeds, besides vegetable substances in great abundance, (as on the coasts of Kent and Norfolk). Had it been the nature of chalk to crack and divide itself into such cavities and fissures, as we find in some other calcareous deposits, it is very certain that we should have found these cavities furnished, more or less, with those gravels, or loams, containing the remains of organic bodies. This is not frequently the case in the chalk, because it is not part of the nature of this formation to be *cavous;* but we have, even in the chalk, certain cavities also filled with diluvial gravel, of the origin of which it would be very difficult to give even a plausible conjecture. I allude to those well-like cavities so often seen in the chalk pits near London, and also frequently found in the sections of the French and English sea coasts.* We have, also, in the chalk an insuperable difficulty, in accounting for the regular cavities in which flint nodules have subsequently been formed. I say *subsequently*, because this fact is demonstrably certain, from the fossil shells, of the chalk formation, often *embedded in the flints, as in the purest water.*†

If we find ourselves in difficulty, with respect to these minor cavities, *which must have occurred under the level of the sea*, much more shall we despair of plausibly accounting for the more extensive and even stupendous grottoes peculiar to other marine deposits, as palpably having formed a part of the bed of the antediluvian ocean. One thing, however, is a well established fact, that there is an intimate and constant connection between the latest sediments of the waters of the deluge, with their animal and vegetable contents, and these upper calcareous formations. In the instance of the gypsum of the basin of Paris, the organic remains are not contained in *cavities*, but are completely incorporated in the body of a rock, so hard as to require to be blasted with gunpowder. Here is a positive proof that gypsum is a chemical deposit or formation, which was once in a *fluid state;* and we can have no hesitation with respect to the period at which this fluidity existed, illustrated, as the point is, by the identity of some of its fossils, with those of the superincumbent diluvial soils. If, therefore, gypsum was a *fluid*, at the period of the deluge, in the basin of Paris we have the strongest reasons for coming to a similar conclusion, wherever that calcareous rock is found to exist. At Köstritz, the gypsum is split into fissures, often filled, as they naturally would be, with the superincumbent gravel under which it is found. But the animal remains are of the very same description in the gypsum at both places, and the bones are in the same state of decay or preservation. We, therefore, have a right to conclude, that as the Paris gypsum was a diluvial formation, the bones, contained in it, could be no other than those of antediluvian animals. We must judge of the Köstritz gypsum by the very same law; there can, therefore, be no hesitation in considering the *human bones* of those quarries, as well as those of the *domestic cock*, and the *rhinoceros* which accompany them, *as indisputable remains of the ancient world.* The nature of all lime-stone cavities appears to be nearly the same in all countries. We hear of the bones of elephants in *New Holland*,* as well as in *America*, and in *Europe*, contained in similar caverns; and as we know of no other calamity so destructive as the Mosaic deluge, either from history, tradition, or animal remains, *we must conclude that every* LAND *production*, (together with such marine shells as often accompany them,) when found in our rocks and soils, is attributable to the action of the Mosaic deluge, and to that period alone.

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* Reliq. Diluv. p. 17, 18.

† Reliq. Diluv. p. 169, 170.

* These remarkable cavities, in the form of regular wells, of various depths, and, occasionally, of irregular forms, are exhibited in a remarkable manner in the chalk pits at Greenhithe, on the south bank of the Thames, between Dartford and Gravesend. There is, indeed, nothing more interesting, or instructive, in the geology of England, than the obviously diluvial origin of the superincumbent strata, upon the chalk, every where near London, where the wants of man, and the laws of nature, have, in so many places, combined to lay the whole formations completely open to our inspection. The almost invariably horizontal surface of the chalk, with the very marked irregularity of the new diluvial surface in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, Woolwich, Shooter's Hill, and all over that part of Kent, as well as on the northern shores of the Thames, must serve to explain this branch of our subject in the clearest and most obvious manner.

† I have formerly had occasion to make some remarks upon the fossil shells of the chalk formation, often found attached to, or filled by, pure flint. I have lately seen one of these fossil specimens, which has been cut through, and polished by a lapidary. The polish given to the flint is of the finest kind; and in looking into the transparent mass, we find many of the small spines, with which the shell was originally covered on its exterior surface, perfectly preserved, and lying in various directions, as if preserved in ice. No proof can be more distinct, that the flint was once in the state of a perfect fluid; and that this fluid state was subsequent to the deposit of the chalky mass, may be looked upon as equally certain. The cause of the irregular, though stratified cavities, in which flint nodules have been subsequently formed, must ever remain, however, a matter of conjecture; although, the obscurity of the cause does not, in any degree, affect the truth of the facts presented to our contemplation.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the Situation of Paradise; together with both Critical and Geological Evidences of the spurious Character of that descriptive account of it, found in all Modern Copies and Translations of the Book of Genesis.

As the chief object of this treatise has been to show, from the evidence of history, corroborated by physical facts, that the greater part of the present dry lands of the earth formed the bed of the antediluvian sea, and that the former lands were utterly destroyed at the period of the deluge, "*the earth, that now is*," being thus distinct from "*the earth, that then was*,"† a question respecting the situation of the Paradise in which our first parents were placed by their Creator, has probably arisen in the mind of every one; and but for the interruption to the general course of the subject which this question must have given rise to, it should undoubtedly have been considered at an earlier period of this work; as there is, perhaps, no part of the Old Testament, as found in our translations, which has been so fruitful a source of error and misconception, as the descriptive account of the rivers of Paradise. These rivers are described as being four in number, of which the only one at present known is the Euphrates. The names of the other rivers, and the extraordinary and inconsistent geographical account of their supposed courses, have long been a source of anxious critical inquiry, as well as of local research: for almost all travellers who have visited the East, and had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the course of the Euphrates, have anxiously sought for the situation of Paradise; and have, invariably, been obliged to relinquish the subject, from the utter impossibility of applying the description, in the slightest degree, to any part of the course of that noble river.

Mr. Granville Penn, in his "Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies," has entered, at considerable length, and with his usual ability, into a critical examination of this subject; and has most clearly shown the high *probability*, amounting almost to *certainty*, of the *descriptive part* of the Garden of Eden, as found in all modern translations of the original text, having been originally annexed, *as an explanatory note, to the margin of an early MS.* and having been, *subsequently*, incorporated into the body of the work, by the ignorance of a subsequent transcriber, as has also occurred in some other parts of the Sacred Writings.

In support of this opinion, he shows, on the authority of the most learned critics, both ancient and modern, that copies of the Hebrew Scriptures formerly existed, which exhibited variations, arising from marginal glosses and insertions, originally designed as illustrations of the text, but which illustrative glosses had become, in some instances, incorporated into the text in subsequent copies.

One remarkable example, given by this able writer, of an incorporated gloss in the New Testament, and which is not so generally known as it deserves to be, is well adapted to show the nature of similar incorporations, and of the serious mischief to which they invariably lead; for *truth* is, in all instances, so consistent and simple, that any deviation from the plain tenor of its course, must, generally, excite observation, as the following remarkable instance has frequently done. This example is found in the remnant of a very ancient Greek MS. of the New Testament, in the Royal Library at Paris, entitled the *Codex Ephremi*, which has been pronounced, by Wetstein, to be of the same date as the celebrated Alexandrian MS. In this work, the first five verses of the 5th chapter of St. John's Gospel are thus read:

* For an angel went down at a certain season into the bath, and troubled the waters: whosoever, then, after the troubling of the waters, first stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.	After this, there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, a bath, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches; in these lay a great number of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered;* and a certain man was there,† which had an infirmity thirty and eight years. When Jesus saw him, &c.	† Waiting for the troubling of the waters.

"In the MS. in question," says Mr. Penn, "the text, and the marginal sentences, though both are in the same uncial character, are written by different hands; and it is evident, from the language, and from an itacism, perceptible in the latter, that they are of a date *posterior* to the former. It is equally manifest, that they were marginal notes, annexed with the design of illustrating the popular superstition, under which the infirm man was waiting at the bath: but, at the same time, *they adopt the superstition, and aver it to be true.* The original text was free from that blemish; and the simplicity and close sequence of the recital, bear internal evidence that these marginal passages are alien to it. The superstitious clause, therefore, does not pertain to the evangelical historian, but has become incorporated into his history in the progress of transcription."*

Although the passage we are now to consider in the second chapter of Genesis, in which the descriptive account of the situation of Paradise is found, has not the advantage of so clear and distinct an evidence of its spurious character, as that of St. John above mentioned, yet there does appear, in the narration itself, the strongest internal evidence of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th verses of that chapter, having been, *subsequently*, inserted into the original text, in a manner precisely similar, from a marginal note, intended, by some ignorant transcriber, as an *illustration* of the subject. When we add to this internal *critical evidence*, the remarkable *geological proofs* of the correctness of this view of the subject, the mind becomes fully confirmed in this opinion; and this, the only part of the Inspired Writings which stood in contradiction to the geology exhibited in the rest, becomes at once both consistent and clear.

It appears, therefore, nearly certain, that the text and gloss originally stood thus, as Mr. Penn has most ably shown:—

*The name of the first is *Pison:* that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; and there is bdellium, and the onyx stone: and the name of the second	Now the Lord God had planted a garden in Eden from the first; and there He put the man whom He had formed; and out of the ground the Lord God had made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food: the tree of life, also, in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden, for (or after) watering the garden, but thence (above) it was parted, and divided into four heads (or sources).* And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it, and to keep it, &c. &c.	is ***Gishon:*** the same is it that encompasseth the whole land of Ethiopia: and the name of the third is *Hiddekel:* that is it which goeth in front of Assyria; and the fourth river is *Euphrates.*

"That the illustration, intended by the gloss, is unskilful, and does not answer to the *text*, is manifest; for the text mentions *only one river*, whereas, the gloss undertakes to describe *four rivers*.

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* Specimens of fossil bones and wood were sent home by Mr. Crawford from the district of Ava, in latitude 21 degrees north. Amongst these bones were found those of two new species of the mastodon, together with the bones of the hippopotamus, rhinoceros, antelope, deer, the ox, the hog, the tortoise, and the alligator.

From the instances, few as they are, with which we are already acquainted, of such fossil deposits, in tropical, as well as in temperate and polar regions, we can have no doubt of the general and indiscriminate dispersion of animal bodies over every region of the earth; and that if the wants of man, in Asia, and in Africa, required such extensive operations under the surface of the ground, as have brought to light so many fossil treasures in Europe, and in America, we should often there discover the remains of animals as unnatural to hot climates, as the elephant and alligator are to cold ones.

† 2d Epistle of Peter, iii. 6.

* Comp. Estim. vol. ii. p. 233.

"Michaelis shows, that the original word, translated *heads*, denotes *sources*, in the Syriac and Arabic languages; and he expressly states, that it never signifies the *branches of a river* in the Oriental tongues. Thus, the final confluence of four contributary streams, from the *four sources* or *heads*, to which the historian traces them in Eden, produced *one river*, discharging itself *out of Eden*, of which he speaks; which four heads, therefore, can have no relation to the *four rivers* recited by the scholiast in the gloss; because, no river separates itself into different rivers downwards; on the contrary, it is the nature of all rivers to *grow* by confluence."

Mr. Granville Penn proceeds thus:—"Most certainly," observes Kennicott, "the closest attention should be paid, in biblical investigations, to all such mistakes as introduce *confusion* and *contradiction*. Neither of these could have obtained *originally;* and both of them have frequently been objected by the advocates of infidelity."

"But," adds Mr. Penn, "the case before us exhibits a signal example of that contradiction; and, therefore, of the *obvious necessity* of demanding, and therefore warranting, the critical interposition which has here been undertaken. For the destruction of the primitive earth is a fact rooted in the very substance of the Sacred Scriptures, and spreading its roots from the text of Moses to that of St. Peter; whereas, the *contradiction of that fact*, contained in the above geographical gloss, lies loosely and unrooted on the surface, and only on this particular point of it. Since, then, a manifest contradiction of the *former* is produced by the presence of the *latter;* and since the one must, of necessity, give place to the other, it is unquestionably the office and the duty of sound and scrupulous criticism, to demonstrate the invalidity of the latter, in order that the important testimony of the former may stand unimpaired."*

Having now viewed this part of our subject critically, we may proceed to the geological proofs above alluded to, which proofs, being altogether unknown to Mr. Penn, at the time his valuable work was written, the judgment he has above given becomes of the greater value. Since the period of his publication, we have had the advantage of perusing the descriptive sketches of an intelligent traveller in the East, whose remarks, as far as they relate to our present subject, are of the greater consequence, from the circumstance of their having been written without any *theory* in view, without any geological knowledge, or the smallest desire of supporting or opposing any particular question.

The traveller I allude to is Mr. Buckingham, who, in the year 1816, accompanied one of the caravans which cross the Syrian desert from Aleppo to Mousul, on the Tigris, from whence he proceeded to Bagdad, on his way to India. He thus had an opportunity of passing through the region of Mesopotamia, which is bounded by the two great rivers, the Euphrates, and the Tigris; and by a route across the deserts of that country, which had not been passed by any European writer during nearly a century.

I shall now proceed to give a few extracts from Mr. Buckingham's work, which must throw the most important light upon the subject of our present inquiry; and as the nature of the soil over which he passed, is mentioned merely in a casual manner, and is altogether unconnected with the chief objects he had in view, there can be no just cause for hesitation or doubt as to the correctness of the statement.

He first came upon the river Euphrates, at Beer, where he crossed it, and where he considered its breadth to be about that of the Thames, in London.

"Its greatest depth did not seem to be more than ten or twelve feet. Its waters were of a dull yellowish colour, and were quite as turbid as those of the Nile; though, as I thought, much inferior to them in sweetness of taste. The earth with which it is discoloured, is much heavier, as it quickly subsided, and left a sediment in the bottom of the cup, even while drinking; whereas, the waters of the Nile, from the lightness of the mould, may be drank without perceiving such deposit, if done immediately on being taken from the river."

"The town of Beer, which is the Birtha of antiquity, is seated on the east bank of the Euphrates. The river is here about the general breadth of the Nile, below the first cataract to the sea, and is at least equal to the Thames at Blackfriars bridge. The people of Beer are, in general, aware of the celebrity of their stream; and think it is the largest in the world. It still preserves its ancient name, with little corruption, being called by them *Shat-el-Fraat*, or the River of Fraat. It is known, also, as one of the four rivers of Paradise; *and the only one, seemingly, which has preserved its name.* The river Gihon, which is mentioned, also, in the Koran, was thought, by an Indian pilgrim of our party, *to be the Gunga of the Hindoos;* and the rest assented to its being *in the innermost India.* It is true, that it is said to compass the whole land of Ethiopia; but Herodotus speaks of Indian Ethiopians in his time; and, among early writers, the word Ethiopia was applied to the country of the black people generally."

We have here another instance of the error and inconsistency which is evident in the descriptive clause respecting the rivers of Paradise. The whole geography of the Euphrates is now well known, and that it runs into the Persian Gulf, after being, like all other rivers, *enlarged* by many additions, of which the Tigris is the most considerable. It is, therefore, both *unnatural* that it should divide *into large rivers, of various diverging courses;* and, contrary to *fact*, that any part of it compasseth the whole land of either Indian or African Ethiopia.

But this idea of Mr. Buckingham, respecting INDIAN *Ethiopia*, appears entirely without foundation, in as far at least as Scripture is concerned.

Mention is very frequently made of Ethiopia, and of the Ethiopians, in various parts of the Old Testament, both in the historical and in the poetic books; but in no one instance does the term imply any allusion *to India, or to the East.* On the contrary, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, are almost always mentioned together, as forming parts of the same great African continent.*

Salust, in his Jugurthine war, gives us a very luminous view of the geography of Africa, and of its various nations, as far as both were known in his day; and he places Ethiopia next to "*loca exusta solis ardoribus*," or the countries burnt up by the heat of the torrid zone. This same valuable historian, in a fragment which has been preserved, tells us, "that the Moors, a vain and faithless people, as all Africans are, would make us believe, that, beyond Ethiopia, there is an *antipodes*, a just and amiable people, the manners and customs of which resemble those of the Persians."

We shall have occasion, in the next chapter, to notice some customs amongst the Africans of the interior, which are evidently derived from their Asiatic progenitors.

"The banks of the river, at Beer, are steep on both sides, *and of a* CHALKY SOIL." "There are many *perpendicular cliffs within and around it*, indifferent directions; in these *are many large caves, and smaller grottoes.* They are of *a hard* CHALKY *substance*, and the cavities have furnished the materials for the building of the town.† The whole presents *a mass of glaring white*, which is painful to look upon in the sun."

After leaving Beer, and on his way to Orfah, over *a very flat and desert country.* Mr. Buckingham proceeds; "we were now come into a more uneven country than before; the height of many of the eminences gave them the character of hills; and they were, throughout, formed of lime-stone rock, of a rounded surface, and, generally, barren. In the valleys were some few patches of cultivated ground, but the rest was covered with a long wild grass." We have here, again, on these extensive plains, all the outward form and character of that *chalky* formation, exposed to view in the channel of the Euphrates, at Beer.

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* Comp. Estim. vol. ii. p. 242.

* A few instances from the Old Testament, in order to show this close connection, may here be of use.

"Now it came to pass, in the days of Ahasuerus (this is Ahasuerus which reigned from India, even unto Ethiopia, over 127 provinces;") &c.—Esther i. 1. also viii. 9. that is, from east to west, or from the most distant parts of *Asia*, even unto the interior of *Africa*.

"For I am the Lord thy God. the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour; I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee."—Isaiah xliii. 3.

"Thus saith the Lord, the labour of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, &c. shall come unto thee."—Isaiah xlv. 14.

"Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia."—Psalm. lxxxii. 4.

"Moreover, the Lord stirred up against Jehoran, the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians."—Chron. xxi. 16; that is, the Red Sea only dividing them.

"Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite."—Nahum iii. 8 and 9.

Moses, also, when residing in Egypt had married an Ethiopian woman.

"He shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps."—Daniel xi. 42; see also the whole of the 20th chapter of Isaiah. Besides these, many distinct instances might be quoted, to show that Ethiopia is never alluded to in Scripture, but with reference to a province of Africa; and, consequently, that there could be no possible connection between any branch of the Euphrates, and that distant country.

† It is highly probable, from the nature of the secondary rock above described, that these "large caves and smaller grottoes" were such natural cavities as are peculiar to some calcareous formations.

On arriving at Orfah, we find a repetition of the above *secondary indications*, in the following extract. In the course of a walk round the outside wall of the city, Mr. Buckingham remarked, in the construction of the wall, three distinct periods of very ancient building. The foundation was evidently *of an extremely remote period*. "The surface of the blocks of stone," says he, "was, in general, much corroded by the action of the air; and, on a close examination, I was surprised to find them mostly blocks of coral and sea shells, such as are seen *in the cliffs* along the shores of the Red Sea, in a state of decay. In some of these, the substance seemed to be a *mass of lime*, in a state of decomposition, which crumbled at the touch, into a white salt-like powder. In others, the large oyster, with the small queen, or fan shell, was repeatedly and distinctly seen, with still more numerous examples of those smaller ones, like ram's horns, so frequent among the sands of every sea-beach. Other parts, the surfaces of which had become hardened by the action of the air, looked like coarse lime-stone, crossed by harder and finer veins of pure marble. These stones were all in the original structure of the wall, though, of what age, it would be difficult to determine. But the nature of the stone is well worthy of remark, in a situation so remote from any sea, and so elevated above the level of the ocean, beneath which, alone, it could have been formed. I had seen no such rocks in the way to Orfah; though no doubt the quarries from which the stones were taken, are not far remote; but, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, there are several masses of hardened shells and coral, appearing above the surface of the ground."

We find a similar instance of secondary formation mentioned by Xenophon, in his Anabasis, 3, p. 212, who describes, in the following terms, a very large city, which the Ten Thousand passed in their famous retreat: "marching, the rest of the day, without disturbance, they came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa," (probably, the *Resen*, mentioned as *a great city*, Gen. x. 12.) "anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were 25 feet broad, and 100 in height, all built of brick, except the plinth, which was built *of stones*, and 20 feet high. The plinth of the wall *was built of polished stone*, FULL OF SHELLS,* &c."

These very casual observations, on the Geology of Mesopotamia, serve to indicate, in a remarkable manner, the general *secondary and diluvial nature* of the whole surface of that eastern region, which is composed either of secondary rocks, or diluvial sands and soils; for the calcareous or *chalky* character of the rocks, appears evident from the distinct mention of the fossil sea shells contained in some of the few specimens to which the traveller's attention had been attracted. The object, in quoting these extracts, is not with the view of any *general* information, as to the secondary nature of a great part of Syria, and the regions east of it; as our former general view of those regions tended distinctly to prove that the whole of that part of the continent of Asia, with but few exceptions, was of that secondary character. But as the chalk formation is here described as forming a considerable part of the course of the Euphrates, *upon which the primitive Paradise is said to have existed*, the subject is thus brought, *geologically*, to a positive issue.

For if it has been satisfactorily proved, in the course of this treatise, that the chalk formation formed a part of the bed of the antediluvian ocean, and that the chalk *basins* of geologists must have become charged with their present diluvial contents at the period of the deluge, it is an inconsistency, of the most glaring kind, to look for the site of the *primitive Paradise* upon the surface of *a secondary country*, then forming the bottom of the sea, as is satisfactorily proved by the nature of its rocks, and by the marine fossils contained in them; which, like all secondary formations, in other parts of the earth, could only have become *habitable dry land*, by the interchange of level between the old lands and the ocean, at the period of the deluge.

No one can, therefore, persist in his search for Paradise, in a country avowedly *secondary* in its *rocks*, and *diluvial* in its sandy deserts, or richer soils, without advocating a theory in geology still more inconsistent and wild, than has yet been advanced; for as we can trace, over all these regions through which the Tigris and the Euphrates flow, the same monuments of the flood, which are so remarkable in every other quarter of the world, in the form of boundless deserts of sand mixed with *salt* and *shells*, we might as well look for the rich and beautiful regions of our first parents in the plains of America or of Africa, as expect to discover any trace of them *on the banks of the river Euphrates*.

We thus come to the same point, *geologically*, which various writers have before reached *critically*; and we have, in this united evidence, a striking example of what must ever happen, where human *reason* interferes with the sublime and consistent simplicity of DIVINE REVELATION.

CHAPTER XV.

On the Creation of Mankind.—The Origin of Language.—What was the Primitive Language?—High Probability in favour of the Hebrew.—On the Diversity of Colour among Mankind.—Testimony of the Jews on this Subject.—Origin of the American Indians.—Their traditions and Customs.—Their Religious Belief.—Religious Rites in the Interior of Africa.—On Sacrifice.—Traditions and Belief in the Friendly Islands.—Historical Evidence of a common descent from Noah.—On the Identity of Words among the most distant Nations.—On the universal use of a Decimal *gradation.—Natural Inference from all these Considerations.*

It may, by some, be looked upon as an inconsistent and uncalled-for departure from the geological inquiries which form the main object of this treatise, to take, in this place, a rapid view of a subject so apparently unconnected with the structure and phenomena of the earth, as the *languages*, the *complexions*, the *traditions*, and the *customs* of many of the most distant nations. But when we consider, that the design of thus tracing the history of the earth, as recorded by inspiration, is to oppose those theories of philosophy which would expand the well-defined periods of the Mosaic history into *indefinite* periods, during the long lapse of which, both the mineral world, its inhabitants, and its languages, gradually became what we now find them, by the *progress of society*, in the one case, and by the *mere laws of nature* in the other, without any aid from a superior power; it may be readily admitted to be a point of no small importance, in corroboration of the correctness of the views we have taken of the earth, if we can discover, from an equally general view of the human race, and of their various languages and customs, decisive proof of the *recent* creation of man, of the still *more recent* action of the deluge, and, consequently, of the entire confidence with which we may refer to the Mosaic record, for a true account of the early events upon the earth.

The evidence which may be adduced of the general origin of all the languages of the globe, when added to the remarkable traditions of the deluge, which have already been noticed, may serve to confirm, in sceptical minds, the *unerring truth* of the sacred volume, when it announces to us, first, that all mankind have sprung from *one pair*, created on the sixth and last day of the creation; secondly, that, after upwards of sixteen hundred years of increase over a portion of the then dry land, the whole of that race perished by an awful judgment of the Almighty, excepting one single family; thirdly, that whatever the languages of the antediluvian world might have been, that single family had but *one* individual language, which was handed down by them to their descendants; and, fourthly, that from the deluge to that period in which the descendants of Noah had so far increased in number, and in wickedness, as to endeavor to elude any similar effect of the divine wrath, by building the tower of Babel, in the plains of Shinar, "the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech," which language was there "confounded," or scattered, by the will of the Almighty; so that the people were interrupted in their impious intention, and "scattered abroad," in various tribes or clans, "over the face of the whole earth."

With respect to the original language which Moses describes our first parents as making use of, from their very first creation, we are no where informed in what manner they first acquired it, nor how it was communicated to them. It is, indeed, probable that the inspired historian addressed himself to those who were much less sceptical on such subjects than ourselves; and that this remarkable endowment, peculiar to the human race, and by which they so far excel all other created beings, was never, in early times, doubted as having been directly communicated from the same wise and provident source from whence the human race itself had arisen; and the researches of the wisest and most learned men of all ages have invariably led them to the same natural conclusion.

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*The great pyramid of Cheops, in Egypt, stands, like the other pyramids of that country, in a plain, composed of calcareous rock. It is formed of lime-stone, of a grayish white colour, and which exhales a fetid odour when broken by a smart blow. Thus we find another instance, of one of the earliest edifices, of post-diluvian man, formed of a secondary rock, and standing on a secondary formation.

We have no direct means of positive knowledge as to what relation the *primitive language* of the earth may have had with existing tongues; but, in the absence of such evidence, we may form some conjectures on the subject, which are certainly marked with the highest probability. In the first place, we must consider that the numbers of the antediluvian human race, and their consequent divisions into nations, could not have been nearly so great as in the present day, from the comparatively short period they had existed, and from the comparatively unrefined condition natural to a primitive race of beings, on whom the gift of reason was obviously bestowed by the Creator, for the purposes of exertion, and of gradual cultivation and improvement. We must not here suppose, however, with too many advocates of an erring philosophy, that man was, at first, naturally *savage*, or in the state we now find the wild and uncultivated natives of savage countries; or that religion and knowledge were, in the first days, in the debased condition we now too often find them, in the remote corners of the earth. *The savage state is not natural to man;* but, on the contrary, is brought on by erring from the true path of knowledge, in which both Adam and Noah must have brought up their first descendants; and which, in both instances, was communicated in a direct manner, from the unerring source of every good which mankind now enjoys. In considering the progressive stages of society, we are too apt to content ourselves with merely looking *back*, from our own times, into the darker ages of barbarism, and thus to form our ideas on the false supposition, that the primitive nature of man is one of perfect ignorance, and such as we now find amongst the savages of Africa or America: whereas, if we trace the progress of society, in its proper and natural course, by *descending from the creation, and from the deluge*, instead of *ascending* from our own times, we shall find that the primitive state of mankind, even immediately after the creation, was one of *intelligence* and *understanding*, if not in arts and sciences, at least on the leading point of religion, which is, of all others, that in which the savage falls most short of the civilized man. It pleased his Creator to bestow upon primitive man a full and perfect conception of the relation in which he stood towards the Supreme Being; and it was in order to preserve a knowledge of the true religion among men, that a certain family and race were afterwards expressly chosen; we find, accordingly, that to whatever state of idolatrous ignorance, or savage barbarity, the various ancient nations of the earth were, from time to time, reduced, there was always some portion of the world, and especially of the Jewish race, which adhered to the true faith, and which was, consequently, preserved from that state of unnatural debasement from which man has a constant tendency and desire to emancipate himself. It is, therefore, highly probable, that as we hear of no diversity of language on the earth, until after the deluge, the whole primitive race was "of one language, and of one speech," and that that language must, consequently, have been the same spoken by those few individuals who were preserved from the flood.

Now, when we consider the great scheme of the Almighty, foretold from time to time, from the days of Adam to those of Abraham, and continued from thence, in a well defined course of history, to our own times; when we consider the wonderful and miraculous events that were *foretold*, and were afterwards so literally *fulfilled*, in the line of the chosen people of God; that, through them, and through their language, the Inspired Writings of the early times, were to be for ever handed down to the generations of men; that of all the languages of the earth, the Hebrew tongue, like the Hebrew people, has hitherto withstood every change and every calamity; and been, like them, miraculously preserved by the Almighty will, for a great and beneficent end; and when we further consider the strong analogy and filiation, so easily traced, in all the languages of the earth, to the Hebrew, as the most probable *post-diluvian* original tongue; when all these considerations are combined, is it unreasonable to conclude to the high probability of the original language of the Sacred Scriptures being the pure and original tongue first communicated to man by his Maker? In considering, then, the language of the Hebrews as the most probable source from whence all other tongues have been derived; and when we trace in all these other tongues, the gradual varieties that have arisen, and are still now proceeding in the dialects of the earth, by the *secondary causes*, and, seemingly, trivial accidents, by which the different shades of language are brought about, are we not strongly reminded of the same character which we have traced in the *primitive* and *secondary* formations of the mineral world? Are we not justified in drawing a comparison between the miraculously preserved *primitive language*, and the no less miraculously preserved chosen people, who are the constant *living miracle*, bearing *unwilling witness* to the truth of Inspiration, to all the generations of mankind? We are reminded, that it was repeatedly foretold in prophecy, that the Hebrew nation should be dispersed into all countries; yet that they should not be swallowed up and lost amongst their conquerors, but should subsist, to the latest times, a distinct people; that, "though God would make an end of the nations, their oppressors, He would not make an end of them."

In the *common* course of human events, who has heard of, or seen, so unusual a thing? The mighty monarchies of Assyria, of Persia, of Greece, and of Rome, have vanished, like the shadows of the evening, or passed rapidly away, like the shining meteors of the night. Their places know them no more; nothing remains but the great *moral* of their tale. But this chosen people of God, contemned by all nations, without a friend or protector, yet secure amidst the wreck of empires, oppressed, persecuted, harassed by edicts, by executions, by murders, and by massacres, has outlived the very *ruins* of them all. Well may we exclaim, "Truly this is the Lord's doing, and, therefore, so marvellous in our eyes."

Before, however, proceeding further with the consideration of the languages of the earth, it may not be uninteresting, or uninstructive, to make a few observations on a different subject, which, like language, has given rise to much theory and hypothesis amongst men; and on which subject, the same remarkable people may assist in enlightening us. I mean, the varied *colour* of the human race.

Notwithstanding all the arguments which have been made use of, and the modified exceptions which may be produced, there is no general conclusion more certain, than that the complexions of men are influenced by the temperature of the climates they have long inhabited; and that, in common circumstances, the equatorial regions, nearest the level of the sea, are inhabited by the darkest of the human race; while the cooler temperatures of the earth, either from *atmospheric*, or *polar* elevation, produce a race of men, of various degrees of whiteness. We must not, however, estimate the degree of *heat* in any climate, merely by its distance from the equator; for the climates of the earth are most materially affected by a variety of circumstances; such as their elevation above the level of the sea; the height of the neighbouring mountains; the comparative extent of land and water, and the like. Thus, there are no native negroes in America, although the torrid zone extends across that continent. But the extent of its neighbouring oceans, its lofty mountains, in many instances covered with perpetual snow, cool the scorching breezes of the torrid zone, and convert it into a comparatively temperate climate. The inhabitants of this New World are, therefore, found to be only of a tawny, or copper-coloured complexion.

But the most remarkable instance of the effects of climate, in changing the colours of men, after a certain period, may be found in the history of the Jews; that race, which we know were once all of one colour, but which are now found dispersed among the nations, and assuming, in every clime, the varied tint of the individual people amongst whom they dwell, without, however, having one drop of blood in their veins but what has flowed in a direct line from their patriarch Abraham. In Britain, and in more northern countries, they are *fair;* in Spain, and Portugal, they are *brown;* in Arabia, and Egypt, they are *copper-coloured;* while in Abyssinia, and in India, they are almost wholly *black*.

Dr. Buchanan, is his Christian Researches, in treating of the Jews of Cochin, in India, says, "It is only necessary to look at the countenances of the black Jews, to be satisfied that their ancestors must have arrived in India many ages before those of the white Jews. Their Hindoo complexions, and their imperfect resemblance to the European Jews, indicate that they have become detached from the parent stock, many ages before those of the north and west."

Bishop Heber, in his Journal in India, makes the following just and interesting observations on this subject. "The Indians consider fairness as a part of beauty, and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black, and they taunt the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country, on the charcoal complexion of the *Hubshee*. Much of this taste has, probably, arisen from their country having always been a favourite theatre for adventures from Persia, Greece, Tartary, Turkey, and Arabia: all white men, and all, in their turn, possessing themselves of wealth and power. It is remarkable, however, to observe, how surely all these classes of men, in a few generations, and without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than a Negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or, if they can, with other Europeans; yet they have, during a three hundred years residence in India, become as black as Caffres."—*Heber's Journal*, vol. i. p. 54.

It is evident, therefore, that in the many various shades which mankind are found to assume in different parts of the earth, according to the different temperatures of climate, there can be no sound argument raised against a *common origin from a parent stock*. The varied colour of mankind appears to be the effect of a mere *law of nature*, instituted, no doubt, for a beneficial purpose by the Creator, which purpose may, probably, be one day explained, like so many other obscurities in the wonders of creation.

It has been found by Dr. Franklin, that black transmits heat more readily than any other colour; and the subject has since been investigated, and confirmed, in various conclusive experiments, by Mr. Leslie, and Count Rumford. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that the dark colour of the human race, which is found to increase in proportion to the scorching influence of the sun, is a wise provision of the Almighty, for cooling the fever of the blood, under the intemperate rays of a tropical climate.

But to return from this digression, to the subject of language, which we were before considering.

As recorded history cannot be looked for in wild and savage nations, we can only hope to find some traces of the origin of such nations in their traditions, or in their language. In the former of these, however, we can, in general, only look for approximations to truth; as, however sound their foundation may originally have been, they generally become, in a long lapse of time, so clouded with error, and obscured by the superstition which usually accompanies the ignorance of uncivilized states, that even the early histories of the most polished nations are unsatisfactory and obscure. Much less then can we expect any defined account of the rise or progress of the nations of the New World, or in the still more distant parts of the earth. All travellers in America, however, who have taken any notice of this subject, record the tradition, common amongst many of the tribes of that continent, with regard to their originally having come from a great distance, and having been urged forward by the advance of other tribes, in much the same manner as the European states were overrun by the northern hordes towards the decline and fall of the Roman empire. But whether these American tribes were urged on, by sea or by a land communication with the Old World, towards the north, must probably now remain for ever a subject for speculation and conjecture.

It may be interesting in this place, however, to make a few remarks upon some of the customs and traditions of the Indian tribes in America, which, in many instances, tend to confirm, in the most remarkable manner, the fact of their descent from the common parent stock in the Old World, although the manner of their entering the American continent has not yet been in any degree, ascertained. A tradition is mentioned by Hunter, as common to many of the Indian tribes, that their ancestors were forced to migrate from a *north* or *north-east* direction, *towards the south*. It has already been remarked, that these Indian tribes all count their time, or days, from *sunset to sunset*, in the same manner as the Hebrews, though contrary to our established customs in Europe. Their year, also, begins with the spring, and is divided into 13 moons.* They relate, that the Great Spirit created, at first, one of each sex, and placed them on an island *in the midst of the great waters*, which, as the human race increased, was enlarged, by supernatural means, to the present extent of the earth. Their traditions respecting the general deluge have been already noticed. They are a highly moral people, and acknowledge one supreme, all-powerful, and intelligent Being, called the Great Spirit, who created and governs all things. "They believe, in general, that after the hunting grounds had been formed and supplied with game, He created the first *red man and woman*,* who were very large in their stature, *and lived to an exceedingly old age*; that He often held councils, and *smoked with them*, and gave *them laws to be observed*; but that, in consequence of *their disobedience*, He *withdrew from, and abandoned them to the vexations of the Bad Spirit*, who has since been instrumental to all their degeneracy and sufferings."—*Hunter's North America*, p. 214.

"By the term *Spirit*, the Indians have an idea of a being that can, at pleasure, *be present, and yet invisible*."

"They have no particular *day* set apart for devotion, though they have particular *times*, such as a declaration of war, restoration of peace, the season of the harvest, and the new moons.† In general, however, a day seldom passes with the elderly Indians, or others, who are esteemed wise and good, in which a blessing is not asked, or thanks returned to the Giver of life; sometimes audibly, but most generally in the devotional language of the heart." "All their serious devotions are performed in a standing position." "On some occasions of joyous festivals, *lamps*, constructed of shells, and supplied with bear's grease, and rush wicks, *are kept burning all the preceding and following night*." "In all the tribes I have visited, the belief of a future state of existence, and of future rewards and punishments, is prevalent."

"I have seen an instance, wherein a prophet, or priest, burnt tobacco, and the offals of the buffalo, and deer, *on a kind of altar, formed of stones, on a mound*."‡

In Lander's Journal, to explore the course of the Niger, in Africa, we find the following account of a sacrifice offered annually at Kiama. "This is the eve of the *Behum Sàlah*, or *Great Prayer Day*, on which day, every one here, who possesses the means, is obliged to slaughter either *a bullock* or *a sheep*; and those who may not have money sufficient to procure a *whole* one, are compelled to purchase *a portion of the latter*, at least. The Mallams make a practice of slaughtering the sheep which may have been their companion in their peregrinations for the past year; and as soon as the feast is over, they procure another to supply its place, and to undergo the same fate on the following year." After describing the religious ceremonies of the day, Mr. Lander proceeds: "When the priest had finished, he descended from the hillock, and, with his assistants, slaughtered a sheep, *which had been bound and brought to him for sacrifice*. The blood of the animal was caught in a calabash; and the king, and the most devoted (devout) of his subjects, washed their hands in it, and sprinkled some on the ground."

The very remarkable analogy between this African ceremony and the Jewish passover, and other sacred ordinances, is too striking to require comment. Amongst many other savage nations, the custom of *an offering* is so common, that a glass of water is never drank, or a morsel of food made use of, without a little of it being first thrown upon the ground, as an offering to their deity or *fetish*.

This, and many other instances of *sacrifice*, to be found in the best accounts of the American and the African savages, would be, of themselves, sufficient to prove, most distinctly, their descent, in both cases, from Adam. For it has always been admitted, that the ordinance of *sacrifice* could have, in no way, occurred to the human mind but by a direct command from the Creator, such as must have been given to our first parents themselves; and which, in the case of their two eldest children, led to the acceptance of the one, and the rejection of the other, from the presence and the absence of belief or *faith* in its efficacy. From Cain and Abel, and their descendants, we hear of a continual course of sacrifice, both in the line of the true believers, and in heathen nations, down to the times of Christianity; whence it has been carried on, in Christian countries, by the new dispensation; and, in the heathen nations, by the varied course of blind superstition, common to a state of degenerate man.

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*This most natural idea of beginning the circle of the year with the Spring, is highly interesting, when found to exist in a savage country like America.

The ancients were of the same opinion, as we find from many passages in their writings; and especially in those beautiful lines in the second Georgic, where the Poet describes the effect of Spring and proceeds thus:

> Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
> Illuxisse dies, aliumve habuisse tenorem
> Crediderim; ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
> Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
> Cum primum lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
> Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,
> Immissæque feræ silvis, et sidera clœo.—*Geor.* 2d, 336.

*It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark in this place, that the name of our first parent Adam was bestowed upon him from the red earth, from which he sprung; Adam having this signification in the Hebrew tongue.

† "Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day.

"For this is a statute for Israel, and a law of the God of Jacob."—Psalm lxxxi. 3, 4.

‡ Hunter's North America.

In Mr. Mariner's sketch of the Friendly Islands, we are informed, that the savage of Tonga believe in gods, or supreme beings, who have the power of dispensing good and evil to mankind, according to merit; and that there are also, evil spirits, or mischievous gods, who *torment the wicked*, as a punishment for their deeds. The respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and universal that scarcely any instance is known of direct impiety, though they consider many things meritorious which we consider criminal.

Their ideas of the origin of the world are so singular, and so strong an indirect proof of their original descent, that I shall here mention them. They believe that originally, *there was no land above the waters of the sea;* but that when one of their gods, named Tangaloa, was fishing in the ocean, his hook became fixed at the bottom; he exerted his strength, and *presently there appeared, above the surface of the waters*, several points of rock, which increased in number and extent, the more he drew his line. The rocky bottom of the ocean was now fast advancing to the surface, when, unfortunately, *the line broke*, and the Tonga islands remain to show the incompleteness of the operation. The earth thus brought to the light of day, soon became replete with all kinds of plants and animals, (such as exist in an imaginary island, called Bolotoo, or the residence of the gods,) but they were of an inferior quality, and subject to decay and death. Tangaloa now sent two of his sons to dwell in Tonga, and to divide the land between them. But one of these sons was industrious, and the other idle, and envious of his brother, *whom at length he killed.* On which his father confined him, and his race, to the Tonga islands for ever, to be black in their persons, and to have bad canoes; while he sent the children of his murdered son into a distant land, to be white in their colour, as their minds were pure; to be wise and rich, and to have axes and large canoes in the greatest abundance.

That this singular tradition, in these the most remote islands of the earth, must have been handed down from their continental progenitors, clearly appears from some of their customs, which bear a close analogy to those of ancient Asia, as well as from some words in their language, which will be afterwards noticed.

At their funerals, they wound the head, and cut their flesh with knives and shells, as a testimony of respect to the memory of the dead. This is a custom which we find expressly forbidden in the 19th chapter of Leviticus, 28th verse. "Ye shall not make any cutting in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you; I am the Lord." The natives of these islands also practise *circumcision*, a custom so remarkable, that it could only have been derived from the very ancient religious rite, commanded at first to Abraham. They also offer *sacrifices* to their gods; and, as in other countries, an INNOCENT victim, such as a young child, is considered most likely to expiate sin. This sacred rite, so universal in the world, and one which unassisted reason never could have conceived, is, of itself, sufficient to show the primitive descent of these distant islanders, from the parent stock of Noah.

When we add to these remarkable customs and traditions, the conclusive evidence of the common tradition of a general deluge; and, also, the equally convincing proof to be derived from an almost identity of language in many general expressions, common to all nations; we cannot resist the conclusion to which we are led; we must admit, that *accident* alone could never have produced such remarkable identity; and, consequently, that the truth of the Mosaic record is fully established, as to the gradual descent of all the present human race, from the *one family* preserved at the deluge.

It only now remains for us, after having thus found such circumstantial evidence of a *common descent*, to consult the most authentic history on this interesting point, and we shall find the strongest reason to give up all hesitation or doubt that may have still lurked in our minds. The historian I am about to cite, is Josephus, a writer, whose works are of such importance to history in general, and to Scripture history in particular, that many have not hesitated to consider him nearly in the light of an inspired authority. Though this may be going too far, yet it must be admitted, that this remarkable man, from the uncommon circumstances in which he was placed, at a period of the Jewish history, avowedly miraculous; from his great candour, his extensive learning, and admitted probity, in the difficult situation in which he was placed, as the intimate friend of the enemy of his country, can scarcely be looked upon in the light of a common historian. When we add to these, his almost miraculous escapes from death, his prophetic dreams, and his luminous writings, preserved entire, while so many others, of that period, have been for ever lost, one can scarcely fail to be convinced that this man was raised up by the providence of God, for great and useful purposes, which no subsequent writer could be expected to accomplish, with a like authority.

This valuable historian, in taking a general view of the early history of the world after the deluge, distinctly shows the origin and names of a large proportion of the nations then known to the Romans. He was addressing this review of the early events on the earth, to an enlightened and learned people, amongst whom, as the intimate friend of the Emperor Titus, he held a high rank. He appears, in his writings against Apion and other Greek authors, who had attempted to throw a doubt upon his accounts of the early history of the Jews, to have had the most full and minute acquaintance with the whole range of Grecian and Egyptian literature, and was, therefore, by his equally intimate acquaintance with the history and traditions of the Jews themselves, perhaps the only individual that can be named, who was qualified to view the subject in a wide and unprejudiced field.

Josephus, then, in taking a general view of the early events in the post-diluvian world, distinctly shows the origin of many of the nations, then known to the Greeks by other names than they originally had; and proceeds thus:

"After this, they were dispersed abroad on account of their languages, and went out, by colonies, every where; and each colony took possession of that land which it lighted upon, and unto which God led them, both the inland and maritime countries. There were some, also, who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands; and some of these nations *do still retain the denominations which were given them by their founders;* but some have lost them also; and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants; *and they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations;* for when, in after ages, they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity, *giving names to the nations that sounded well in Greek*, that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves."—*Antiquities*, book 1st, chap. v.

Without entering more fully into the clear account given of the dispersion of mankind, in the 6th chapter of the first book of the Antiquities of the Jews, I shall here content myself with strongly recommending its perusal to the attention of any one desirous of following out this interesting subject; and with referring to the annexed genealogical scheme, which comprises the whole information given us by Josephus on this point; it will clearly show, at a glance, the outline of the first dispersion of mankind from Noah. The subsequent stages, and more minute ramifications of this vast tree, must be traced out by history, and by the customs, traditions and languages, now existing among the nations.

We may now proceed to the consideration of the identity in some parts of the languages of various nations, before alluded to; but this part of our subject has been already so ably handled by Dr. Mason Good, in his Book of Nature, that I shall not hesitate, (in adopting his views of the subject,) to present to my readers an extract from that most able work, which will place the subject before them in the clearest possible light.

"Articulate language," says that able writer, "is of two kinds, *oral* and *legible;* the one, penned, or printed, and addressed to the eye; the other, spoken, and addressed to the ear. Written language distinguishes *civilized* man from *savage* man, as speech distinguishes man in general from the brute creation. It is of so high an antiquity, that, like that of the voice, it has been supposed, by many good and wise men, in all ages, to have been a supernatural gift, communicated either at the creation, or upon some special occasion, not long afterwards; yet there seems no satisfactory ground for either of these opinions.

"That it was not communicated, like oral language, at the creation of mankind, appears highly probable, because, first, it by no means possesses the universality which, under such circumstances, we should have reason to expect, and which oral language actually displays. No tribe, or people, have ever been found without a tongue, but multitudes without a legible character; and amongst the different tribes and nations that do possess it, it is far from evincing that unity, or similarity in the structure of its elements, which may be traced in those of speech, and which must be the natural result of an origin from one common source; for the system of writing, among some nations, consists in *pictures*, or marks representative of *things;* among others, in *letters*, or marks, symbolical of *sounds;* besides, there does not seem to be the same necessity for Divine interposition in the formation of written characters, as in that of oral language; the latter existing, the former might be expected gradually to follow, in some shape or other, from that imitative, and inventive genius which belongs to man, especially in a civilized state.

"With respect to oral language, those who have most deeply studied the subject have generally come to the conclusion, that nothing short of Divine Power could have given rise to so wonderful a gift.

"Some schools of philosophy, indeed, have supposed, that man, when created, had no greater gift of tongue than is found amongst the various kinds of brutes; and that it was only by gradual steps in civilization that perfect language arose. This is arguing upon the same principle as the strange opinions of Buffon, and others, who derive the race of man from *monkeys*, and who, in exhibiting the *ourang-outang*, have hence denominated him the *satyr*, or *man of the woods.*

"If the above opinion were admitted to be just, we should have a right to expect that the language of a people would always be commensurate with their civilization. It so happens, however, that although language, whatever be its origin, is the most difficult science in the world, (if a science it may be called,) it is one in which savages of all kinds exhibit more proficiency than in any other. No circumnavigator has ever found the inhabitants of the most distant islands deficient in this respect, even where, in every thing else, they were almost in a state of nature.

"There is, in all the languages of the earth, a general *unity of principle*, which evidently bespeaks a general *unity of origin;* a family character and likeness, that cannot possibly be the effect of *accident.* The common divisions, and rules of one language, are the common divisions and rules of the whole; and hence, every national grammar is, in a certain sense, and, to a certain extent, an *universal grammar*, and he who has learnt one foreign tongue, has imperceptibly made some progress towards a knowledge of other tongues. Diversity of language consists, not in different sets of articulations, but only in a difference in their combinations and applications. No people have ever been found so barbarous as to be without articulate sounds; and no people so refined and fastidious, as to wish to add to the common stock.

"But independently of an uniform circle of articulations, and an uniform system of grammar, there is also an uniform use of *the very same terms*, in a great variety of languages, to express the same ideas, which cannot possibly be accounted for, except upon the principle of *one common origin* and *mother tongue.* I mean, particularly, those kind of terms, which, under every change of time, and every variety of climate, or of moral or political fortune, might be most naturally expected to remain *immutable;* as, for example, those of family relationship, and patriarchal respect, or descriptive of such other ideas as cannot but have occurred very generally to the mind, as those of *earth, sky, death, Deity, &c.*"

I do not here propose following Dr. Mason Good through the whole course of his most interesting research, but shall merely select a few of the most striking examples, which must be fully sufficient for my present general purpose.

"In our own language, the term *papa*, and *father*, describe the paternal character, both are as common to the Greek language as our own, and have, probably, alike arisen from the Hebrew source; and it may fearlessly be affirmed, that there is scarcely any language or dialect in the world, polished or barbarous, continental or insular, employed by blacks or whites, in which the same idea is not expressed by the radical of the one or the other of these terms. The term *father* is still found in the *Sanscrit*, and has decended to ourselves, as well as to almost all other nations in Europe, through the medium of the Greek, Gothic, and Latin. *Papa* is still more obviously a genuine Hebrew term, and has a much wider spread over Asia, Africa, and the most barbarous islands of the Pacific, extending from Egypt to Guinea, and from Bengal to Sumatra and New Zealand.

"The terms for *son* are somewhat more numerous than those for *father;* but one or other of them may be traced almost as extensively, as may the words *brother*, *sister*, and even *daughter*, which last, branching out, like the term *father*, from the Sanscrit, extends northward as far as Scandinavia.

"The generic names for the Deity, are chiefly the three following, *Al*, or *Allah*, *Theus*, or *Deus*, and *God.* The first is Hebrew, the second Sanscrit, the third Persian; and besides these, there is scarcely a term of any kind by which the Deity is disignated in any part of the world, civilized or savage. Among the barbarians of the Philippine Islands, the word is *Allatallah*, obviously the *God of Gods*, or the *Supreme God*, and it is the very same term in Sumatra. In the former islands, we meet with the terms *malahet* for a *spirit*, which is both direct Hebrew and Arabic; *is* and *dua*, one and two, which are Sanscrit and Greek; *tambor*, *a drum*, which is also Sanscrit; and *inferno*, *hell*, a Latin compound of Pelasgic or other Oriental origin. In the Friendly, and other clusters of the Polynesian Islands, the term for *God* is *Tooa;* and in New Guinea, or Papuan, *Dewa*, both obviously from the Sanscrit, whence *Eatooaa*, among the former, is *God the Spirit*, or the *Divine Spirit*, *ea* meaning a *spirit* in these islands. They also apply the Hebrew *el*, as the Pelasgians and the Greeks did, to denote the *sun;* whence *ellangee* means the *sky*, or sun's residence, and *papa-ellangee*, *father of the sky or spirits.*

"The most common term for *death*, amongst all nations, is, *mor*, *mort*, or *mut.* It is *mut* in Hebrew and Phœnician; it is *mor*, or *mort*, in Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin; it is the same in almost all the European languages; and it was with no small astonishment, the learned lately discovered that it is the same in *Otaheite*, and some other of the Polynesian Islands, in which *mor-ai* is well known to signify a sepulchre, or, literally, *the place or region of the dead; ai* meaning a *place* or *region* in the Otaheitan, precisely as it does in Greek; an elegant and expressive compound, which is, perhaps, only to be equalled by the Hebrew *zalmut*, literally *death shade*, but, in our Bibles, rendered *shadow of death.**

"*Sir*, in our own language, is the common title of respect; and the same term is employed, in the same sense, throughout every quarter of the globe. In Hebrew, *sir*, or *sher*, imports *a ruler*, or *governor;* in Sanscrit and Persian, it means the *organ of the head itself;* in Greek, it is synonymous with *Lord;* in Arabia, Turkey, and amongst the Peruvians in South America, it is employed as in the Greek; and is not essentially different in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France. In Germany, Holland, and the contiguous countries, the *s* of the Hebrew *sher*, is dropped, and it is converted into *her.*

"*Man*, in Hebrew, occurs under the form of *maneh*, a verb signifying to *discern* or *discriminate*, and, as a noun, signifying *a discriminating being.* In Sanscrit, we have both these senses. Hence, *menu*, in both Sanscrit and ancient Egyptian, means *Adam*, or the *first man*, emphatically THE *man. Menes* was the first king of Egypt, and *Minos* the chief judge amongst the Greeks. Hence, also, in Greek, *men* and *menos*, signifying *mind*, and the Latin *mens*, the mind, is the same. In the Gothic, and in all the northern dialects of Europe, *man* imports the same idea as in our own tongue. In Bengal and Hindostan, it is *manshee;* in the Malayan, *manizu;* in Japanese, *manio;* in Atooi, and in the Sandwich islands generally, *tanc*, *tanato*, or *tangi*, while *manawe* imports the *mind* or *spirit;* and in New Guinea, or Papuan, it is *sonaman.* In this utmost extremity of the southern world, we also meet with the term *Sytan*, for Satan, or the source of evil; and Wath (German *Goth*,) for God. But it may perhaps be observed, that, in all the southern dialects of Europe, we meet with no such term as *man*, nor even in the Latin, from which so many European languages are derived, and which has *homo* for man. Yet, it is clear, that *homo* itself is derived from the common root. Its adjective is *hu-man-us*, human, while *man*, or *min*, is found in every inflection below the nominative case, as *ho-min-is*, &c.: the former nominative itself was *ho-men*, from whence it is clear that *ho* is redundant, and did not originally belong to the word. The negative of *homo* is *ne-homo*, now pronounced *nemo* in the Latin; in which latter the *ho* has been dropped. The *ho* is also omitted in the feminine of *homo*, which is *fe-min-a*, and was, at first, FEO *min-a*, from *feo*, to produce; literally, the *producer of man* or *min.* From *feo-min-a*, we have also our own, and the common Saxon term *wo-man*, the *f*, and *v*, or *w*, being convertible letters in all languages, of which we have a familiar instance in the words *vater* and *father*, in German, and English."

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* In Otaheite, the natives direct their voyages by the sun, moon, and stars; and they have names for many of the constellations, resembling, in several instances, those of the Greeks.

All the above cases, and many more that might be produced, are confederating proofs, that the various languages and dialects that are now, or ever have been spoken, have originated from one common source; and that the various nations that now exist, or ever have existed since the deluge, have originated from one common cradle or quarter of the world; and that that quarter was an eastern region, as we might, *a priori*, have supposed, from Asia having been the first land peopled after the flood.

"But besides this singular coincidence in language, over the whole inhabited earth, there is, also, a most remarkable confirmation of the same *unity of origin*, in the correspondence between all nations whatever, where any traces of the art of arithmetic exist, in the employment of a DECIMAL *gradation*.

"Whence comes it to pass, that *blacks* and *whites*, in every quarter, the savage and the civilized, wherever a human community has been found, have neither *stopped short of*, nor *exceeded* a series of *ten* in their calculations; and that as soon as they have reached this number, they have, uniformly, begun a second series with the first unit in the scale, as *one ten*, *two ten*, &c.? Why have not some nations broke off at *five*, or others proceeded to *fifteen* before they began a second series? Or why have the generality of them had any thing more than one single and *infinitesimal* series, and consequently, a new name for every *unit?* Such an universality cannot possibly have existed, except from a like universality of cause; and we have, in this single instance alone, a proof equal to mathematical demonstration, that the different languages into which it enters, and of which it forms so prominent a feature, must, assuredly, have originated not from *accident*, at different *times*, and in different *places*, but from direct determination and design, at the *same time*, and in the *same place;* that it must be the result of one grand, comprehensive, and original system. *Such system could not have been of human invention:* what then remains for us, but to confess that it must have been of Divine and Supernatural communication?

"Such examples, though few, are abundantly sufficient to establish the point; and they even lead us to a second and catenating fact, namely, that the primary and original language of man, that language divinely and supernaturally communicated to him, in the early ages of the world, has been *broken up*, *confounded*, and *scattered*, in various fragments, over every part of the habitable globe; that the same sort of disruption that has confounded former continents and oceans, and intermingled the productions natural to different hemispheres and latitudes, this same Power has assaulted the world's primeval tongue, has overwhelmed a great part of it, wrecked the remainder on distant and opposite shores, and turned up new materials out of the general convulsion: and if it were possible for us to meet with an ancient historical record, which professed to contain a plain and simple statement of such supernatural communication, and such subsequent *confusion of tongues*, it would be a book, which, independently of any other information, would be amply entitled to our attention, *for it would thus bear an index of commanding authority on its own forehead.*

"Such a book is now in our hands. Let us prize it, *for it must be the* WORD OF GOD, as it bears the direct stamp and testimony of His works."*

CONCLUSIONS

To which we are naturally led by the general tenor of the foregoing inquiry.

Having completed the proposed general survey of the system of geological phenomena, on every part of the earth's surface, let us now take a retrospective view of the various conclusions to which we have been led, in regarding the Creation, and the laws to which all created beings have been submitted by the Almighty. And, first, we have found it *unreasonable*, and *unphilosophical*, to subscribe to the doctrines, too commonly taught, wherein the first production of all things is supposed to have arisen by the *mere laws of nature*, or from *secondary causes*, *within a chaotic or imperfect mass;* because, in adopting this opinion, we find ourselves as far removed as ever from the ORIGIN *of things* of which we were in search: for even were we to admit, with the Wernerian school of philosophy, the primary existence of an *aqueous chaos*, and that the *laws of nature* have, in an indefinitely long period of time, gradually produced the beautiful order and arrangement we now admire in the universe; we should still have to account for the *component parts* of that chaotic mass, *which could not have come into being by any of the known laws of nature:* and being thus driven to acknowledge a Creative Power, capable of producing *even a chaos* out of nothing, and of establishing those wonderful laws which now govern the world, we should find ourselves, without any available object, derogating from the Wisdom and Power of a Creator, by denying a PERFECT *creation* of all things in the beginning. If we are forced to this conclusion, with regard to the actual structure of the mineral body of the earth, we are even more forcibly convinced of this great truth, by a survey of the animal and vegetable world with which it is furnished. For when we consider the evident *design*, which is so remarkably displayed in the structure of these bodies, we must feel satisfied, that though the *laws of nature* may, and do, now *regulate* them, they never could have, at first, *produced* them. We have found, that as it is unreasonable to suppose the first man to have ever been *an infant*, or the first oak tree to have sprung from *an acorn*, we are forced to the adoption of the only other alternative left for our choice; and we must, therefore, conclude, that both animal and vegetable productions were, at first, CREATED in their *mature* and *perfect* forms, and were then submitted to those laws which have ever since been in action in the world. And when we are unavoidably led thus far by our *reason* alone, and when we then consult the only History of the early events of the world that is within our reach, we find this Record announcing, in the most unequivocal terms, that "in the begining, God CREATED the heaven and the earth;" and that, "in *six days* He made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, resting on the seventh *day*, and hallowing it," as a day of rest and of worship for all the generations of men.

And with respect to the nature and duration of those *six days*, so particularly defined in the Record, which it pleased the Creator, for an obviously wise and beneficent end, to occupy in this *incomprehensible* work of creation, we can have no reasonable doubt that they were such days as are now, and ever have been, occasioned *by one revolution of the earth on its axis;* first, because a perfect creation may be as easily the work of one day, or of one moment, as of thousands of years; secondly, because the *supposed longer periods* of philosophy, were only called for in the erroneous idea of *gradual perfection*, from an *imperfect creation*, which idea we have found such reason altogether to condemn; and thirdly, because that Record, on the evidence of which our confidence has been confirmed, on the subject of *perfect creation*, has distinctly defined each of these days by its *evening* and its *morning*, which terms, so often repeated, can be, in no way, applicable to the supposed *indefinite periods* above alluded to.

Secondly,—We have found reason to conclude, that the first great geological change which took place after the *creation* of the solid mass of the globe, was occasioned by that *fiat* of the Almighty, on the third day, by which the waters, equally covering the whole mineral surface during the first and second days, were "gathered together into one place," that the "dry land" might appear; and as this "gathering together of the waters" of the sea, could not have taken place, according to the laws of *gravity* and of *fluids*, *by accumulation*, it must have been effected by a *depression* of a portion of the surface of the earth, into which the waters would naturally flow. This depression could not have taken place without a partial derangement of a thin portion of the earth's surface; and from this partial derangement, acted upon by the laws which have, at all times, governed the ocean, we derive the earliest *secondary formations*, now found resting upon the *primitive mineral mass*.

Thirdly,—We discover an adequate and reasonable origin for a great portion of the other secondary formations, now found upon the earth, in the action, during a period of sixteen hundred and fifty-six years, of those *laws of nature*, by which a constant removal of mineral *debris* is taking place, *from* the dry land, *to* the bed of the ocean: and in considering the existing action of those laws which govern the waters, we find a natural and easy solution of the problem of *horizontal stratification*, and individual mineral arrangement, which has occasioned so many erroneous conclusions in some schools of philosophy. And we further discover the most convincing proof of the erroneous nature of the Wernerian theory, of *primitive rocks* having been formed in an AQUEOUS *chaos*, in the circumstance of no *primitive creation*, such as *granite*, having ever been discovered amongst what are denominated secondary rocks, *although these latter are known to have arisen in the self-same* AQUEOUS *medium*.

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* The Book of Nature, by Dr. Mason Good.

Fourthly,—We have found, in considering the subject of the deluge, that, as the phenomena presented to our consideration, over every part of the present dry lands, correspond minutely with the terms of the Mosaic record, where it informs us of the intention of the Almighty to destroy the antediluvian dry lands, as well as their inhabitants; that great and awful judgment must have been occasioned by the gradual interchange of level between the former seas and lands: that we are, consequently, now inhabiting the bed of the antediluvian ocean; and that all the fossil remains of animals, or vegetables, now discovered in our rocks or soils, were either embedded in the course of the gravel formation of the secondary strata, under the waters of the former sea, (as in the case of the marine productions in chalk, and many other calcareous marine formations,) or were thrown into their present situations by the waters of the deluge, and embedded (as in the case of quadrupeds, vegetables, human beings and other *land productions*,) in the soft soils and strata so abundantly formed at that eventful period, by the *preternatural* supply of materials for secondary formations.

Fifthly,—As it can be plainly demonstrated, by existing causes, and existing phenomena, that the animals and plants, the fossil remains of which are now found in uncongenial climates, could not have existed *in a living state*, where their remains are often now discovered; as a general inundation could not possibly take place upon the globe, without the entire destruction of animal life, and the total overthrow of the whole vegetable kingdom; as it is a well known law of nature, that animal bodies, when destroyed by drowning, *invariably float* at one period of their decomposition; and that almost all vegetable substances, being specifically lighter than water, must always come to the surface, at least for a time; and as such floating animal and vegetable bodies could not but follow the action of the *winds*, the *tides, and, more especially, the* CURRENTS *of the then universal ocean*, some of which currents have, at all times, a tendency *from the equatorial regions towards the poles;* from all these several reasons, we cannot come to any other rational conclusion, but that all the fossil remains *of land productions*, over the whole surface of the present dry lands, became embedded in their present situations at the period of the Mosaic deluge; and that, consequently, the climates of the earth have been, in no way, suddenly changed, as some philosophers have thought it necessary to suppose; but that, on the contrary, the antediluvian animals and plants must have been distributed over the various climates of the former dry lands, and in nearly the same latitudes in which similar existing species are now respectively found.

Sixthly,—As we have found the most conclusive proofs, that, amongst other animal fossils, the remains of the *human race* are not unfrequently found, although, in that small numerical proportion to those of other species, which the sacred history would lead us to expect, we must entirely reject those doctrines of philosophy which teach a *gradual perfection* in the animal creation; and which suppose that man was not yet created, at the period when those animals, the remains of which we now discover, existed on the earth.

Seventhly,—We feel our belief in the Mosaic record, of all these wonderful events, strengthened and confirmed by the many traditional, and other proofs that have been brought forward, of all the present human race, in every climate of the world, having sprung from *one family*, and from *one period*, which period was that of the Mosaic deluge; and that that *post-diluvian* family origin must have first arisen *in Asia*, is proved by the affinity of so many common expressions in the languages of even the most remote islands, with the original languages of that portion of the globe.

Lastly,—As all these conclusions, to which we have been naturally led, in the course of this inquiry, tend to corroborate, in the most distinct manner, the history of the early events on the earth, as given in the Mosaic, and other books of Scripture, our confidence in the unerring accuracy of these records, is firmly established; for by such collateral evidence we should try the veracity of any other ancient history: but when we add to the usual qualifications of a correct historian, the incomprehensible guidance of *divine inspiration*, so clearly evinced by numerous prophecies distinctly fulfilled, we feel that the conclusions to which our inquiries have conducted us, by the simple evidence of reason and of facts, are only such as might have been anticipated, when we consider the unerring source from which this divine guidance or inspiration flowed; and that both the events, and the inspired record of them, which has been so wonderfully preserved for our information, are SUPERNATURAL and DIVINE.

LECTURES

ON

PORTIONS OF THE PSALMS.

BY

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LECTURE I.

> "*Give ear to my words, O Lord; consider my meditation. Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray. My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up. For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; neither shall evil dwell with thee. The foolish shall not stand in thy sight; thou hatest all workers of iniquity. Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing; the Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man. Bus as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.*"
> —PSALM V. 1.—8.

You have been often addressed on the subject of prayer,—on the obligations you are under to engage in it; on the importance and necessity of attending to it; and on the encouragement which you have respecting it, from the example and experience of the people of God in every age. Now, let me ask you, if you really make it a part of your Christian work? Do you ever pray? Are you frequently at a throne of grace? Is it the habit of your life to "make your requests known unto God?" Can you affirm with truth that, regularly, or as often as occasion requires, you ask in order to receive from him the various blessings which are essential to you, both in this life, "and in that which is to come?" Just consider what judgment must be pronounced upon you, on the supposition that conscience commands you to answer these questions with a negative, and that you must be counted among those who "restrain prayer before God."

In the *first* place, you act in opposition to your sense and your confession of what is right. You know that you ought to pray. You are convinced that this is incumbent upon you. You allow that those are far wrong who neglect such an institution. And how then can you repel the charge of inconsistency, when prayer, notwithstanding, is excluded from your practical system? We desire you not to pray, merely in compliance with our earnest exhortation, or in conformity to the pious example of your brethren. In this, as in all other cases of a similar description, we say, "let every one of you be fully persuaded in his own mind." Take the matter into consideration. Examine it attentively and thoroughly. Try it by the test of reason; weigh it in the balance of the sanctuary; adopt every proper mode of bringing it to a just and conclusive issue. And if the inquiry shall terminate in showing you, that you are not bound to pray—that there is no propriety in praying—that neither your comfort nor your interest is concerned in it—then, do not pray. We ask you not in any case to act contrary to the serious and decided dictates of your own mind. And, above all, we ask you not to act thus in a case like the present, in which a conscious approval of the exercise is necessary to prevent it from being at once unacceptable and profane. But, on the other hand, if the lesson which you learn from Scripture—if the determination of the question to which you have come—be, that men should, and must pray—and that you can learn any other lesson on this point from Scripture, or that you can come to any other determination of the question respecting it, as professing Christians, may be held impossible—then have we not cause to wonder and to complain that, in spite of what you have learnt and of what you admit to be your duty, you are as negligent of prayer, as if you had learnt, and as if you maintained, that it was *not* your duty? You acknowledge that you *ought* to pray—nevertheless you forget, or you refuse to pray. Is not this a palpable and unworthy contradiction in your character? And why should you permit it to exist? What excuse can you bring forward to justify it? Or how can you account for it, except by tracing it to an ungodliness and a depravity in the heart which overpowers the efforts of your understanding, and proclaims your bondage to that sin from which it is the very province of prayer to seek deliverance? We call upon you to banish this practical solecism. Let your conduct correspond with your real and avowed convictions. And let the first voice of your supplications be for grace to make you love what you know to be dutiful, and to infuse into your soul the spirit, while it guides you to the practice, of true devotion.

But we must remind you, in the *second* place, that by neglecting prayer, you resist the authority of God. Are not you aware, my friends, that God has commanded you to pray?—that he has not left you to discover this by mere inference, but has announced it in terms not more precise than they are emphatic?—and that the injunction holds such a conspicuous place, and is so frequently repeated in his word, as to show the vast importance which he attaches to the manner in which it is treated? And, aware of these things, how can you venture to treat it with contempt, and yet hope to prosper? What title have you to expect that, in this particular, more than in any other, you can disobey God with impunity? Think you that he does not mean what he declares, or that he will not fulfil what he has promised, or that he will not execute what he has threatened? Or can any apology be wisely or successfully pleaded for withholding from him the homage which he demands, and refusing to put up to him those petitions, which are equally called for as tokens of submission to his will, and of respect for his character? No, my friends: it is from the throne of unlimited sovereignty that he speaks, when he commands you to pray; and disobedience to this is just as criminal and just as dangerous as disobedience to any other precept of his law. I say that he speaks to you from the throne of unlimited sovereignty, that you may be deterred from trifling with his behests when he exacts from you the tribute of prayer. But I must add that his throne of sovereignty is a throne of grace; and that if the commandment comes armed with the sanction of stern authority, it also comes recommended by the charms of tender mercy. God is the hearer of prayer, in virtue of his compassion to sinners: and, had he not been a being in whom compassions abound, so far from giving you access to his presence, and laying it upon you as a peremptory obligation and an express duty to make use of that privilege, he would have forbidden you to address him, and shut his ear against your cry, and left you to perish in your apostacy. But, looking upon you with pity, and desirous to extend to you every needful blessing, he is ready to listen to your applications; and, in order to secure, as it were, your coming to him that you may have your every want supplied and your every evil remedied, he not only opens up "a new and living way" of approach, but he clothes himself in majesty, and, by issuing his high mandate, shuts you up to the necessity of praying to him, under the penalties of disobedience to the united voice of righteous authority and unmerited love. And I put it to you, my friends, how you can bring yourselves to be guilty of such disobedience, and yet go on to live as if you were submitting to the divine will by being men of piety and prayer. O do not continue any longer in such a delusion as this. Either cease to neglect prayer before God, or cease to think that you are submissive to him. Either be habitually given to this exercise, or acknowledge that you are self-convicted rebels against the government of him who "ruleth over all." And remember that rebellion here is as fatal to those who are chargeable with it, as if they had violated the most important enactment of the moral law.

And now I have to state, in the *third* place, that without prayer, vain will be to you all the provisions that are made in the Gospel for your deliverance and happiness. The Gospel is a dispensation of divine wisdom and goodness. It proposes to bestow upon sinful men the benefits of salvation. But it proposes to bestow them in a certain way, and according to a certain scheme. And nothing is clearer than that they cannot be received and enjoyed without a humble acquiescence, on the part of those to whom they are communicated, in the method by which it has pleased God to impart them. Now, do you know any ground for thinking that these benefits can ever belong to those who do not pray for them? It is distinctly taught, that if you ask them in prayer, believing, they shall become yours. But where is it taught within the whole compass of the Bible, that the prayerless sinner shall be saved?—that you need not supplicate one of the blessings of redemption, and yet be as sure of obtaining them all as if you had?—that pardon has even been procured, or that heaven has ever been reached, by a single individual who has not sincerely felt, and cordially put forth the desire for them? There is no such thing taught in the Bible; and you must be sensible that the very contrary of this is what the Bible uniformly maintains and inculcates. You cannot fail to perceive that, agreeably to the constitution of the Gospel, salvation is the end at which you aim, and prayer the means by which you are to attain it; that the connection which God has established between these is close and inseparable; and that the husbandman may as well expect to reap a harvest where no seed has been sown, and no culture bestowed, as that you can inherit the fruits of Christ's labour, though they have never been to you the object of devout and believing supplication. And, impressed with the truth of these things, on what principle, or with what consistency, can you neglect to pray? Is not such neglect tantamount to a deliberate casting away of every spiritual and every eternal hope? Is it not equivalent to saying that you grudge to pray more than you wish to be redeemed? And, if persisted in, must it not necessarily have the effect of separating you for ever from God, and Christ, and immortality? Yes, brethren; such must be the inevitable and awful consequence of your being strangers to prayer. And what is more, I defy you, by any ingenuity you can employ, to get quit of this alternative, or, continuing to believe in the Bible, to flatter yourselves for a moment, that it is either of trivial importance or of the least uncertainty. I intimate to you a truth which you cannot gainsay, and which should go home to the heart of every one of you with awakening power, that while God will confer upon those who pray for it as they ought, not only to the half, but even to the whole of his kingdom—not one good thing, as pertaining to salvation, will he convey into your lot, if you persevere in disregarding the instrumentality by which it is his holy and sovereign pleasure that you shall seek for it, and come to the possession of it. Your guilt shall remain uncancelled. Your hearts shall be still under "the bondage of corruption." The Holy Ghost will remain at a distance from you. Heaven will refuse to unbar its everlasting doors. The terrors of unpropitiated and undeprecated wrath will hang over you, and close in upon you, and at last bury you in utter and irretrievable ruin. And all this misery will come upon you with the unspeakable aggravation that you might have escaped it, had not you so "hardened your heart" against God, that you would not even pray to him—that you would not implore from him the deliverance which you needed—that you would not offer up one cordial petition for that which he was willing to grant you, and which he is now commanding you to ask for, that you may receive it, and be happy for ever. O then be persuaded to go to the throne of grace. Lift up your soul to him who delights in the supplications of the penitent. Join yourselves to them of whom we can say, in the language of mingled admiration and pleasure, "Behold! they pray." And let this exercise be so dear to you, and of so much importance in your regard, that you shall sympathize with the Psalmist, and catch his devout spirit, and enter into his pious resolutions when he thus speaks, "Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation. Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King and my God; for unto thee will I pray. My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up."

1. It becomes us, my friends, to form and adopt the purpose of the Psalmist. His purpose was to pray; and that purpose should be ours. We have many motives and inducements to engage in this exercise. And if we consider these aright, and submit to that influence which they are fitted to hold over our feelings, they will speedily and effectually determine us to address ourselves to God in these words, "Unto thee will I pray." We will be satisfied that it is our high honour, our distinguished privilege, our bounden duty, our purest comfort, and our truest advantage: and, viewing it in these lights, we cannot but resolve to attend to it, and to give ourselves to it, as an observance of the utmost consequence to our welfare. Even the speculative conviction of its excellence, as thus contemplated, must, if we are actuated by the ordinary principles of a rational nature, constrain us to fix our attachment upon it, and to employ it as the means of improvement and of happiness. But how much more powerful will be our regard for it, and how much more deeply and decidedly will it affect our minds and our practice, if we know from personal experience all the advantages which it confers, and all the joys which it imparts! Having felt what it is to commit ourselves to God in prayer—having received the mercy to pardon, and the grace to help that we implored—having been rescued from dangers, supported under trials, fortified against temptations, strengthened for duties, and comforted amidst sorrows, in answer to the petitions that we had offered up—this must endear the throne of grace to us, attract our hearts to it, and encourage us to make it our habitual and chosen refuge, amidst all the vicissitudes, and in all the circumstances, of our Christian pilgrimage. And, aware how apt the world is to break in upon our devotional duties; and how much we are in hazard, from that and various other causes, of neglecting to perform these as they ought to be performed, or of postponing them to concerns and occupations of a secular nature, we shall just feel the stronger necessity for "building ourselves up" in this pious resolution, and making a covenant with our own minds, that we will allow nothing to come in between God and our souls, but that, in whatever we are employed, wherever we are placed, and whatever befals us, "unto him will we pray."

2. Then it will be with great earnestness that we pray to God. We will not go about the duty in a cold, formal, or perfunctory manner, as if it were a matter of indifference to us, whether we were successful in our application or not. This would be unsuitable to the character of the Being to whom our application is made, and to the importance of the blessings that we are desirous to obtain. The God whom we address, looks with a jealous eye on the frame of mind in which we approach him, and could not fail to be angry with us, if he saw us careless and unconcerned, either as to the things which we asked from him, or as to the tone of feeling which we cherish, and the mode of supplication which we employed, when bending at his throne. It would be irreverence and mockery, which would have the effect of bringing upon us a curse, instead of a blessing. And then, if we had no vehemence of desire, and no fervour of expression, would

it not be a proof that we attached but little importance to the benefits themselves, which yet we profess to seek? And if we attach but little importance to the benefits which Christ has purchased with his blood, which God has commanded us to aspire after with the utmost sincerity and diligence, and which are, in every aspect indispensable to our present and our eternal advantage—how can we expect that our prayers will meet with the acceptance that is essential to their success, or be attended with any one of the advantages of which prayer is so productive to the true worshipper? When we pray to God, therefore, let us be truly anxious that our prayer may experience his favourable regard. Let our hearts be engaged in the exercise, and engaged in it with an ardour and solicitude becoming the case of those who must have from him what they pray for, or perish. Let us wrestle with the angel of his presence, omitting no importunity of sentiment or of language which the occasion may justify. Let the words which we utter be the vehicle of that earnestness which we feel, and let us beseech him to hear them as coming from the dependants and pensioners of his bounty. Let us meditate with deepest interest on the extent and urgency of our need, and entreat him to "consider our meditation," and think of the necessities of our condition, and exert his wisdom as well as his mercy, in giving a supply to all our various wants. Let us cry to him with all the fervour of men who have no other refuge but himself, to whom there is no hope but what is to be found in the riches of his grace, and whose ruin is inevitable, unless he will have pity, and send deliverance; and let us implore him to "harken to the voice of our cry," as the cry of guilty, condemned, helpless, and miserable creatures. And, alive to the unspeakable moment of receiving from him an answer in peace, let us not cease to cherish all this intensity of desire; let every dawning day find us in the spirit, and in the attitude, of importunate supplication; let our powers, when invigorated by the refreshments of sleep and rest, be called forth to the performance of this good work; and let our minds be continually and earnestly directed to heaven, as the source from which we are to draw whatever is needful for our pilgrimage through life, and for our felicity in a better world.

3. But we are not to pray, as if God were unwilling to hear us, and to bestow the blessings that we need. He has revealed himself as the hearer of prayer. He has manifested his readiness to give us whatever our situation requires. "He that spared not his own Son, but freely delivered him up to death for us, how shall he not with *him*, also freely give us all things?" And having by this wonderful display of love, and by various affectionate declarations of his word, taught and encouraged us to confide in him for the attainment of every thing for which we are either permitted or instructed to pray, it follows that our prayers should always be accompanied with lively faith, and with humble hope. Considering the representations he has afforded to us of his character, and the assurances he has reiterated us of his mercy, any thing like distrust or despondency is as unbecoming, as the carelessness and indifference against which we have already warned you. You must honour God, as well as consult your own comfort, by giving place to no doubt or disbelief, when you draw near to him in prayer. Rest implicitly on the faithfulness of his promises, which are all "yea and amen in Christ Jesus;" and pleading on the merit of your great High Priest and Intercessor, plead with the boldness, and the expectation of those who know that they "have an advocate with the Father," whom he "heareth always," and with whom he is ever "well pleased." But while you "look up" to God with the conviction that he will not turn away your prayer from him, nor his grace from you, let this conviction be mingled with humility, when you recollect your great unworthiness, and the weakness and imperfection of your faith itself. Let it be mingled with submission, that you may not be cast down and disappointed, when he withholds any particular blessing which you had asked with peculiar solicitude, and on which you had counted as at once important to your welfare, and certain in its attainment. And let it be mingled with that patience which shall prevent you from repining at delay in the communication of what you have besought your heavenly Father to send, which shall make you still trust in him for the accomplishment of all that concerns your well-being, notwithstanding the frustrations of hope which you may have experienced, and which is not only quite consistent with a continued and unwavering expectation of the gifts that you implore, but imparts such a tone of holy resignation to the petitions in which you supplicate them, as to give additional grace and piety to the sacrifice which you thus lay on the altar of your God.

4. And, finally, you must not forget that the God to whom you pray is a holy God. It is true he allows us to approach Him as sinners; and, as sinners, to ask from him with the hope of receiving all the blessings of salvation. But then, in this act of condescension, he does not, and he cannot renounce that purity and rectitude of character which belong to him as the infinitely perfect Jehovah. We have access to him by the blood of Christ: but by the shedding of that blood in sacrifice, he has set before us a most emphatic demonstration of the divine holiness, which the sacrifice of Christ was appointed to maintain and vindicate. And though, in virtue of Christ's meritorious sufferings, God is now "reconciling the world to himself," and free to bestow salvation upon our fallen race, yet he has not ceased to be as much distinguished by holiness in his own character, and as peremptory in his exaction of it in the character of his creatures, as he was before the existence of any atonement, or of any satisfaction. Most true is the representation here given of him by the Psalmist; and most necessary is it that we bear it in mind, and be influenced by it, in all our devotional exercises. "He has no pleasure in wickedness. Neither shall evil dwell with him; the foolish shall not stand in his sight; and he hateth the workers of iniquity. He shall destroy them that speak leasing or falsehood; he will abhor the bloody and deceitful man."

Now, this statement, of which we need not at present give any particular illustration, its general meaning being quite obvious, and quite sufficient for our purpose, is not set before us to deter us from praying to God. It would have that effect, indeed, were we to confine our views to the immaculate holiness of God on the one hand, and to our moral depravity and guilt on the other. But we know that God is merciful as well as just; that while his mercy is displayed, his justice is satisfied; and that according to the wonderful plan of redemption, even the chief of sinners may return to him through the appointed mediator, and for the sake of that mediator, be pardoned, and accepted, and saved. Still, however, if we thus believe in Jesus Christ, and thus return by him to God, our very faith, and our very return, necessarily direct our views to him as a God, "glorious in holiness," and requiring holiness in all that draw nigh to him, and are admitted to the enjoyment of his favour. And, accordingly, it is one provision of the gospel, that we be sanctified for his service, while it is one prescribed qualification for engaging in that service, that we have "clean hands and pure hearts." When we pray to him, we must pray in the spirit of penitence. We must be animated by a hatred of sin; for, "if we regard iniquity in our hearts, the Lord will not hear us." We must have a sincere, and decided, and paramount affection for holiness; for without this, we could not fix our minds with comfort, or with hope, on him whom we pretended to worship. If conscious that we were "enemies to God in our minds, and by wicked works," and that we were persevering in our enmity, notwithstanding all that he had done to subdue it, we could not possibly cherish towards him one devotional sentiment, or utter one sincere supplication. It becomes us, therefore—it is requisite for us—to be holy, that we may pray to God as we ought. And, for the purpose of impressing us with the importance of having that qualification, and with the necessity of having it in active operation when we address God in prayer, let us always contemplate God as he is here delineated by the Psalmist. And while a sense of our guiltiness before such a holy Being, determines us to seek for acceptance through the sacrifice of Christ, let the purity of him to whom we pray determine us to be earnest in seeking for the renewing and purifying influence of the Divine Spirit, in banishing from our hearts every sinful affection and every unworthy thought, and in cultivating all those graces and virtues which shall qualify us for holding communion with the "father of our spirits" upon earth, and for enjoying his beatific presence in the kingdom of heaven.

But while the holiness of God is a commanding reason for our praying to him in the spirit of penitence, we may also take encouragement from it to apply to him when men are assailing and persecuting us. This was the particular view of it taken by the Psalmist in the passage we are considering. He knew that the conduct of his enemies could not fail to be most offensive to that Being who ruled the world in righteousness, and who saw in their hostility to his servants, a practical contempt of his law, and a daring opposition to his authority. And, therefore, he concluded that, however unworthy he was in himself of the divine favour, and however necessary it was to pray in the name of a mediator, the very perfection of God's moral excellence, would justify him for asking his interposition, and for asking it with the assured hope that it would be granted. In like manner, when we suffer from the malice and injustice of our foes, and apply to God for deliverance or for help, it is a warrant for us to do so that he is infinitely holy and just. Were he "altogether such a one as ourselves," were his nature tinctured with sin, or were he indifferent to its prevalence among his creatures, we could not expect that he would "give an attentive ear" when we besought him to guard us against the machinations and the malignity of those who, by the commission of it in some of its most obnoxious forms, aimed at our destruction. But, convinced that he is "the Holy One of Israel," that every species of iniquity is hateful in his sight, that the workers of it are the objects of his displeasure, and that one great purpose of his administration must be to check and to punish them, we feel ourselves constrained to make use of that as an argument for "calling upon him," when we are treated by our fellow-men with cruelty or injustice. It is appealing to the honour of his character and of his government, and to the pledge which he has given, in all that he has revealed of himself in the law and in the gospel, in the ways of providence, and in the word of truth, to prevent the triumph of ungodliness, when we invoke him as a God of righteousness, to come between the oppressor and the oppressed, and to save us from our false, deceitful, and blood thirsty foes. We must never forget that this attribute of God should make us approach at all times with much self-abasement, and with reliance on his mercy through the blood of atonement; but neither should we forget that, in particular circumstances, it furnishes the most animating motive that we can have for fervent supplications; and that, when situated as the Psalmist was, we may freely adopt the language which he employed, when he said, "I will direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up; *For* thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee."

The Psalmist did not satisfy himself with private prayer; he also resolved to engage in the exercises of public worship. The same feeling of piety which constrained him to do the one, constrained him also to do the other. And then, he did not think himself at liberty to go to the house of God, without a due consideration of the service with which he was to be there occupied, and of the dispositions and views which it required from him, as both becoming and necessary. "As for me," says he, "I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple."

The resolution of the Psalmist should be ours. We may be tempted by our natural disinclination to spiritual employment, and by the allurements of a degenerate world, and by the example and counsel of ungodly men, to "forsake the assembling of ourselves together." But, "as for us," if we are actuated by the principles and the spirit of true religion, we will resist all these temptations, and account it our honour, our privilege, and our duty, to "wait on the Lord" in the services of his sanctuary. This we will do, regularly and punctually, in the ordinary circumstances of life. But we will especially have recourse to God in his house of prayer, when we are distressed by the hostility and persecution of our foes, in order that we may derive consolation from the communion which we there hold with our heavenly father, and be instructed by what is there delivered to us, in all that can reconcile us to our troubles, and guide us in our difficulties, and support us under our trials. And, far from rushing into his holy place, as too many do, without any serious thought concerning him to whom we are about to pay our homage, and the manner in which he must be approached, if we would approach him with acceptance,—we will study to have our minds impressed with just conceptions of his character, to bring with us those offerings which the occasion requires, and to present them with suitable affections, and in a suitable manner. Instead of merely going to his tabernacles, we will go to them with the conscious purpose of worshipping him,—of offering to him our prayers and our praises, and of listening to his word. And instead of merely going to worship him, we will go to worship him in that way which is suggested by the nature and circumstances of the duty, or dictated by his own express injunctions. Contemplating the immaculate purity by which he is distinguished, and aware of our own unworthiness and guilt, it will be with the deepest humility that we enter his courts; it will be with dependence on his unmerited mercy; and it will be with a believing reference to that scheme of reconciliation by which his mercy has been manifested to sinful men. And though drawing near to him in faith, and beholding and trusting in him as a God of mercy, we will feel ourselves encouraged to hope for a favourable reception, yet still thinking of his unspotted holiness, and of our own great depravity, it will be with godly fear that we lift up our eyes to "the place where his honour dwelleth," whether we give him the tribute of our thanksgiving, or ask from him the blessings that we need. Thus going into the house of God "*in the multitude of his mercy*," and worshipping towards his holy temple "*in his fear*," we may cherish the expectation that he will graciously receive us; that he will "cause his face to shine upon us;" that he will listen to the voice of supplication which we lift up to him from amidst "the assembly of the upright;" that he will help us in the performance of our sacred duties; that he will bless them for our comfort and advantage; and that he will make the services of his temple below, a preparation for the purer and more exalted services of his temple above.

LECTURE II.

"*Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies: make thy way straight before my face. For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue. Destroy thou them, O God: let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions; for they have rebelled against thee. But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them: let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee. For thou, Lord, wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield.*"—Psalm v. 8.—end.

David had addressed himself to God as the hearer of prayer, and he did so, when he was in distress by reason of the opposition and hostility of ungodly men. He took encouragement in praying for help and deliverance, from the consideration that God was a holy being, who had "no pleasure in wickedness," and who would take part with his servants when they were persecuted by the workers of iniquity. And he expressed his determination, amidst all his trials and troubles, to adhere closely to the worship of his Maker, to approach him in a dependence upon his mercy, and to "serve him with reverence and godly fear."

He proceeds thus: "Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness, because of mine enemies: make thy way straight before my face." David's enemies were numerous, malicious, and inveterate. They watched to spy out his faults; they waited for his halting: they were anxious to discover him acting inconsistently with his professions: they longed for some violation of that law by which he pretended to be guided, for some departure from that character by which he laboured to be distinguished—that they might accuse him before the world, that they might disgrace him in the eye of the church, that they might overwhelm him in infamy and ruin. Now, in this situation of peril, he applied to God. He was sensible that of himself he was not proof against their enmity; that if left to his own wisdom, and strength, and resolution, their assaults would be successful and their object accomplished; that nothing could preserve him but the interposition of divine aid. And, therefore, he trusted in it, and he prayed for it. He prayed that the Almighty would prevent him from committing any sin which would have given his foes an advantage over him, or an occasion against him; that he might be enabled at all times, and in all circumstances, to present to them the commanding aspect of a blameless and holy life; that the way of duty might be made so plain to him, that he could not miss it; that its ruggedness and its difficulties might be so smoothed down, that he could walk in it easily and surely; that those who looked on him with the most suspicious and malignant eye, might be unable to detect any fault in his conduct; that their captiousness might be ungratified, their clamours put to silence, and their expectations disappointed.

Now, my friends, we are in one sense, situated like the Psalmist, and we must act like him. We have all of us enemies to encounter, whose aim is deadly, whose vigilance is ceaseless, whose attacks are unremitting, whose numbers, and power, and devices are formidable. And what have we wherewith to resist them? Nothing that is adequate to the arduous task. Unskilful, ignorant, and weak; apt to slumber at our post; easily tempted, or easily frightened into dangerous concessions; unwilling to undergo the toils, or to submit to the sacrifices which our warfare demands,—we have scarcely begun the contest, when we lose the victory, and fall a prey to those who have nothing else at heart than our everlasting destruction. But though such is our condition, is it quite helpless and irremediable? No, brethren; the God whom we serve is for us, and he is mightier by far than all that can be against us. He has promised guidance, and protection, and assistance; he has promised to give courage to our hearts, and wisdom to our counsels, and vigour to our arm; he has promised to be himself our leader and commander, to support us through the perils of the combat, and to conduct us to conquest and to triumph. What then should we do, but confide in these promises, and pray for their fulfilment? Let it be our fixed purpose to oppose a firm and unyielding front to our adversaries. Let us be resolved, that in spite of all their efforts, we will "hold fast our righteousness, and never let it go;" that nothing they can say or do shall prevail upon us to surrender one iota of our principles or our purity; that we will wage interminable war with them, rather than suffer them in a single point to acquire the mastery over us. And let all the means which we possess of repelling their assaults, of counteracting their stratagems, and of defeating their attempts, be employed with every degree of care and energy. But still, with all this, let us never forget that there is no hope for us, if we rely on our own independent resources; that we must be "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might;" and that his all-sufficient help must be obtained by prayer and supplication. Let us, therefore, beseech him "to lead us in his righteousness, because of our enemies, and to make his way straight before our face." Let us not only ask him to be thus mindful of us, and thus assisting to us, in the extreme or more trying exigencies of our lot; but let us habitually apply to him for the wisdom that is necessary to direct, and the strength that is necessary to resist, and let us be specially careful to implore grace to prevent us from doing any thing, which, though apparently or comparatively insignificant, may yet pave the way for a succession of evil works, which would gradually undermine the foundations of our Christian character, and finally involve us in the moral desolation which our enemies are seeking to accomplish. And let us thus labour, and thus pray, not merely because it is requisite for working out our own personal salvation, by keeping us stedfast in the path of God's righteousness, but also because it contributes to the honour, and the influence, and the prosperity of that great cause which we have espoused, as believers in the Gospel, by depriving our foes of that handle with which our misconduct would furnish them for "blaspheming the holy name by which we are called," and by exhibiting to them the virtuous and irreproachable deportment which is formed, and nurtured, and matured by the religion of Jesus Christ.

The Psalmist next gives an account of his enemies, and petitions for their destruction. "For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness: their throat is an open sepulchre, they flatter with their tongue. Destroy thou them, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions, for they have rebelled against thee." They had no regard to truth, and scrupled not to invent and propagate deliberate falsehoods, if they could thereby injure the interest, the reputation, or the comfort of the King of Israel. And this they did under the influence and by the impulse of inherent depravity, of an inborn enmity against God and the people of God, which neither kindness nor virtue could subdue, and which startled at no lie and at no malignity, by which its feelings might be gratified and its purposes gained. Nay, they carried this odious and reckless passion so far, that they thirsted for David's blood; they were ready to devour him; and insatiable as the grave, which never says "it is enough," they longed to swallow up not him only, but all who were embarked in the same holy cause, and distinguished by the same devotedness to the King of Heaven. And so far did they carry their diabolical practices, that they put on the mask of friendship, and spoke in the accents of applause, that thereby they might more easily lull the suspicions, and effectuate the ruin of all who were the objects of their hatred.

Such were the Psalmist's enemies; and he prayed for their destruction. He prayed that they might be subjected to the punishment which they had so justly merited; he prayed that the counsels which they took, and the measures which they devised against others, might be so overruled as to turn to their own overthrow; he prayed that in the midst, and on account of, their multiplied offences, they might be cast out from the land of the living, and the place of hope. These were dreadful imprecations, and could only be justified on peculiar grounds, in explanation of which, we would offer these two short remarks. In the *first* place, David did not pray for the destruction of his enemies, from any feelings of personal resentment. They had, indeed, given him every provocation that insult and persecution could furnish. But he did not yield to it; he took higher and more important views. His own wrongs were forgotten amidst the affronts that were offered to the majesty of heaven. It was upon this ground that he pleaded for the divine vengeance to fall upon his enemies. In aiming a blow at him, they were opposing the appointments of Jehovah, and they were doing so by means which implied a violation of the most important and sacred enactments of the moral law; and hence, he urges his suit against them with this argument, "for they have rebelled against thee." And in the *second* place, when interpreting this and similar passages, we must never forget that David sustained a particular character, and was the champion of a particular dispensation. He was the anointed King of Israel; he was inspired, and invested with the prophetical office; and he was ordained to act a most important part in carrying forward the arrangements of God, not merely for the immediate safety and prosperity of the Jewish state, but also and chiefly for the coming of the Messiah, and the ultimate salvation of the world. When praying, therefore, for the destruction of his enemies, he was not an unguided, unauthorised individual, praying for ruin to the common enemies of his person, or of his country. But he was an individual, specially gifted and called of God, and "moved in what he spoke by the Holy Ghost," praying for the destruction of those who "set themselves" obstinately and malevolently "against the Lord and his anointed," who were levelling the shafts of their malice against the cause both of God and man, and doing what they could to frustrate the counsels of heaven concerning the advent of the Saviour, and the redemption of the human race.

But while these extraordinary circumstances fully justified the Psalmist in imprecating destruction upon his enemies, there is nothing in our situation by which we can be justified in following his example. Evil men may calumniate us, and do us all manner of injury; and in afflicting *us* they may —they must, be offending God; but we have no more warrant to pray for divine wrath to consume them, than we have warrant to cherish personal revenge against them. We are under the law of Christain charity; and that law forbids undue resentment; it requires us to "love our enemies, and to pray for them." We must be regulated by the example of Jesus; and from the cross of his agony, he lifted up the voice of intreaty in behalf of his murderers, and said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." We must be "followers of God as dear children;" and we know that he "has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but is willing that all men should come to repentance," and therefore it becomes us to pray that even those who, in the wantonness or the wickedness of their hearts, have done us most evil, may be "converted from the error of their ways," and made partakers of that grace in which we ourselves rejoice, and which teaches us to remember the very worst of them in our supplications at the throne of mercy.

When we come, however, to consider our spiritual enemies, the case is altered, and in so far as we exclude from our regard whatever is at once an object of pity and capable of change, it is not only allowable but dutiful in us to pray for their destruction. With that limitation, it is impossible for us to be on any terms with them, and not endanger our well-being. And as we should use every method in our power, for breaking down their dominion and annihilating their very existence, seeing that their hostility is equally directed against us, and against God, and against all that is good and holy, we must not omit the instrument of prayer, which, when employed in sincerity, and in faith, and with perseverance, is not less availing than it is necessary. It is right for us to pray that the kingdom of Satan may be overturned, that he may be seen "as lightning falling from heaven," that he may be banished from the hearts and the habitations of all men, and driven away, baffled and defeated, "into his own place." It is right for us to pray that the spirit which "worketh in us as the children of disobedience," may be crushed and subdued—that "the old man with his corrupt deeds and deceitful lusts" may fall down and die—that every vestige of that authority which sin has established in our fallen nature, may perish and become as if it had never been. It is right for us to pray, that the world may be divested of its charms to seduce, and of its terrors to frighten us from the paths of virtue; that it may fall prostrate and without strength at the feet of a triumphant faith; that it may be hurled from its proud pre-eminence among men; and that on its ruins may be erected the bright and purifying hope of that "new heaven and that new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness." And if among our fellow men, there are those who by their counsel, their example, or their ridicule, are trying to wound our conscience, to shake our confidence, and ruin our souls, and thus proving themselves to be the worst enemies with whom we have to struggle,—it is right also to pray with respect to them, that the character in which they appear as foes to the followers of Jesus Christ may be utterly extinguished; that the very devices which they have contrived and are executing against us, may be made the instruments of their discomfiture; that, whether by mercy or by judgment, the Lord may be pleased to break their stubborn wills, and bring them into subjection to himself and into captivity to Christ; and that the enmity of their minds being thus conquered, and all the strong holds of unbelief taken from them, and their souls spoiled of every carnal affection and every hostile feeling, they may be so effectually converted as to become "lovers of God," the friends of his people, and the supporters of his cause throughout the world. It is right for us to pray in this manner and to this extent for the destruction of our spiritual enemies: and if we thus "pray with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit," He to whom our petitions are addressed will answer us in mercy, taking to him his great power, and thereby accomplishing our deliverance, securing us eqally against the wiles and the violence of our foes, and giving us that victory over them all, which shall terminate in "glory, honour, and immortality."

Having described the enemies of God and prayed against them, the Psalmist next describes the people of God, and prays for them. "But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice; let them ever shout for joy; because thou defendest them; let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee. For thou, Lord, wilt bless the righteous, with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield."

God's people are described as *putting their trust in him.* Their confidence is withdrawn from the creature, and reposed in the Creator. They contemplate his perfections; and in them, they behold every thing which can render God worthy of their affiance as a guide, a protector, and a friend. They read his promises; and these, while they come from him who is faithful and almighty, apply so kindly and minutely to all their circumstances, as to invite and secure their unsuspecting reliance upon him for all that they need. And the experience they have had of his gracious and providential treatment of them during what is past, teaches them to look up to him, with an unwavering conviction; that he will not forsake them during all that yet remains of their earthly pilgrimage. They "trust in him at all times;" they trust in him with their whole heart: they trust in him for present safety: they trust in him for support at death; they trust in him for the happiness of eternity.

God's people are also described as *loving his name.* He is the object of their devout and grateful attachment. Their understandings have been enlightened to see, and their hearts have been purified to relish, the transcendent excellence which resides in his character. And the forbearance, the mercy, and the kindness which he has shown them, and which run through all their temporal, and all their spiritual lot, have drawn their hearts to him in delighted admiration and everlasting gratitude. So that they think of him with complacency. They take pleasure in every thing by which he condescends to make himself known. They are gladdened by every token of his bounty which they themselves receive, and by every demonstration of grace and power which he gives in the world around them. And they long for the period, when from that clearer view of his character, and from that more enlarged experience of his mercy, and from that more sainted capacity of appreciating "the beauties of holiness," which they shall attain in heaven, they shall be enabled to love him with boundless, uninterrupted, and never-ending affection.

God's people are also described as *righteous.* To confidence in his attributes and administration, and sentiments of devoted attachment to him as their heavenly Father, their almighty friend, their eternal portion, they add the substantial and practical attainment of conformity to his will. They do not rest satisfied with honouring him by the mere feelings of dependence and affection: they honour him also by the obedience which he requires, and which it is at once their privilege and their duty to render to his holy law. They are righteous in their principles; they are righteous in their tempers: they are righteous in their conduct. Righteousness is their grand distinction. It adorns them wherever they are, and points them out as children of the Most High, and as heirs of immortality; and following after it with unremitting zeal, and willingly subjecting themselves to "the sanctification of the Spirit," their "path is like the shining light which shineth more and more until the perfect day."

Such are God's people according to the description given of them by the Psalmist. And, judging of yourselves by this test, are you, my friends, among the number of God's people? If you are not, I need not tell you how much you are lost to all that is greatest and happiest and best. There is but one other alternative; and if you have chosen it; if you are indeed the enemies of God; if, instead of "trusting in *him*," you are trusting in "refuges of lies;" if, instead of "loving his name," you are hating, and blaspheming, and turning away from it; if, instead of being "righteous," you are living in sin, eager in its pursuits, and contented with its pleasures; then, what can you expect, or what can we hold out to you, but the destruction for which David prayed, and which the Almighty has threatened, and with which he will assuredly visit all those who will not "repent and be converted" that they may be saved? O, be persuaded to forsake your evil ways, and to return to the Lord. Abandon the ranks of his foes. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate." And join yourselves to them who love God and keep his commandments. He will "receive you graciously." He will pardon you freely for the sake of his dear Son. He will treat you with every mark of affection that may be hoped for from a tender parent—from a reconciled God. He will put it into the hearts of his saints to pray for you, as David prayed for the righteous. He will teach them the supplications they are to prefer in your behalf. And among all the various blessings that, under his guidance, will be the subject of their petitions, this will be none of the least fervent nor least effectual, that you may be "comforted concerning all that has befallen you;" that you may be enabled to rejoice in God, to whose friendship you have been restored, and "under the shadow of whose wings" you have taken refuge from the guilt and the calamities of an unholy life; that you may even "shout for joy"—the joy of perfect security from all that once harassed your mind and robbed it of its peace—the joy of complete triumph over the foes under whose cruel power you were fast "filling up the measure of your iniquities," and fast sinking into the "perdition of ungodly men,"—the joy of unwavering faith in the merit and intercession of him who redeemed you, and opened up the way of return to your offended Maker—the joy of assured hope that the time is not far distant when you shall be rescued from every remaining evil, be admitted into the celestial presence of your redeeming God, and there rejoice for ever with a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory." And most unquestionably this prayer will be heard and answered. God is already pledged by his character and by his promises to grant what is thus implored. "For he will bless the righteous; and with favour will he compass him as with a shield." You need his blessing, and you shall have it; and you shall find that it is "a blessing which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow." You need his favour, and you shall have it; and you shall find that his "favour is life, and his loving kindness better than life." You need his defence, and you shall have it; and you shall find that they whom the Lord defends have a shield which compasses them about on every side, and keeps them in perfect safety. And, amidst all your difficulties and all your dangers, this will be your song, till you reach the temple out of which you shall no more go out, and the kingdom that shall never be moved; "The Lord is my light, and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? When the wicked, even mine enemies and my foes come upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear: though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life to behold the beauty of the Lord, and inquire in his temple. For in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion: in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me: he shall set me up upon a rock. And now shall mine head be lifted up above mine enemies round about me: therefore will I offer in his tabernacle sacrifices of joy. I will sing—yea, I will sing praises unto the Lord."

LECTURE III.

"*Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour. In whose eyes a vile person is condemned; but he honoureth them that fear the Lord: he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not. He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.*"—PSALM XV.

PART I.

Nothing can be more important than the inquiry with which this Psalm commences. It refers not to a subject of idle or useless curiosity; nor to a subject involving some merely temporary interest; nor to a subject about which we may be indifferent, and at the same time neither compromise our wisdom, nor endanger our safety. It refers to a subject which comprehends at once our prospects of eternal felicity, and the practical concern that we must necessarily feel, and the practical efforts that we must necessarily make, in order that these prospects may be certainly realized. And, therefore, it is infinitely more deserving of our regard than the most momentous of all the various inquiries that were ever engaged in by men of science, or by men of the world, whose views were confined to the circumstances and the comforts of a present state.

And yet how little of the patient attention of most men, and how little of their serious meditation, does it occupy! To every thing else, whether grave or trifling, they are more than sufficiently alive. They are eager in asking, and they spare no trouble in ascertaining, by what means their "knowledge, which puffeth up," may be enlarged, or their worldly advantages secured, or their personal gratifications promoted, or their animal life prolonged, or their passing amusements varied, and multiplied, and heightened. Listen to their conversation, and you will hear how much they are in earnest about these objects of pursuit. Look to their conduct and you will see what sacrifices they are ready to make, in order to attain what they thus so vehemently desire. Examine their whole system of life, and you will find them giving their days and their nights, their warmest affections and their most vigorous efforts, to the engagements and the pleasures of a present world; seeking after these with insatiable curiosity, and unwearied activity; and as intent upon them as if they comprised all that is alluring to human ambition, and all that is requisite to human happiness. As they do not deny that they have immortal souls, and that there is a coming retribution from which they cannot escape, one might expect that the thought of this would exact from them some consideration, even in their busiest hours, and that now and then they would devote to it their solemn and exclusive regard. But no: they speak and act as if they had no real or thorough belief that there is a hereafter, or as if they judged themselves to have no individual concern in it. "What shall we eat? What shall we drink? Wherewithal shall we be clothed?" How shall we get honour? How shall we acquire wealth? How shall our time pass most pleasantly away? How must we be qualified for this scene of business? And how shall we be arrayed for that scene of gaiety?—These are the questions, and the only questions which they are at pains either to put or to answer; and their spiritual and everlasting condition is as much unheeded, as if they had no eternity before them, and had no account to render.

The folly of all this is so obvious, that we could scarcely believe it possible, were not the fact presented every day and every hour to our observation. O if there be any now hearing me to whom the description applies, let me beseech you, were it but for one moment, to reflect on the infatuation which besets you. Suppose that within that range to which you limit your concern, you possessed and enjoyed every thing that your hearts desired; that you had no want unsupplied, and no wish unfulfilled; that every species of evil were a stranger to your lot, and every species of good familiar to your feelings and your experience; that, in short, the whole "world and the fulness thereof" were yours at will;—what in truth have you obtained? Why, it is not too strong language to say, that you have obtained nothing. You and the world, closely as you are now linked with it, and cordially as you are now attached to it, and little as you now think of leaving it,—you and the world must part. You must die, and go into another world—a world in which a righteous judgment shall pass upon you, and in which you shall have an endless, unchangeable existence either of happiness or woe. Are you prepared for that world? Have you provided for the dread alternative which there awaits you? And have you any good ground to hope that you shall "escape the wrath to come," and be admitted into heaven? The case supposes that you have no such prospect, and no such meetness; and on that supposition, what are all the honours, and all the treasures, and all the joys of "the life that now is?" We repeat it, and you cannot in your conscience gainsay it, that they are nothing,—lost and forgotten amidst the realities of that eternal state of being, in which they cannot secure for you one gleam of comfort, or one ray of hope. Nay, they are worse than nothing; for though they pleased, and even enraptured you during the short and fleeting hours of your mortal career, they were all the while concealing from you the glories of immortality, chaining down your ambition to the pursuits of sense and sin, and deluding you to your everlasting ruin. What infatuation, then, to be taking no heed to your future well-being, and lavishing all your care and all your anxiety on "the things that are seen and temporal!"

Take the converse of the supposition we have made, and observe how it brings you to the same conclusion. Suppose that you had the most moderate portion of worldly prosperity and indulgence that ever fell to the share of the unfortunate; suppose that all the possessions of which you are taking such a fast hold, and all the gratifications to which you are so much devoted, were to vanish from your grasp for ever; suppose that your cup of terrestrial bliss were dashed to the ground, and there were put into your hand, and pressed to your lips, a cup overflowing with the bitter waters of sorrow and adversity, which you were compelled to drink to its very dregs;—what of all this, if you were "rich towards God;" if you were travelling to the "kingdom that cannot be moved;" if you were heirs of the "inheritance which is incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away?" Your sorrows in the one case would as quickly pass away, as must your joys in the other case; and as the departure of your joys in the other case was but the prelude of ceaseless and unmingled misery, so the termination of your sorrows in this case would be succeeded by a felicity, perfect in its nature, boundless in its extent, and endless in its duration. Only lay up for yourselves an interest in the substantial and undecaying blessedness of the celestial paradise; and all that this transitory scene can visit you with, either of pleasure or of pain, will be "as the small dust of the balance, without weight and without regard." And the very privations and afflictions, by which, as worldlings, you would be bowed down to the dust, and amidst the severest of which you could have no support and no consolation, would not only be borne by you, as Christians, with patience and resignation, but would serve by elevating your hearts, and purifying your characters, to give you a larger capacity, and a diviner relish, for "the glory that is to be hereafter revealed." O how foolish, then, to be eager in every inquiry, and intent upon every employment that has a reference, however remote, to your connection with the things of time; and never once, or seriously, or fervently, to "lift up your souls" to him "who inhabiteth eternity," and say in the language of the Psalmist, "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?"

But there are some who often think of heaven, and often speak of heaven, and often direct their face towards heaven, and who notwithstanding do not attend to the meaning of the Psalmist's question, or do not properly apply it, or do not sufficiently act upon it. They seem to be quite convinced that there is such a place as heaven, and that every wise man will be desirous to reach it: and they seem not only to partake of that desire, but to be satisfied that, with respect to them, it will be ultimately and certainly realised. And all this, although they do not spend one serious thought on the qualifications which heaven requires of every one who would inhabit its holy and happy mansions. They have inquired about the reality of these mansions, and have no doubt of being at last admitted into them: but they never put the question, "Lord, *who* shall abide in thy tabernacle, *who* shall dwell in thy holy hill?"—Or they put this question, and they get it answered, and they entertain correct and scriptural notions concerning it, and are just as orthodox on the subject as you could desire them to be. But then their knowledge of it is altogether speculative, or if practically used, is made to refer to every human being but themselves. They look around them, and they decide with great readiness on the future fate of others—determining who shall finally be introduced into heaven, and who shall finally be excluded from it: and if they refrain from passing such specific sentences on their fellow creatures, they also refrain most carefully from considering how far they, for their own part, can look forward with hope and confidence, as those in whom there is a personal meetness for the kingdom of God, by their possessing those qualities to which the promise of that kingdom is annexed, and satisfy their minds with having an accurate acquaintance with the doctrine, and an unwavering belief in the doctrine, that they who go to heaven must be distinguished by that character which is delineated and prescribed in the sacred scriptures. Or if they do make this self-application of the great and important truth that admission into heaven is a privilege necessarily, authoritatively, and exclusively bestowed upon a particular class or description of men; if they are persuaded that it is indispensably requisite for them to belong to this class, if they would enjoy that privilege; and if, under the influence of this persuasion, they set themselves to the work of preparation, and seek to be adorned with that excellence which shall constitute their fitness for eternal life,—still they allow their proud reason, their corrupt passions their worldly interests, so to interfere with what divine authority requires them to do and to be, that there are some duties which they will not perform, some vices which they will not abandon, some sacrifices which they will not make, though hell be the penalty, and heaven the reward.

Now these are all wrong; and their errors must prove fatal. Nobody surely can get to heaven merely by believing that there is such a state, and desiring to be there, however firm the belief, and however intense the desire may be. There must be at least superadded to this, some knowledge of that character which those must possess who shall be admitted into it; some concern felt upon that subject; some endeavours made to acquire distinct apprehensions of it; and some measure of success in obtaining the requisite instruction. Nor is this by any means sufficient. To our belief in heaven and our ambition to enter it, we may add the most minute inquiries into the character which fits for the enjoyment of it, and the most correct acquaintance with all the qualities of which that character is composed,—still that can do us no good so long as we make use of it for no other purpose than that of judging of the future condition of other men, and think not of its just and individual application to ourselves. And though we should apply it to ourselves, and be satisfied not only that a particular and specified preparation is indispensable, but that *we* must have that preparation, still, if in making it, we leave out what the word of God declares to be essential to its completeness and its acceptance, and do nothing more than aim at those attainments which suit our own depraved or fanciful views, there is no ground on which we can consistently lay claim to heaven, or rationally expect to be its inhabitants at last. "Eternal life is altogether the gift of God;" he has intimated that it is the portion of none but those who are qualified for its exercises and its pleasures; he has fixed what these qualifications are, and has plainly revealed, and authoritatively prescribed them; and it is beyond all controversy that we must inquire about them, that we must become acquainted with them, that we must labour to be invested with them, that we must actually have them, in order that we may be among the number of those "who shall abide in the tabernacle of the Lord, and dwell in his holy hill,"—of those who shall be the real members of his church upon earth, and shall finally ascend to the place of sublime and everlasting recompense.

PART II.

Having said this much on the question here put by the Psalmist, let us now attend to the answer that he gives. "He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour. In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the Lord; he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not; he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent."

We are evidently not to regard this as a complete enumeration of the virtues which constitute a meetness for heaven. A complete enumeration can only be made by travelling through the whole sacred volume, and collecting all the principles that are laid down in its pages, and all the precepts that there are enjoined for the regulation of human conduct. It is not from detached passages of revelation that we learn particularly and fully what the Christian character is, but from its various truths, and maxims, and commandments gathered together, and combined into one practical system. "*All* scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." That we may be "perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto all good works," we must study the whole of the inspired record, and make ourselves minutely acquainted with its contents. But the Divine Spirit has seen proper, in describing those who shall "enter into life," to mention sometimes one part of their character, and sometimes another, to the apparent exclusion of the rest. Thus, in the twenty-fourth psalm, when it is asked, "who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place?" this answer is subjoined, "He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully:"—in which words the acquirements of a successful candidate for heaven, are limited to freedom from gross outward sins, and from sensual desires—from undue attachment to "the things of the world," and from false and fraudulent oaths. In our Saviour's account of the general judgment, the sentence of approbation which he will pronounce upon the righteous, who are to go "away into life eternal," recognizes no other Christian grace in them as authorising this glorious destination, than the exercise of charity,—of charity too, in its most ordinary form,—as directed not to the welfare of the soul, but to the comfort of the body, and to that comfort as promoted and cared for by the cheapest, and most common-place offices of humanity. "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Christ also, in his sermon on the Mount, ascribes salvation to the possession of one particular excellence, without even glancing at its connection with any other, and without speaking of it as forming a portion only of a great and comprehensive whole. Thus he says, "Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God: Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted: Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." The same great reward is annexed to the principle of faith, without any express notice of those acts of moral obedience which are yet affirmed to be necessary for proving our faith to be a faith of saving operation; "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved;"—And to the sentiment of love to God, without any detail of those deeds of piety and goodness by which it is at once evinced and perfected—thus the things are unimagined, which God "hath prepared for them that love him;"—And even to the verbal confession of Christ in the world, without any allusion to that practical submission to his will, and humble imitation of his example, by which all his disciples must necessarily be distinguished; as, "with the mouth confession is made unto salvation;" and "whoso confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven." And in the passage before us, though in it a greater number of virtues are particularised than in most other passages of scripture, where holy character is stated in connection with its heavenly reward, yet it is obvious that many are altogether omitted, and that of those which are specified, there are some less valuable in comparison than others which might have been introduced into the catalogue. This, however, is quite according to the analogy of scripture; and we shall endeavour to show, in a few particulars, that it is rational, consistent, and useful.

1. In the *first* place, as we have already hinted, it is not intended that one part of the scripture should be understood and acted upon independently of the rest. Its great object is to tell us how we are to prepare for heaven; and surely it is both wise and requisite, that we learn this lesson in its full meaning and extent; that we direct our attention to all the dispositions we must cherish, and to all the habits we must cultivate, in order to be ripe for glory; that we neglect nothing, however inconsiderable, which the wisdom or the holiness of God has demanded of us for that purpose. Even though all the virtues required of us were brought into one list, and presented to us at one view, with a single solitary exception, and that this single virtue were to be found in the least interesting, and most neglected corner of the Bible, to that corner we must go for it, and bring it into its natural and appointed fellowship with the rest, and give it as firm a hold of our heart, and as fixed a place in our deportment as any of them. And why? For this simple reason, that it stands within the precincts of revelation; that it is recommended, sanctioned,

and enforced by an authority, which it is not competent for us either to question or disobey; that it constitutes one of the features of that character, which every obligation of gratitude, and every prospect of futurity teach us to maintain; and that if we continue destitute of it, especially when warned of its necessity, we are worse than unprepared for the regions of immortality.

It is in vain to say, that as you find the promise of eternal felicity appended to the exercise of a single virtue, your exercise of that one is perfectly sufficient, and all others are but works of supererogation. We shall immediately show you, that when you speak thus, you mistake the import of Christian virtue. But, in the mean time, we may observe, that so long as you admit the Bible to be the directory of your faith, and hope, and conduct, it is quite impossible for you to limit your regard to any single virtue whatever, or to any circumscribed number of virtues that you may choose to bring together. The authority which enjoins, the love which constrains, the hope which animates to the practice of one, enjoins, and constrains, and animates to the practice of them all. The moment that you make a selection in this respect,—however few, and however unimportant those may be which you exclude,—that moment you cease to pursue heaven in the way that God has instituted; and surely you cannot be so bold as to presume that you shall be able to attain it in some other way. It is very true, the scriptures say, as you have heard, that charity shall prepare you for heaven; but does not the scripture say also, that justice, temperance, humility, and patience are as much connected with that destination as charity is? If you dwell on those passages which speak with commendation of visible and active performances of duty, I would remind you of the passage which affirms, that "the pure in heart are blessed, for they shall see God." You may quote to me the declarations which bear, that they who "keep the commandments," and "abound in good works," shall "enter into life;" but I must also quote the declarations which affirm, that "without faith it is impossible to please God," —that "by grace are ye saved through faith,"—and that "whosoever believeth in Christ, shall not perish, but have everlasting life." And to those who take the opposite view, and refer to the statements in scripture, which trace our title to the unfading inheritance to a simple belief in the Saviour, I must proclaim the language, and the doctrine of this Psalm, which most distinctly represent that inheritance as reserved for those who "walk uprightly, and work righteousness, and speak the truth in their heart; who backbite not with their tongue, nor do evil to their neighbour, nor take up a reproach against their neighbour; in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but who honour them that fear the Lord; who swear to their own hurt, and change not; who put not out their money to usury, nor take reward against the innocent." Thus, though the happiness of heaven is connected with the possession of a particular grace, yet being connected with the possession of every other particular grace, they must all be considered as equally essential, and none of them can possibly be excluded from the character of meetness, or the work of preparation, for that happiness, without opposing the authority of God, and breaking in upon the harmony of the Christian scheme.

2. But in the *second* place, independently of the explanation now given, the propriety of annexing the promise of heaven, to a certain portion of the Christian character, may be illustrated by considering what that portion of it truly and necessarily implies. It is nominally, but not really insulated. It stands by itself in the enunciation; but it does not stand by itself, when traced to its origin, and to its genuine effects. It has a natural or an instituted relation to every other religious and moral excellence in the Christian life; and whatever portion it be, if it belongs to pure, personal, practical Christianity, the individual to whom it adheres, possesses every other portion which can be required to constitute the sum total of Christian deportment.

Take the principle of faith for example. If your faith be genuine, it is the consequence of "the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." But the change which that produces, affects the whole man, and leaves no part of him under the reigning power of sin, but brings along with it a universal conformity to the law of God. So that possessing genuine faith, you of course possess every other good principle by which the heart ought to be pervaded. And then looking to the effects of this faith, it "purifies the heart," and as necessarily gives birth, and nourishment, and permanency to practical holiness in him whom it actuates, as "a good tree bringeth forth good fruit." So that when heaven is promised to you who *believe*, it is promised to you as having been "born again," and as being "holy in all manner of conversation," as well as relying on the atonement and righteousness of Christ, the former constituting your *meetness* for heaven, as the latter realises your *title* to it.

Again take the example of love to God. This affection is "shed abroad in your hearts by the power of the Holy Ghost given unto you." But surely it cannot be that the Holy Ghost should kindle up this affection in your souls, and not kindle up every other affection which might render them a temple fit for his inhabitation. And then, loving God, it follows by necessary consequence, that you "keep his commandments," that you submit to his will, that you seek to promote his glory. So that the hope of seeing him, and enjoying his presence in heaven, though warranted and cherished by conscious love to him, is connected with that love as implanted by the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the spirit, and as constraining you in whom it dwells, to lead a life of universal and cheerful devotedness to the work of moral obedience, and of unfeigned piety.

Take now an example or two from outward conduct. It is common to speak with confidence of a man's future fate, if he was a man of strict and sterling honesty. And we have no objections to join in expressing that confidence, provided you give to honesty its real and scriptural import. A man of strict and sterling honesty does not merely signify a man who does not steal, and does not break his bargains, and does not violate his promises. He does not receive, and he does not deserve the title, if he refrains from these things for no other reason than that he is afraid of detection and punishment, of losing his worldly reputation, and of injuring his secular interest. Were this all that could be affirmed of him, you might call him, in common phraseology, an honest man, but all your charitable indulgence, and all your recklessness of speech would not allow you to say, that such honesty will carry him to heaven. And why? Because such honesty is mean and selfish in the considerations which give rise to it, and is quite consistent with a character, in all other respects, base and unworthy. What we desiderate in this case is, that the honesty be practised from right principles and motives. Then we may safely connect it with eternal life, because then it forms a part of the spiritual life, and there can be no doubt of its being associated in the individual, with all the other duties of Christianity; for if a man be honest, because he fears God, and loves the Saviour, he must, from the operation of these powerful and permanent springs of holy living, be distinguished also by personal purity, and relative fidelity, and social benevolence, and divine piety. Hence it is, that in scripture, justice stands for the whole of practical religion and moral obligation. The true Christian is denominated the *just* man. The *just* are said to "live by faith;" and when we go to heaven, we go to "the spirits of the *just* made perfect."

Take another example from the passage before us. There are various excellent qualities here enumerated, of which we shall afterwards give an exposition. But let us select the least significant of them; that which says, that he who is to dwell in God's holy hill, "doeth no evil to his neighbour." This is a very negative virtue, and one to which you would not readily attach the greatest value; and yet that he who doeth no evil to his neighbour, shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, is a scriptural proposition, and indubitably true. And why? Because, doing no ill to our neighbour is not a mere passive goodness, proceeding from constitutional indolence, or natural softness, or fear of giving offence, or want of opportunities and temptations to mischief. But it is a branch of Christian love, for "love worketh no evil to his neighbour;" and love, with which this is inseparably united, and from which it directly flows, is a "fruit of the Spirit," whose "fruit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth;" and it stands united with love to God, for "he that loveth God, loveth his brother also;" and loving God, he will not only love his brother, but he will study to do all those things which please God; and so extensive are the connections and dependencies of this sentiment, and such an all governing influence does it exercise, that it is declared to be "the bond of perfectness, and the fulfilling of the law."

We shall just give one instance more. Our Lord has told us, that if we "confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven." Now nobody can suppose that any sort of confession will answer the purpose; that we may confess what we do not feel; and that a mere verbal and public testimony to Christ will come up to the meaning of his requisition, and secure his open testimony to us at the last day. This would be promising reward to that very hypocrisy against which he uttered so many dreadful denunciations. No: the confession to which such a glorious and encouraging promise is annexed, necessarily implies sincerity in him who makes it, and is to be recompensed for it. It implies that Christ, whom he confesses, is the object of his faith, and of his gratitude, and of his reverence, and that he confesses Christ, just because these regards for him are animating his heart, and influencing his deportment. And then it is evident, that a true confession of Christ carries along with it, and cannot be separated from, the various other excellencies which make up the aggregate of Christian character, and from the qualification for eternal life; for not to speak of the renewing of the mind in which the whole originates, and which brings the individual who has experienced it under total and willing subjection to the Saviour, we may easily see that since confession of Christ, is produced by faith in Christ, this faith will not merely produce that declaratory effect, but, being genuine, will produce all the other sanctifying effects on the mind, and temper, and deportment of the believer, which are its native operation, and which constitute a life of faith upon earth, and a meetness for glory in heaven.

3. We observe in the *third* place, that this method of stating the doctrine is attended with some important advantages. The scripture is intended for habitual perusal. If we would derive from it all the practical benefit which it is designed or calculated to impart, we must read it through, and we must read it again and again. It must be our regular and unceasing study. Now had it contained only one detailed enumeration of the Christian virtues, and had it been only with that one that the prospect of future happiness was connected, and had there been nothing in the rest of scripture, but general statements of the Christian character, or general allusions to it, accompanied with reference to the final recompense, we might indeed have become acquainted, both with the recompense and the character, and with the essential bearing of the one upon the other, but the impression could neither have been so lively, nor so forcible as it is by the mode of teaching and inculcating this branch of the Gospel system, which the Spirit of God has actually adopted. According to this mode, the specific virtues of which the Christian character is composed, are continually recurring to our observation. They are presented to us in every variety of form and aspect which can be given to them by precept, and by fact, and by parable; and in this way, not only do we get a more perfect illustration of their meaning and their application, but they are more closely interwoven with all our other knowledge and sentiments respecting sacred subjects, and acquire a firmer hold both of our memories and our affections. And then, by being individually associated with anticipations of future and eternal reward, they assume a character of infinitely greater moment than they could otherwise do. Taken in a state of separation from their appropriate recompense hereafter, or taken collectively in a state of union with that recompense, our feeling of their importance and their obligation, would be comparatively vague, and indistinct, and feeble. But coming in reiterated statements before us; pressed upon our attention one by one, as well as again and again; and each of them having the weighty sanction and recommendation of a blessed immortality attached to it—they enforce upon our minds the impression of their unspeakable consequence to every candidate for heaven, and constrain us to an assiduous and faithful cultivation of every single virtue which can adorn our character, or prepare us for mingling with the inhabitants of heaven. They secure infinitely better than any other arrangement could do, our being "holy in all manner of conversation;" our being "fruitful in every good word and work;" our "standing perfect and complete in all the will of God."

Having made these observations on the propriety and usefulness of that mode of connecting the promise of eternal life with single virtues, and with partial delineations of character, which is adopted by the sacred writers—we would shortly apply them for your "correction and instruction." We apply them to you who "are far off;" and we beseech you to consider the Christian character, not in that loose, and distant, and indefinite way in which you have been accustomed to regard it, but in that spiritual sense, and connected view, in which it is represented to you in scripture. Do not content yourselves with the semblance of any particular virtue on which you may have chosen to fix your peculiar attachment; but attend to its true intrinsic meaning, look to its necessary union with all the other duties of religion and morality, and examine yourselves by this broad, and legitimate, and searching standard, that you may see how far short you are of what God requires of those that shall be saved, and that you may be led to the blood of atonement for pardon and acceptance, and to the Holy Spirit for the transformation of your moral nature, and to the word of God for that system of faith and conduct to which every expectant of immortality must conform, if he would not be disappointed on the great day of the Lord. And we apply them to such of you as have been "brought nigh by the blood of the cross," exhorting and beseeching you, in your life of faith, and godliness, and good works, to guard against all partial contemplations of Christian character. Let your studies be directed to all that is revealed for your guidance and your government as followers of Christ. Meditate deeply and habitually on the spiritual import, and relative bearings, of every precept that is given you, and of every grace that you are required to cultivate. Beware of letting any one virtue stand as a substitute or compensation for another. Look well to the state of your hearts; to your principles and motives; to the uniformity and unreservedness of your obedience. And while you have continual recourse to the atonement of Christ for the "remission of your sins," have continual recourse also by prayer to that Spirit, who will make you meet for "abiding in the tabernacle, and dwelling in the holy hill of God."

PART III.

Let us now turn our attention for a little to the character, as here portrayed, of those "who shall abide in the tabernacle, and dwell in the holy hill of God." You will observe, that it does not consist in mere profession of religion, however orthodox and however flaming that profession of religion may be. It is moral practice that is insisted on;—not that profession is either improper or useless; it is dutiful and indispensable; but it is of so little value, comparatively speaking, that it is not once mentioned or hinted at, while all the stress is laid on the maintenance of holy conduct. You will also observe, that the mere outward acts of virtue are not rested in, as if they were sufficient: its internal principles and operations are also brought forward as no less important and necessary. You will observe still farther, that the account is not confined to that mere negative worth or harmlessness on which so many plume themselves, as entitling them to the reputation and the hope of Christians. That indeed is a requisite attainment, and considering the many temptations to active and mischievous sinfulness with which we are beset, is an attainment of no inconsiderable difficulty, and no inconsiderable value. But still it is not so valuable as to supersede the pursuit of positive excellence, the discharge of substantial duty; and in the passage before us, we are taught that while we "do the one," we must "not leave the other undone." And you will observe, finally, that the catalogue of graces here given is not limited to those that are of a more showy and striking kind. With these we are extremely apt to be satisfied, or at least to be so much enamoured as to neglect the humbler and less significant virtues. But it is plain from this, as well as many other passages of scripture, that there is no moral quality so humble or so common-place as not to merit and demand our practical regard; and that while we should make the highest efforts of integrity and generosity which fall within the compass of our power; there is no species of good conduct so obscure, and so little noticed, as to be unworthy of our cordial attachment, and our diligent endeavours.

1. The man who shall abide in God's tabernacle, and dwell in his holy hill, is said to "walk uprightly." He is not a man of mere outward or literal obedience; he obeys with the heart. Whatever he does in conformity to the enactments of the law, he does "out of a good conscience." He acts from principle; from respect for God's authority; from faith in the Redeemer, and love to him; from all those pure motives with which religion furnishes its votaries, for giving real excellence and undeviating uniformity to their conduct. He may often and greatly come short of the holiness to which he aspires; but still he aims at it really, cordially, and steadily. Sincerity prevades the whole of his deportment. And whether he is seen by men or not, he lives as "an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile;" he "walks before God with a perfect heart;" amidst his manifold failings and transgressions, studies at least to maintain purity in all his intentions, and integrity in all his ways.

2. Again he cultivates righteousness and truth. He is

just and honest in all his dealings with his fellow creatures; he respects all their rights and privileges; gives to every one of them his due; withholds nothing that they can equitably claim from him; and would feel unhappy if he had been instrumental in inflicting upon them the most inconsiderable wrong. The most tempting opportunities of fraud may occur; interest may prompt him to commit it; superior skill and ingenuity may insure success in the gainful attempt; detection may be difficult, and punishment impossible. But he finds his way through all these snares and allurements, and walks firmly and perseveringly on the plain onward path of justice; and shows that he would scorn dishonesty, though bribed to practice it by the wealth of a world. And the same regard to righteousness that he manifests in his actions, he also manifests in his words. He "speaketh the truth in his heart;" he thinks what he says; he believes what he affirms; he intends what he promises. He not only shrinks back with horror from the crime of perjury, but disdains to have recourse to falsehood and equivocation, even when not restrained by the awfulness of an oath. A lie may be the means of saving him from many a pang; or of concealing the certain cause of much worldly shame; or of procuring for him many desirable advantages. But he abhors the lie; and rather than be guilty of the meanness and the sin which it implies, he will endure any suffering, he will expose himself to every degree of obloquy, and will forego the richest earthly blessings, without one feeling of regret. The God whom he serves is "a just God," and the God of truth; and in preparing for the enjoyment of communion with him in heaven, he "worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart."

3. Another feature in the character of those who are to dwell in the holy hill of God is the tenderness with which they treat the reputation and well being of their neighbour. They may be powerfully tempted to do him injury in these respects. But these temptations they resist; and in the spirit of love they refrain from every thing that may unnecessarily subject him to loss or suffering. They "backbite him not with their tongue." They take no pleasure like malicious men, or like envious men, or like revengeful men, in imputing to him faults which he never committed, or in proclaiming and exaggerating the errors into which he has fallen, or in giving such representations of him as to mar his promotion in the world, to cool the affection of his friends, to embitter the resentment of his enemies, or to hurl him from the place which he occupied in the estimation of his brethren and of society. And as they will invent nothing, so they will do nothing to his prejudice; nothing wilfully or intentionally to work him mischief; nothing to thwart his laudable ambition; nothing to injure his person or his property; nothing to offend and harass his feelings; nothing to prevent or mislead him, or in any way to hurt his spiritual interests. All these things they are careful to avoid, so that neither with design nor through heedlessness they may do harm to the least or the lowest of their kind. And they will not even help to propagate the slander which others have created. They might, according to the spirit and custom of the world, take up and circulate the "reproach against their neighbour," without feeling any remorse, or being accounted calumniators, merely because they had not originated it. But the people of God act not, in this any more than in other respects, according to the spirit and custom of the world. They are actuated by the charity which has this among its other excellent properties, that it "thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, and hopeth all things." And under the influence of this divine principle, they will not retail what is calculated to blast the good name of another, and shelter themselves under the plea that they were only giving currency to the fame which was already "running to and fro." They will rather suppress or contradict the reproach which has met their ear, and thus prevent it from accomplishing the wicked errand on which it has been sent abroad. They will recollect that "charity abideth" after faith is turned into vision, and hope into enjoyment; that its exercises will be one principal source of their happiness in the holy hill of God; and that they will be but ill prepared for practising and relishing it in heaven, if they meet there with those to whom they had denied it upon earth. And, therefore, in the hope of dwelling in that region of love, and mingling with its affectionate inhabitants, they will in the course of their preparation for it, not only abound in good works, but be especially careful to do evil to no man, and not to "take up a reproach against their neighbour."

4. But farther, those who are to enter heaven are here distinguished by this—that "in their eyes a vile person is contemned, while they honour them that fear the Lord." Very different is the manner in which irreligious and worldly men bestow their regards. They look chiefly, if not solely, to external circumstances and adventitious distinctions, and are determined by these in the judgments which they form, and the sentiments which they cherish concerning their fellow-men. If, on the one hand, a man be humble in station; if he be poor in his outward estate; if he be meanly fed, and clothed, and lodged; if he be without learning and without influence,—he is the object of their contempt, whatever be the height of his religious and moral attainments. And, on the other hand, if a man be of high birth; if he be opulent; if he be invested with temporal grandeur; if he inhabit] a palace, and be "clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day;" or if he be remarkable for his science and his scholarship, and his literary fame—they show him every mark of deference and respect, even though he is infidel in his principles, profligate in his morals and living "without God in the world."

But it is the very reverse of this with such as have set their faces Zionward, and in their journey thither are enlightened and guided by the Spirit of truth. A man may have all the personal accomplishments, and all the exterior greatness that human wisdom can acquire, or that human ambition can point to, yet they esteem him not on these accounts. They know that these by themselves are of no value in the sight of God, and that they cannot accompany their possessor to the eternal state. They, therefore, look for the more substantial and acceptable and precious attainments of piety and holiness; and not finding these, but discovering in their place a moral vileness, alienation from the love of God, unbelief of the Saviour, attachment to sin, base affections, worldly dispositions, and licentious habits, they contemn the person to whom such unworthiness cleaves, and by whom it is cherished. They do not refuse him the civil honor and external respect to which his situation in society may entitle him; but they give him not the homage of the heart; and, surrounded as he is by all that is fitted to captivate and dazzle the worldly eye, they cannot lose sight of his corruption and wickedness; and thinking of that as determining his claim to their deference, they pity him, they look down upon him, they despise his character, they testify against his evil deeds, and will not allow their soul to "come into his secrets," or their honor to be "united to his assembly." But let a man be as destitute and abject in his outward circumstances as he may; let him be the victim at once of poverty, and disease, and neglect; let the world in their wisdom have settled it that he shall be passed by as undeserving of notice, and trampled on as one who has no right to complain; still they are not influenced by these seeming disadvantages to harbour any dislike to him, or to treat him with any contumely. They remember that Lazarus was a beggar, and "laid at the rich man's gate full of sores," and yet that when he died, he "was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom." They remember that the apostles were deemed "the off-scouring of all things," and were "despised," and "persecuted," and "defamed;" and yet that they were "full of the Holy Ghost" and of spiritual power, and came at length to "the spirits of the just made perfect, to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to God the judge of all." They remember that a greater than the Apostles was still more lightly esteemed than Lazarus, "despised and rejected of men, had not where to lay his head," and at last expired under the ignominy of a cross; and yet that all the while he was the Son of the most high God; that his very humiliation perfected his character; that amidst the indignities that were heaped upon him, he was triumphing over sin and hell; and that he now reigns on the throne of glory, the dipenser of salvation, and the joy of his redeemed people. And remembering these things they learn to penetrate through the guise of outward wretchedness, sad and revolting as it may be; and beholding in him whom it covers, one "who fears the Lord," whose heart is devoted to the Saviour, who is living in faith, and purity, and patience, and heavenly mindedness, and who from his hut of poverty, and his bed of straw, lifts up the voice of praise to the God of his salvation, and darts the eye of hope forward to the unsuffering kingdom that awaits him;—beholding in him thus a child of God and an heir of immortality, they honour him with the unfeigned tribute of their approbation and their love; they fix on him a kindly and delighted eye; they are not afraid to minister to him as "a fellow citizen with the saints;" and their souls glow with exalted affection towards him, as they anticipate the day when they shall see him arrayed in the robe, and wearing the crown of "life eternal." And by thus nourishing in their souls a hatred of sin and a love of holiness, whatever be the dress which hides the deformity of the one, and conceals the beauties of the other, they gradually and certainly fit themselves for "abiding in the tabernacle of the Lord, and dwelling in his holy hill."

5. Then comes the inviolable honour and unbending integrity of this character. "He sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." He prefers a good conscience to every thing else. Relief from personal injury, and the advancement of his earthly interests are not prized by him when they come into competition with a faithful and scrupulous adherence to his word. If he has taken an oath, or what should be the same thing with a man of real principle, given his solemn promise, in any transaction which he may find it convenient or profitable to have annulled and cancelled,—whatever be the inconveniences or losses to which its fulfilment may subject him, and even though by breaking it he should "gain the whole world," and escape any penalty from the hand of mortals, yet he "holds fast his righteousness and will not let it go." He keeps his oath, he adheres to his promise, in the full extent of its import and design. He suffers for it; but he is contented to suffer, since he has the approving and pleasing testimony of his own mind; and he is willing to endure any consequences that may result from his engagement, provided he keeps his "conscience void of offence towards God and men." He is looking forward to heaven as the dwelling-place of the saints; and he cannot look forward with comfort or satisfaction to the company of those to whom he was bound by the most sacred ties, but whose expectations he had frustrated, and whose interests he had impaired, at the instigation of his own selfishness, and at the expense of his own pledged veracity; and still more, he is looking forward to heaven as the place where he hopes to derive ineffable enjoyment from the immediate and glorious presence of God, and that is altogether inconsistent with an act which involves in it the violation of what he had invoked God to witness as the God of omniscience and of truth, and the breach of that commandment which says, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain."

6. Finally, "He putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent:" That is, he will not increase his wealth by any unjust or oppressive means. He will prosecute his worldly employments with becoming care and diligence. He will not despise the maxim which says, that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich." And he will receive with gratitude, and enjoy with moderation, whatever his heavenly father is pleased to grant as the fruit of his lawful enterprise, or the reward of his honest industry. But then he has Christian principle, Christian love, and Christian hope, to elevate him above the world, to preserve him amidst the debasing and selfish influence of its peculiar occupations, and to give him the victory over its most powerful allurements. He may lend his money for gain, as he may endeavour to profit by any other species of property; but he will not employ it as an engine of ungenerous and aggrandising power. He will not take advantage of the misfortunes and distresses of others to exact from them what they are unable to afford, and to aggravate their hardships, already sufficiently severe, in order to add to his own treasures, already more than adequate to all his need. Believing and feeling that the substance which providence has conferred upon him is committed to his stewardship for the good of others, he will not act so inconsistently with that scriptural doctrine as to make his substance an instrument of evil to them. He will never regard the liberality of his gifts to some, as any atonement or any compensation for his griping cruelty to others; but considering all that he has a sacred trust, for which he must finally render an account, he will refrain from every attempt to increase it by usurious dealings, and will rather, according to the proverbial phraseology of the Bible, be ready to "lend to those who would borrow of him, hoping for nothing again." And as he detests and avoids usury, so his soul abhors a bribe, nor will he permit it to stain his hand. Whether he be an administrator of public justice, or whether he be a private individual who has it in his power to do injury to his fellow men, he will never encroach on their rights, nor deal out iniquity to the innocent. No reward that can be offered will succeed in prevailing upon him to touch a hair of their head. He will rather throw around them the shield of his protection; he will vindicate their character, and maintain their cause, and defend them from every assault; and this he will do, though detraction and malice should be all his recompense, and though an opposite conduct would have secured for him much of the gold that perisheth, the favour of the powerful, and the countenance of the great. He is proof against all such temptations to unjust and ungenerous conduct, for he looks to God as his father, to men as his brethren, and to heaven as his home.

Such, my friends, is a very short and imperfect view of the character of those who are to dwell in the holy hill of the Lord, so far as it is here unfolded. Let me exhort you to study it; to study it minutely and seriously, and with application to yourselves. You must necessarily be distinguished by it, otherwise you cannot see the kingdom of heaven. This you are assured of, and this you profess to believe. Be persuaded then to cultivate it with unceasing activity. Pray, and strive that you may be all which is required of those who would enter the celestial abodes; that you may have the principles, the temper, and the conduct that is prescribed to them by him who "sits upon the throne;" and that as every day brings you nearer the eternal world, every day may find you better prepared for entering into the "rest which remaineth for the people of God." "He that doth these things shall never be moved." He shall be like Mount Zion itself which abideth for ever. Only build upon the Rock of Ages; cling to the mighty Redeemer; live as the citizens of heaven,—and nothing shall then be able to remove you from your place, to hurt your interests, or to blast your hope. You are safe amidst the buffettings of adversity, and amidst the assaults of temptation, and amidst, the malice and persecution of your bitterest and your mightiest foes. "All things are yours, for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." He "knoweth them that are his;" and having engraven on the tablets of your hearts, and on the features of your character, the marks of his true children, he will keep you as "the apple of his eye" during all the time of your sojourning in the wilderness, and then he will put you in possession of the riches, the honours, and the pleasures of the promised land.

LECTURE IV.

'*Preserve me, O God: for in thee do I put my trust. O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth not to thee; But to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.*'—Psalm xvi. 1.—3.

The first thing that David does in this beautiful and interesting Psalm, is to commend himself to the protection of God, as the God in whom he had placed his confidence. And this is what all of us will do, who are living under the influence of vital and experimental religion. If we have been permitted to know God as he really is, and if we have been enabled to cherish towards him those sentiments which it becomes us to feel, an implicit and unwavering affiance in him must necessarily pervade and animate our breasts. He possesses all those perfections in an infinite degree, by which such affiance is created, and encouraged, and confirmed; he is full of kindness to his people; he is as able as he is willing to do them good; and every promise that he has made to promote their welfare, he is unchangeably faithful to perform. So that, if we be among the number of his people, we may confide in him with our whole heart, for every communication of his grace, and for every exercise of his power, which our varied circumstances may require.

This trust we will constantly repose in God, because he is constantly deserving of it, and because it is constantly demanded for our personal comfort and stability. But it will be especially active and vigorous when we are exposed to those peculiar difficulties and dangers by which every Christian is often beset in the course of his pilgrimage. In such seasons, and in such situations, we will think much of the divine character; we will contemplate it as it is exhibited to our view in the revelation of the Gospel; we will meditate on the great and glorious attributes by which it is distinguished; we will listen to all the assurances of mercy, and to all the promises of assistance with which it stands connected in the word of truth; we will remember how He to whom it belongs, has in the experience of them that he knew to be his, verified every declaration that he had made, and redeemed every pledge that he had given; and thus from what we have 'seen with our eyes,' and 'heard with our ears,' and 'believed with our hearts,' we will regard him as our only 'refuge in the time of trouble,' and cling to him as one who is 'mighty to save,' and worthy to be 'the confidence of all the ends of the earth.'

Nor will we rest satisfied with a mere consciousness of this unlimited reliance upon God; we will give it free expression in those cases, which are calculated to call it forth, by applying to him for the help or the deliverance that we need, in the language of devout and fervent supplication. We will beseech him to preserve us: to preserve us from the temporal adversities that would otherwise distress and overwhelm us; but above all to preserve us from the spiritual calamities by which our souls are put in peril of present discomfort, and 'everlasting destruction.' We will beseech him to preserve us from the workings of inward corruption, and from the wiles of the wicked one, and from the snares and temptations of an evil world. We will beseech him to preserve us from the sins that most easily beset us,—from avarice, or from sensuality, or from worldly mindedness, or from indifference, or from sloth. We will beseech him to preserve us from distrusting his providence, and from slighting his grace; from Judas's heartless treachery, and from Peter's cowardly denial; from the unbelief of the Sadducees, and from the hypocrisy, and self-righteousness, and bigotry of the Scribes and Pharisees; from the iniquity that injures men, and from the impiety that dishonours God, and from the intemperance that degrades ourselves; from the indulgences that impair our love to the Saviour, and the prejudices and pursuits that weaken our faith in his merits; from 'the fear of man, which bringeth a snare,' and from the 'fear of death,' which makes us 'subject to bondage; from the backsliding which fills us with present remorse, and from the apostacy which terminates in irretrievable ruin. We will beseech him to preserve us from such evil as these; and we will enforce our treaty by the argument here employed by the Psalmist; 'Preserve me, O God, for in thee do I put my trust.' We feel that in ourselves we have no resource, and that there is no help for us in man. But we have found in God an all-sufficient refuge. In the exhibition of his character which he has afforded us, and in the manifold declarations which he has addressed to us in his word, he exhorts, he encourages, he commands us to place our sole dependance upon Him, and to flee to him as our 'strong hold in the day of trouble.' And, therefore, when we cry to him for preservation and deliverance, it is right that we should appeal to all that he has said, and to all that he has promised; and plead the confidence which he himself has taught us to rest on his mercy which never faileth, on his wisdom whose depth is unfathomable, on his strength which is mighty and everlasting, and on his 'truth which he has magnified above all his name.'

'O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord.' Here the Psalmist intimates that he had taken the Lord to be his Lord; and surely it is impossible for any of us who are at once acquainted with our duty, and our interest, to make a better or a different choice. He is entitled to the supremacy over us in every respect in which that supremacy can be either exercised by *him*, or acknowledged by *us*. And when we refuse him any measure of homage or submission; when we do not acquiesce in his disposal of every thing that concerns us; when we do not cheerfully commit ourselves to him to be governed and treated according to his sovereign pleasure, we forget what is due from the creature to the Creator, and are guilty of rebellion against the all-perfect ruler of the universe. But it is not only our duty; it is also our interest to take the Lord for *our* Lord. Surrendering ourselves to the dominion of any other being, or asserting our own independence, as if we were divinities, we provoke the holy displeasure of omnipotence, and must sink under its overwhelming weight. But yielding implicitly and unreservedly to God, who is not more the holder of all authority, than he is the fountain of all good, we must be safe, and we must be happy; because in that case there is nothing to interrupt the current of his favour, and his favour must secure for every one who enjoys it, guardianship from all evil, and the possession of every blessing.

It is necessary, however, that in this dedication of ourselves to God, the heart be really and chiefly concerned. It is the *soul* that must say to him, 'Thou art my Lord.' Mere language of this sort is easily employed; and in the estimation of those before whom it is used, it may have all the tone, not only of sincerity, but of fervour, and it may procure for us the reputation of personal and decided piety. But going 'out of feigned lips,' it can meet with no acceptance from the God of truth, and will be more displeasing to him than the absence of all acknowledgment of his excellence and supremacy. Whatever we say to him; whatever declarations we make of dependance upon his bounty, or of submission to his power; whatever pledges we utter of future devotedness to his service and glory;—it must all be the faithful expression of our convictions and our feelings. We must be conscious of the vow that we intimate in words having its origin, and its purpose, and its meaning within us. And He to whom it is offered must see it to be the effusion of a sentiment which goes forth with the full approbation of our understanding, and with the unreserved consent of our will, and with the cheerful tribute of our affections.

And, aware of our aptness to forget what we have resolved and promised in reference to God, we must frequently remind our souls, as it were, of the ties by which they are voluntarily and solemnly bound to him, and of the consequent obligations which they have to fulfil. It is of infinite importance for us, both as to comfort and improvement, never to lose sight of the fact that we are not our own but his. But there are many weaknesses and corruptions within us, and there are many temptations and delusions without us, which tend either to enfeeble the impression of that fact, or to efface it altogether. And, therefore, we cannot be too careful to prevent it from being impaired; we cannot be too vigilant against the approach or influence of any thing that would injure it in the least degree; we cannot be too anxious to add to its native vividness and strength; and with a jealousy of its fading away, and with a desire of increasing its practical effect, we should often and seriously put ourselves in remembrance of what we have done, saying, like the Psalmist, 'O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, thou art my Lord.'

Here, however, there is another evil to be guarded against. When we have consecrated ourselves to God, and when recollecting this, we are active in his service, the Pharisaical idea is apt to steal upon us, that we have something to boast of; that our labours may be beneficial to whom they are rendered; and that on account of these, we are entitled to his favour and protection. There cannot be a greater or more pernicious mistake. Nothing that we are capable of doing can be of advantage to God. It can neither increase the sum of his blessedness, nor the perfection of his character, nor the lustre of his glory. He is infinitely above us, and he stands in no need of us. Supreme in the happiness of his being; unbounded in the attributes of his nature; self-existent, eternal and unchangeable, he can derive no benefit from our services, even though we had been as sinless as the angels in heaven, and as distinguished by wisdom and by strength as they are. And how much more impressively should we feel the force of this statement, when we recollect the ignorance, and the weakness, and the pollution which adhere to us amidst our highest attainments in piety and virtue! The vilest thing on earth may, of itself, or in its combinations, be useful to the mightiest monarch that ever swayed a sceptre, because they stand in the relation of one creature to another creature. But as creatures we are removed at an immeasurable distance from the Creator, and on this account, we cannot be 'profitable to our Maker, as he that is wise and kind may be profitable to' his neighbour. Whatever we have, or whatever we do, that is entitled to the name of goodness, is the gift of his own bounty, bestowed upon us that we may have wherewithal to make a practical acknowledgment of our dependance upon him, and to render the homage which is due to so great and gracious a God. And whether we offer to him the tribute of our hearts or the praises of our lips, or the labours of our active life, we must still say to him, 'All things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.'

But while our goodness extendeth not to God, so as that it can be useful to him or meritorious in his sight, 'it extendeth,' says the Psalmist, 'to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent in whom is all our delight.' There are saints in the earth. Alienated as men naturally are from God, and pervaded as their general character is by moral transgression, there are those of them to whom this appellation may be justly applied. They are saints; they are holy; they love what is holy in their hearts, and they practise what is holy in their lives. Their holiness indeed has much imperfection mixed with it, and comes far short of what the divine law requires of them. But still it exists in their principles, in their desires, in their endeavours, and in their actual acquirements; and, therefore, it confers upon them their leading and distinctive character. They are saints,—transformed and sanctified by divine grace; separated from a 'world that lieth in wickedness;' made to see and to feel the evil of sin; redeemed from its reigning power; animated to struggle against its temptations, and to deny themselves to its indulgences; taught to love the character of God, and to obey his will, and to take delight in his commandments; and guided by his Spirit into a decided, cordial, habitual, and persevering cultivation of those qualities of the mind and conduct which constitute true holiness.

Being thus saints, they are 'excellent.' They may be lightly esteemed among men; they may be made the subjects of ridicule and reproach; they may be accounted and treated as the basest of hypocrites. And indeed a more striking and lamentable proof that such is actually the case, cannot easily be conceived than this, that the very term which the Spirit of God employs to designate them in the Scripture, is the very term by which worldly men direct against them their malignity and their scorn, and by which they hold them up to general detestation and contempt. But 'it is a small matter to be thus judged of men's judgment; there is one that judgeth, even God.' And in his revealed word, while he denominates them 'saints,' he at the same time pronounces them to be 'excellent.' And how can they be otherwise than excellent in the true sense of that word? God is the standard of excellence, and they are like God. They are renewed after his image; they conform to his will; they imitate his character; they love what he loves, and hate what he hates; and though by reason of natural and moral infirmity they are frequently 'overtaken in a fault,' and sometimes fall into grievous sins, they yet sorrow for their unworthiness in his sight, and according to his appointment, they apply to the blood of atonement for the expiation of their guilt, and put themselves under the sanctifying and guiding influences of the Spirit of all grace, and labour with all their heart and with all their strength to be every thing which the God of truth and purity requires. Thus '*approving* the things that are excellent,' and thus *doing* the things that are excellent, they are the objects of God's affection, and are honoured with his favourable testimony.

And while this is the most satisfactory mode of demonstrating their excellence, it may be also illustrated by contrasting them with their fellow men. It is neither their duty nor their habit to assert their own superiority by making such a comparison. But the comparison is stated in Scripture, when it is affirmed that 'the righteous is more excellent than his neighbour:' those who have not experienced the renewal which he has experienced, and do not maintain the character which he maintains, are plainly destitute of those properties which assimilate the creature to his God, and make him worthy of the esteem and admiration of every holy intelligence. Nay they are polluted and degraded by qualities whose intrinsic turpitude, whose contrariety to the supreme will, and whose mischievous and ruinous effects expose them to the divine condemnation, and alienate from them the regards of the wise and the good, both in heaven and on earth. That unregenerated world, of which they form a part, and which so often puts 'good for evil, and evil for good,' may admire and applaud them for the very actions in which their spiritual debasement is embodied; but this is only an additional proof of their degeneracy, and imparts not one tittle of worth to palliate or to redeem their essential demerit. And even the most specious and comely appearance which their deportment may be made to assume,—all the decencies, and honesties, and charities, that may find a place in it, and all the beneficial influence which may accidentally emanate from it,—cannot conceal from us its inherent depravity, and its total worthlessness, when we search into its spirit and principles, and apply to the determination of its merits that test which is furnished by the word and the law of God. But of how much purer and more elevated a cast than this,—how completely different from it, indeed, is the deportment of the saint! The latter has not only the aspect but the reality of excellence. It is excellent not merely in the estimation of fallible mortals, but in the judgment of a righteous, omniscient, and unerring God. It is excellent in the effects which it produces; in the deeds of which it consists; in the motives by which it is regulated; and in the source from which it springs. And while the deportment of the worldling has worthlessness for its general character, and while any portions of it which seem to be exceptions to that general character, are not so in truth, the deportment of the saint is pervaded by excellence, both in its spirit and in its actings, and the imperfections by which it is partially or occasionally tarnished, are merely indications that he whom it characterises, though raised from the death of sin, and made 'a new creature,' and consecrated to the service of his Maker, is still in a body of corruption, and still in a world of temptation and of trial.

The Psalmist not only asserts the excellence of the saints, but declares that in them was 'all his delight.' And such will be the case with us, if our minds are actuated and governed by right sentiments. In the first place, and in the highest measure, we will delight in God as the centre of all perfection, and as the fountain of all good. And in the next place, and in a proportionate degree, we will delight in such of his creatures as are entitled to our complacency from the resemblance which they bear to him, or from their being suitable to those affections which he permits us to cherish. Among these the saints will hold a distinguished place. They are adorned with all those features of moral beauty, which are fitted to secure our attachment, and to awaken in us emotions of satisfaction and pleasure. These indeed are possessed by the angels in a much higher style; but though we must be gratified with meditating on the existence, the attributes, the employments, and the bliss of such exalted and sinless beings, we cannot delight in *them* as we delight in those of our fellow-men, who wear the same holy likeness to God which *they* wear, and do his will upon earth as *they* do it in heaven; who, while they are thus clothed with those graces of piety, and purity, and benevolence, which place these celestial spirits so near the throne of love, are still 'bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh;' who are the subjects of that redeeming mercy and of that sanctifying grace, by which they and we are united to one common head, and in one common hope; and whose very failings and errors not only fill them with that penitential sorrow which only endears a fellow-creature the more to our regard, but serve to excite in us a deeper sympathy and a livelier interest in their behalf, and thus to enhance the joy that we feel when we see them keeping themselves pure from 'the corruption that is in the world,' cultivating the habits of godliness and virtue, and 'beautified with the salvation' of the Gospel.

But if we imitate the Psalmist, we will not simply delight in the saints—in them will be '*all* our delight.' We will take no delight in the wicked,—in those who have rebelled against God, who have rejected the Saviour, who are continuing in the pollutions of sin. Even them, indeed, we will not regard with sentiments of hatred or dislike. So far as they are blind to their own welfare and in danger of perdition, we will view them with deep-felt compassion, and withhold from them no expression of kindness and humanity which their situation may demand from us. Nay, we will look with an indulgent eye on every thing that is amiable in their temper, and dispositions, and conduct; following the example of our Redeemer, who is said to have loved a young man that showed he had some good thing in him, though he preferred the riches of the world to the service of the Saviour, and thus evinced that he was not of the number of '*the saints*.' But we cannot *delight* in them, because they have not those principles, those affections, those substantial marks of God's people, which we have learnt to prize as the only legitimate causes of devoted and complacent regard. This kind and this degree of regard we will confine to 'the saints' or 'the excellent ones of the earth:' the outgoings of our hearts will be to them, and to them alone. In the contemplation of their personal worth, we will feel a pleasure with which the most splendid endowments, and the most heroic exploits of the ungodly, can never inspire our breasts. And from those who are great, and wise, and happy in this world's vocabulary, but not in the word of God, we will turn away to feast our minds, and nourish our virtue, amidst the faith, and the patience, and the righteousness of the true Christian,—though, like his divine Master, whom he adores, and who has made him what he is, he be 'despised and rejected of men,' and 'have not where to lay his head.'

Now, it is to the saints, who are thus excellent, and in whom we take delight, that our goodness extends. If we have just views of the relation in which they stand to God, and of the character which they maintain; if we cherish towards them those sentiments of love and admiration to which their excellence entitles them; if we really rejoice in them as God's children and as our brethren in Christ Jesus, it follows as a matter of course that we will do them good, according to their need and according to our ability. Their circumstances are such as to admit of our services being beneficial to them; and these services, so far as they are required, we are under indispensable obligations to render to the full extent of our capacity. Feelings of attachment and words of sympathy are well enough in their own place; but they are of no avail, unless accompanied with the doings of a cordial and a practical benevolence; and by such doings our treatment of the saints must be habitually distinguished. It is incumbent on us, indeed, to 'do good to all men as we have opportunity;' and he is not a true and enlightened Christian that is a stranger to the exercise of this expanded and universal charity,—that does not imitate his heavenly Father who 'makes his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and his rain to descend on the just and on the unjust.' But it is peculiarly incumbent on us to do good 'to them who are of the household of faith.' Between them and us there is a spiritual and intimate relationship, which not only warrants, but calls for the exercise of a kindlier affection and the communications of a richer liberality, than what can be considered as due to those who are still 'far from righteousness,' and 'far from God.' And we will be especially careful to let our goodness extend to them, when they are suffering persecution on account of their marked separation from the world, and their faithful adherence to the cause of truth and duty. In such a contingency we will do what we can to invigorate their faith, to preserve their stedfastness, to animate their hopes, to comfort and encourage them in their way to Sion. We will remember them in our prayers; we will assist them by our counsels; we will stimulate them by our example. And while we thus attend to their spiritual necessities, we will not be unmindful of their temporal wants and circumstances. We will study to protect them from the violence, and to vindicate them from the slanders, of unbelieving men. And by countenancing their honest exertions, ministering of our abundance to them in their times of need, and consoling them when they suffer from injury or from neglect, we will endeavour to realise in their experience that maxim of the Bible which says that 'godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come.'

All this we will do, in obedience to the claims of that community of faith and hope which we hold with our brethren in Christ Jesus, and in a wise adaptation of our conduct to the exigencies in which their religious profession may occasionally place them; and we do it from a solemn view to the account which we have to render at the last day, and to the specified character which we must have if we would be welcomed by our Judge in these cheering words: 'Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' This sentence will rest upon the fact that those on whom it is to be pronounced had been minutely careful to make their goodness extend to the saints, and to the excellent of the earth, whom Christ thus graciously condescends to identify with himself: 'For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stanger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.' 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' Let all true Christians bear this continually in mind, and be determined by it not only to cultivate that charity which goes out in deeds of beneficence among all the suffering children of Adam, but especially to cultivate that brotherly kindness which cares for the poor afflicted members of Christ's body, and which, as manifested towards them, he will consider and reward as manifested towards himself.

And let those who are in the habit of ridiculing and traducing the disciples of Christ, who persecute instead of protecting them, and who draw the weapons of their reproach out of the armoury of the divine word, attaching the nickname of *saints* to such as, if there be truth in the Gospel, God 'delighteth to honour;' let those who speak and act thus, if unsusceptible of generous feelings, and uninfluenced by any respect for that consistency which, as professing Christians, it becomes them to observe, be persuaded 'by the terrors of that Lord' whom they insult as often as they traduce his people, to desist from their cruel and unhallowed mockery, and to adopt the more honourable, the more rational, and the safer part, of throwing the shield of their protection over those who though subjected to suffering are now 'the sons of God,' and will soon enter into their heavenly inheritance. They may 'reject this counsel,' but if they do, it is 'against themselves,' and 'verily they shall have their reward:' for most assuredly a decree of condemnation will go forth against them from the judgment seat of Christ, since he can annex to the sentence which will seal their fate for ever, 'I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger and ye took me not in; naked and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not: Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me.'—'And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.'

LECTURE V.

'*Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another God: their drink-offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips. The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot. The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage. I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel; my reins also instruct me in the night-season.*'—PSALM XVI. 4—7.

The Psalmist had declared his trust in God, and upon that ground applied for the divine protection and support. He had reminded himself of his having taken the Lord for his portion, and of his having promised to be his faithful and devoted servant. But in the midst of those happy and elevated feelings which this was calculated to awaken, he did not forget the humility which it became him to cherish and to express. He acknowledged that all his doings, however excellent they might be in their own nature, and however beneficial in their effects, were utterly unprofitable to his Maker, and could merit no favour for him from that supreme and holy source. At the same time he acknowledged that his goodness extended to his brethren of mankind, and especially to the saints, or the excellent of the earth; that he was under obligations to promote their comfort and welfare by every means in his power; and that to a sense of duty there was added the more persuasive motive of the pleasure that he had in contemplating their worth, in holding intercourse with them, and in communicating to them whatever benefits he was able to confer.

At the beginning of the passage that we have now read, the Psalmist introduces the subject of idolatry, and forms respecting it a worthy and decided resolution. 'Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another God; their drink-offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips.' He here speaks of the misery of such as attach themselves to the worship and service of false gods: 'Their sorrows shall be multiplied.' Not only shall they be subjected to calamity, but their calamities shall be manifold. One evil shall come upon them after another, till there be such an accumulation of suffering as utterly to overwhelm and destroy them. And this arises from two causes. In the *first* place, the gods in whom they have placed their confidence are mere imaginary beings, who, of course, can do nothing for them, and by their dependance upon them, they are led into many dangerous and fatal errors. And, in the *second* place, by forsaking the true God, they have forfeited all the advantages which trust in him, and obedience to him would have certainly produced; and by giving to another the glory which is due to him alone, they have provoked his holy indignation, and rendered it essential for the honour of his character and his government, to inflict upon them condign punishment. While they lose all the satisfaction and happiness which results from believing the doctrines, and performing the duties, and cherishing the hopes of true religion, they also incur all the wretchedness that is so plentifully engendered by the absurdities, the immoralities, and abominations of a false and idolatrous system of faith. And even though no visible judgments, and no penal consequence of any magnitude should befal them in this world, it is not possible that having forsaken the true God to hasten after another god—having contracted guilt so heinous and aggravated as this implies, they should escape the divine condemnation in the world to come.

On account of the sinfulness and misery of such conduct, the Psalmist determined that he should not be chargeable with it. He had too just a horror at its enormity, and too strong a sense of its enmity to his peace and safety, to allow himself to indulge in any of the forms or practices of idolatry. He was surrounded with its votaries, and many of his people had joined them; but the displeasure of heaven had been so severely manifested against them, and the threatenings of the law bore upon them so expressly and so awfully, that neither vicinity nor example could induce him to partake of its rites, or to give it any portion of his countenance. He would not unite with the heathen in offering their drink offerings of blood. Nor did he merely abstain from this most expressive proof of attachment to their false and degrading worship: he refused to do or say any thing that could be supposed indicative even of forbearance or indifference towards it. He would not so much as take the names of their gods into his lips. He would not utter their names in such a way as to intimate any thing like belief in their existence, or respect for their character; he would not speak of them in any other way than that which might distinctly declare that he denied their reality as much as he abhorred the services that were paid to them, and that, in his view, those who gave them homage were blinded in understanding, depraved in heart, and lost to all that was best, and purest, and happiest in the universe.

You may probably think, my friends, that all this is inapplicable to you; and that as you are not liable to the offence against which the Psalmist so scrupulously guarded, it can be of no use to inculcate upon you the sentiments which he entertained, and according to which he acted. But herein you are mistaken. It is very true you are in no great danger of becoming idolaters in the literal and original sense of the word. But the word has a more general sense, which is recognized in Scripture, and in which it is frequently exhibited in human character, and is the besetting sin of most men. To be guilty of idolatry, it is not necessary that you make gods to yourselves, as the heathens did—that you deify the heroes of your country—that you invest the objects of nature with the attributes of divinity—and that you build real temples, and give formal worship to these creatures of your vain imaginations. You may have knowledge and philosophy enough to preserve you from such gross absurdity; and yet you may be chargeable with the offence of which the Psalmist speaks with such just and decided abhorrence. The substance of the crime is contained in your feeling and showing a stronger attachment to some other being than to the *Supreme* Being; in giving to something else an influence over your mind and conduct, greater than what you allow to Him; in recognizing in the works of his hands an excellence and a claim to your deference and submission, which by your actions, if not by your words, you deny to exist in himself. This is idolatry, according to the nature of the case, and according to the declarations of Scripture.

It is of no consequence what it is to which you thus pay the homage and give the glory which are due to God alone. Still it is idolatry. That to which you are devoted, or to which you give the preference over him, may be quite innocent in itself, and a regulated and subordinate affection for it may even constitute a virtue and a duty; and yet your merely giving it the preference involves you in the guilt of idolatry. For that is to 'serve the creature more than the Creator.' It is to deprive God of his supremacy, and to put another in his place. It may be worldly honours; it may be power; it may be riches; it may be pleasure; it may be literature and science; it may be parents, or children, or friends; in all these cases, if you set your heart upon them in such a manner, or to such an extent as to exclude God from your regard, or to give him but a secondary station in it, you are characterized by idolatry, and are as liable to the divine displeasure as are the blinded heathen, who literally bow down to stocks and stones. It is said of the heathen, that though they originally 'knew God, they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things;' and that therefore he 'revealed his wrath from heaven' against those who thus 'held the truth in unrighteousness.' And think you that any better character belongs to you, or that any better fate can await you, if, knowing God, as he has made himself known in the Gospel, you do not like to retain him in your affections; if, instead of 'loving him with all your heart, and soul, and strength, and mind,' you love him less than many of your fellow-mortals; if you permit the gains, or the amusements, or the vanities of this passing world, to engross the time that should be occupied, and the efforts that should be made, in his worship and service; if, in the study and admiration of any of his works, you forget the tribute which you owe him as the all-perfect maker of the universe, and the bountiful giver of those very faculties which fit you for contemplating and for relishing its beauties; if, listening to the voice of temptation, you are seen 'going after your covetousness,' and your sinful indulgences, and your vain fancies, regardless of the commandment of him whom it is your highest honour to obey, and who by the Gospel of his Son has 'called you to glory and to virtue?' Think you, that in acting and living thus, you are not guilty of idolatry; and that your idolatry is not as heinous and aggravated as that of the heathen on whom God is said to have 'poured out his fury?'

You may not be accustomed to view the subject in this light, but if you think justly and seriously, if you take Scripture for your guide, and are to be determinded in your judgment by its principles and maxims, I do not see how you can view the subject in any other light. Your conduct is idolatrous and criminal in the eye of reason. When the benighted Gentile falls down and worships the sun in his meridian splendour, or the moon in her midnight brightness, this is not more offensive and revolting than the conduct of the professing Christian, who adores his gold in the character of a miser, or of the professing Christian, who kneels at the shrine of fashion in the character of a man of pleasure, each of them being devoted to a false divinity, and neither of them having the true 'God in all his thoughts.' And in the real spirit and import of the divine law, He who rules over all must be considered as speaking in reference to both classes of idolaters, when he says, 'Thou shall have no other gods before me.' 'Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God.'

Beware, then, of the guilt of idolatry, and of the vengeance which impends over those who indulge in it. See that you not only renounce it in general, but that you keep yourselves free from it, in all its particular forms; that you abstain from it, not merely in its grosser and more aggravated instances, but even in those instances in which it assumes the aspect of cordial friendship, of intellectual ambition, of universal philanthropy. Say with the Psalmist, 'Their drink offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips.' Say with Ephraim, 'What have I to do any more with idols?' Say with the inhabitants of Judah, 'O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.' Say in the spirit and language of every real Christian, 'Lord, I am thine, for thou hast made me; thou hast preserved me; thou hast redeemed me. Occupy the throne of my heart, and reign there with unresisted and undivided sway. I confess that I have given too much of my regard to objects and pursuits, in which thou wert but little acknowledged, or not acknowledged at all. Pardon my homage to the creature; and help me by thy grace to serve it no more. Subdue me to thyself, as alone worthy of all my reverence, and all my love. Give me to feel the solemn and endearing obligations which I owe to thee, my chosen and redeeming God. And make me willing, and obedient, and devoted, in the day of thy power.'

It is in conformity to the import of the Psalmist's resolution, which we have been considering, that he goes on to say, as in the fifth verse, 'The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot.' 'The Lord is the portion of our inheritance' in a future life. Having chosen him for our portion; accounting his favour the highest and richest blessing we can possibly enjoy; and having an interest in it through faith in the blood of atonement we can look forward to heaven as our best and everlasting abode. He has secured it for us; he has promised it to us; he has prepared it for our reception. And how comfortable, how encouraging, how delightful to reflect, that whatever be our condition in this world; however destitute and despised we may now be; though we should 'suffer the loss of all things' here below, there is reserved for us on high an 'inheritance which is incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away:' And that, as 'it is the Father's good pleasure to give us the kingdom,' as the expression of his unmerited bounty, the gracious recompence of our labours, the appointed result of our sufferings in his service, so his immediate presence will constitute at once its happiness, its glory, and its stability, and that from such a bountiful and inexhaustible source of excellence we may confidently expect to derive every thing that can carry our nature to its highest pitch of perfection and felicity! O let us often anticipate heaven as the land towards which we are travelling; let our ambition perpetually point to it as the end 'of our high calling;' let our hopes fondly dwell on it as the final resting place from our toils and sorrows; and remembering that God, holy as well as good, is the fountain of all its blessedness, let us not only be comforted with the prospect of dwelling in it forever, but also be animated to prepare for it, by studying to conform in all things to his righteous will, by leading a life of faith on the merits of his Son, and 'by purifying ourselves even as he also is pure.'

But the Lord is not only the portion of our inheritance in a future life; he is also the portion of our cup in the 'life that now is.' If we are his true people, we have chosen him as to every thing that concerns our well-being, and he has assured us that he will be 'our guide even until death.' In all that happens to us we will recognize the operation of his combined mercy, and wisdom, and faithfulness. Whatever be our lot we will trace it to his appointment, and submit it to his management. Amidst all the vicissitudes of life, we will comfort our hearts with believing that he rules over us in the exercise of infinite perfection, that his manifold dealings with us are intended to promote our good, and that if we continue to put our trust in him, he 'will never leave nor forsake us,' till he has placed us beyond the reach of whatever can harass or distress us. He may put the cup of prosperity in our hands, and we will drink it with thanksgiving and joy; regarding it as a pledge of his rich beneficence; lifting up our souls in gratitude for his unmerited kindness; living to the praise of him who 'filleth our mouth with good things, so that our youth is renewed like the eagle's;' and feeling every past expression of his benevolence as an argument and a motive for our putting more confidence in him, and rendering more obedience to him, and holding more communion with him, in all the time of our sojourning that is yet to come. And when he presses to our lips the cup of adversity, we will drink that also, with patience and resignation; remembering that our afflictions are of his ordination or by his permission; satisfied that the heaviest of them will not be allowed to overwhelm us, but that all of them are intended or will be overruled for our permanent advantage; consoling ourselves with the belief that they are the discipline of our heavenly father, and with the hope that they will 'work out for us an exceeding weight of glory;' and praying and striving that they may purify and improve us here, and that they may issue in immortal joys hereafter. Our confidence and our rejoicing is this, that the Lord himself will maintain our lot. Whatever good we possess, whatever happiness we enjoy, it may be taken from us, if the preservation of it be left to ourselves. But, in the hands of him, to whom, as our chosen portion, we have committed our all, it is perfectly secure. Our enemies, in that case, have no power to deprive us of it, be they ever so numerous, and be they ever so strong. 'None can pluck us out of the hand of God' who is 'greater than all.' Nothing shall 'ever be able to separate us from his love which is in Christ.' He will maintain whatever he has wrought for us; and will keep us 'by his mighty power through faith unto salvation.' And if this be the consequence of having God for our portion, how blessed are we in having made such a choice, and in enjoying such a privilege! And how miserable must those be who, by making the world their portion, have no security in life, no peace at death, no hope beyond the grave! While we pity these infatuated mortals, and supplicate the God of all grace in their behalf, let us be careful to 'hold fast that which we have,' to cleave with still greater devotedness to God, to 'set him continually before us,' and to take him as our guide, our refuge, our consolation, and our 'exceeding great reward.'

'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.' This expresses the satisfaction which God's people have with their condition. They may not be able to say so of their temporal circumstances. They are not indifferent to the good and evil of which, as inhabitants of this world, they are called to partake. And when trouble and destitution assail them, they are not insensible to the affliction; they will not speak of it as if all were going well and prosperously with them, and as if they set no value on the bounties of Providence. They feel the ordinary calamities of life as well as others. They pray to be delivered from them. And when they obtain deliverance, and the 'candle of the Lord shines upon their head,' they acknowledge the boon with grateful and rejoicing hearts. But then here is the peculiarity of their character, and their situation; their principal concern is with their *spiritual* circumstances. And if these be right and prosperous, they care little about their bodily and external comfort. God being their portion, they have nothing left to fear on the one hand, or to desire on the other. Their souls being safe, and their eternal interests secure, every other care is absorbed in the delightful persuasion that no real injury can befal them, in the blessed experience of 'the peace which passeth understanding,' in the animating hope that is full of immortality. They envy not the man of the world his sensual gratifications and carnal mirth. They are abundantly satisfied with the communications of God's love to them, by which their every want is supplied, and by which they are filled with the 'joy that no man taketh from them.' When a temporal benefit comes to them, they receive it, and thank the bountiful giver for this additional token of that grace which has provided so richly for their eternal salvation. And when they are visited with hardships and sufferings, they endure the visitation with patience, well knowing that it comes to them on an errand of mercy; that it is no less a token of their father's love than the other, and that they have great cause to rejoice even in this their tribulation. Reconciled to God, 'walking in the light of his countenance,' enjoying the consolations of his Spirit, and cheered with the hope of his glory, surely they may say without reserve, in the very midst of deep and dark adversity, that 'the lines are fallen unto them in pleasant places, and that they have a goodly heritage.' In this view it may be justly said of believers, that 'all things are theirs, whether the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are theirs; and they are Christ's, and Christ is God's.'

Now, my friends, if such be our spiritual state, great cause have we 'to bless the Lord who hath given us counsel.' Not only has he brought us into 'the valley of vision,' but he has enabled us to see with a believing eye the redemption which it unfolds. Not only has he conferred upon us those external privileges which we enjoy by the Gospel dispensation, but he has taught us to improve them, and by his blessing has rendered them effectual for our good. Not only has he made the lines fall to us in pleasant places, and given us a goodly heritage, but he has counselled us to value them aright, to set up our everlasting rest in them, and to seek from them our best comforts and our brightest happiness. Had we been left to ourselves, his kindness would have been lavished on us in vain; and we should have been like many others who, though born in a land of saving light, prefer walking in the darkness of infidelity and sin. But, taught by his Spirit we have had our understandings enlightened to see the realities of the Gospel, and our hearts moved to seek after an interest in the Saviour, and 'our feet guided into the way of peace' and safety. And this being the case, surely we cannot fail to give thanks to him 'by whose grace it is that we are what we are;' to cherish towards him the warmest gratitude of which our souls are susceptible, and to 'praise him even while we have a being.'

And having been influenced and enabled by him to 'choose the good part which cannot be taken from us,' we must be careful to make a right use of the privilege. 'Our reins must instruct us in the night seasons.' We must meditate on what we have done; and in our times of retirement and solitude, 'commune with our own hearts' on the subject, that thus we may be more fully instructed in what we have received, and in what we owe to our merciful God; that we may be encouraged to persevere in the choice which we have so wisely and happily made; that we may be more thoroughly comforted by it amidst the trials and distresses to which we are subjected; that we may be furnished with more animating motives to thanksgiving and praise; that we may learn how needful we are of the continuance of that divine interposition which 'began the good work in us;' and that we may be stimulated to greater diligence in the duties of our holy vocation, and to greater earnestness in our applications for the wisdom and the strength which are necessary to our abiding in the love of God, and to our being finally conducted into his heavenly presence.

LECTURE VI.

'*I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope: For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.*'—PSALM XVI. 8—END.

In the preceding part of this Psalm, we have considered David as speaking solely in his own person, in reference to his own feelings, his own comfort, and his own conduct. We are aware, indeed, that by many it is regarded as applicable to the Messiah; but of this we see no satisfactory proof, and we are always unwilling, when interpreting Scripture, to indulge unnecessarily in conjecture, or to give a construction to the language of the sacred writers which is merely suggested by a particular theory, and which is adopted not so much to express and illustrate the real meaning of the passage, as to render it more evangelical and more interesting than it would otherwise be. Some have treated the whole book of Psalms as in every the minutest part, more or less prophetical or descriptive of the Saviour; whereas it must be evident to every intelligent reader of them, that they often speak of circumstances, and experience, and character, which cannot be attached to the Saviour without violating the soundest and most important of those principles on which we are accustomed to ascertain the import of revelation, and introducing a mode of determining the mind of the Spirit, which would put every thing at the mercy of an ill regulated piety, or of a lively imagination. The question is not—*may* this, by a little exercise of fancy, and a little accommodation of fact, and a little straining of phraseology, be made to intimate something concerning Christ? The question is—*does* this truly speak of Christ, and are we justified in taking that view of it, by the context, or by strict analogy, or by express warrant, or by any other legitimate and safe mode of judging in such cases?

Now, my friends, it is in deference to the rules and maxims implied in this statement that, when expounding the previous portion of this Psalm, we considered it as spoken by David in reference to himself; and it is in deference to the same rules and maxims that we are to consider the remainder of the Psalm as spoken by him in reference to the Messiah, of whom he was both a prophet and a type. Not only may all the passage that we have just read be applied to Christ without constraint; and not only is there some of it which is applicable to him alone; but we have New Testament authority for making such an application. The Apostle Peter, in his first discourse after the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, expressly quoted these verses as uttered by David, in exclusive reference to the Redeemer; and, therefore, in explaining and illustrating them, we are not only entitled, but bound to keep the Redeemer in our eye as the person from whom they primarily proceed, and towards whom they direct our attention.

Peter, you know, quoted them when addressing the Jews on the subject of Christ's resurrection, asserting its reality, and showing them that it was predicted by the Psalmist. But though that be the main topic which he employed them for pressing on the notice and belief of his audience, they offer along with this some other topics to our consideration, from all which, as connected with *him*, we may derive many appropriate and salutary instructions. Let us meditate on them for a little; and may the Lord direct and bless our meditations!

I. In the *first* place, this passage reminds us of the sufferings of Christ.

It is clear that the types, the promises, and the predictions of Christ which we meet with in the Old Testament describe him as a *suffering* Saviour. We often read of him, indeed, as one who was to be great and triumphant; and the language in which his greatness and his triumphs are depicted, is so frequent, so energetic, and so splendid, that the Jews in general thought of him, and expected him in that and in no other character. But it is impossible to peruse the accounts and to look at the representations of him which are set before us in the records and the ceremonies of the ancient dispensation, without perceiving that the Saviour whom they pointed out was to appear in a state of abasement; to be 'bruised and put to grief,' and to have a 'sorrow like unto no other sorrow.' In the book of Psalms we have various affecting delineations of what he was to endure at the hands both of God and man. Of this the twenty-second Psalm furnishes a remarkable and striking instance. And even in the passage now before us, the same truth is to be found—not indeed in plain and direct statement—but in obvious and necessary inference. When Christ says here by the mouth of David that 'he would not be moved,' and that 'his soul would not be left in hell,' his assertions, of course, presuppose that he was to be exposed to such trials and distresses as might endanger his stability, and that he was to die and descend into the grave; and when he commits himself so emphatically to *divine* interposition for support under the former, and for deliverance from the latter of these evils, he distinctly intimates that they were of no ordinary magnitude and extent. And the view of him which is thus given through the medium of prophecy, is completely realised in his actual history. According to that history, he was from his cradle to his grave, 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.' He was harassed by the malignity of men; he was assailed by the malice of devils; he was bereft of the countenance of his heavenly Father. He was deserted by friends and persecuted by foes. He was so poor that he 'had not where to lay his head.' He was so despised that the mighty and the mean equally 'hid their faces from him.' He was so forlorn that when 'he came to his own, his own would not receive him.' His body was tortured; his soul was wrung with anguish; ignominy darkened his departing hour; and while he expired amidst the shame and the agony of a cross, he expired under the curse of holy and incensed omnipotence.

It is painful, my friends, to contemplate this; to see true greatness humiliated so low, and warmest charity so ungratefully requited, and immaculate innocence plunged into such a depth of affliction. Yet we are not permitted to withdraw or turn away our minds from the contemplation, sad and heart-rending as it is. As we travel through the word of truth, the sufferings of Christ are presented to our observation at every step; they are set before us in all their variety and in all their aggravations; they are mixed up with the most elevated and cheering views that are afforded of his exaltation and his glory. When, amidst our meditations on his essential dignity and blessedness, we might be apt to forget how low he stooped and how much he bore, a glimpse of them is let in upon us as exhibited in the stable in Bethlehem, the garden of Gethsemane, or the hill of Calvary. The Evangelists and the Apostles dwell upon them as the most striking features of their narrative, and as the most indispensable theme of their preaching. And it is to them that the attention of his people is specially called, and by them that their devotion is to be principally kindled, in that ordinance which is appointed to be a commemoration of him even to the end of the world. In this ordinance he does not require you to remember him as one whose birth was announced by a multitude of angels; in whom were 'hid all the treasures of knowledge and of wisdom;' whose word was implicitly obeyed by the elements of nature, and the spirits of darkness; who rescued the victims that death was spoiling in the tomb; who was acknowledged by 'a voice from the excellent glory;' and at last ascended on the clouds to heaven. He does not require you to remember him at his table as distinguished by these attributes of his character, and these glories of his condition. No; he requires you to remember him as one who suffered and died. 'Eat of this bread, which is a memorial of my broken body; drink of this wine, which is a memorial of my shed blood: *do* THIS in remembrance of me: thus show MY DEATH till I come.'

And well may such an emphasis be laid on the *sufferings* and *death* of Christ; for this was the instituted method of redemption. He suffered and died that he might 'take away our sins;' that he might 'make reconciliation for iniquities;' that he might 'bring in an everlasting righteousness.' Such was the appointment of God; and unless that appointment had taken effect, in Christ 'humbling himself and becoming subject to the suffering of death,' as an atoning sacrifice, vain and unavailing with respect to us would have been all the other achievements of his mediatorial enterprise. All his miracles, all his teaching, all his benevolence, all his example, all his manifestations of divine excellence and divine perfection, would have been utterly lost upon us. The justice of God being still unsatisfied, and our guilt being still unexpiated, we must have continued under the sentence of condemnation, and under the burden of that sentence we must have inevitably and everlastingly perished. But while the sufferings and death of Christ deserve that prominence which is given to them in the Gospel record, on account of their necessity to the Gospel scheme, their title to it is rendered complete by the efficacy which attends them for answering their destined purpose. He 'has seen of the travail of his soul and he is satisfied.' His obedience unto death has fulfilled all the demands of that infinitely holy law which we had transgressed. He has 'made peace by the blood of his cross.' The perfections of the divine character are vindicated, and the authority of the divine administration is maintained; and no barrier, therefore, now remains to hinder the divine mercy from pouring itself out on the chief of sinners. In consequence of what Christ endured when he gave himself as a 'propitiation for our sins,' God is at once 'just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.' And he now proclaims from his throne of grace, that 'whosoever thus believeth shall never perish, but shall have everlasting life.'

As then the sufferings and death of Christ are held out to us in Scripture as of such essential importance and such saving virtue, let them be the object of our devout and paramount regard. Let us recognize in them the means which God has instituted for our deliverance from sin and misery. Let us place our confidence in their merit for the attainment of salvation and all its blessings. And when we go to the Lord's Table, where they are brought to our recollection by solemn and significant emblems, let our faith be directed towards them with peculiar liveliness and power, and let them be rested on by us as the foundation of all our hope, and applied to as the source of all our joy.

II. In the *second* place, the passage under review, affirms the constancy and the cheerfulness with which Christ was to bear his sorrows and to become obedient to the death of the cross. 'I shall not be moved;' and 'my heart is glad, and my glory,' that is, my tongue, 'rejoiceth.'

So said David personating the Messiah; and all this was realised in the Messiah's actual deportment. In order to secure our belief and dependance on his mediatorial work, it is perhaps enough for us to know that he finished it; that he did not stop short in the midst of it, but that he brought it to a successful termination; that he was rewarded for its accomplishment; and that it is meritorious to procure for all who trust in it for forgiveness, and acceptance, and eternal life. But that we may cherish those sentiments towards Christ which it becomes us to entertain, we must take a nearer view of that temper with which he bore the heavy load of suffering which was laid on him for the purpose of working out our redemption. He foresaw every pang that it was requisite for him to endure in order to save sinners, and yet he scrupled not to undertake the arduous task, and engaged in it with alacrity and zeal. As he proceeded to execute its duties, he met with numerous difficulties, and dangers, and distresses: but he shrunk from none of them; he encountered them all with undaunted firmness; he rose superior to them in every aspect that they assumed, and in every combination in which they assailed him. He never retreated from one scene of trial on which he was called to enter. He never was heard to utter a complaint under the multiplied privations which continually harassed him. 'He stedfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalen,' where he knew that nothing awaited him but injustice, and cruelty, and death. He rebuked his disciples when they thought it foul scorn that he should submit to the wrongs which he calmly foretold. He exposed himself to the traitor's artifices, when he might have defeated them and escaped. He was in such agony that it extorted from him prayers for deliverance, yet with the same breath he declared his entire acquiescence in all the sorrows to which he was doomed by the decree of heaven. He allowed his enemies to carry him away to judgment, and to procure his condemnation, and to cover him with reproach, and to suspend him on the accursed tree, though with one frown he could have sunk them all in the gulf of perdition. He might have come down from the cross, as the multitude impiously challenged him to do, and erected on their ruin that cause which they were attempting to destroy, yet he patiently endured its anguish, magnanimously despised its shame, and struggled on through all its mysterious and unspeakable terrors, till he could say in the accents of victory, 'It is finished.' Nor was it mere constancy that he exercised in those dark and trying circumstances through which he passed. It was moreover with feelings of pleasure and exultation that he travelled along the path of sorrow, and 'trode the wine press' of the Father's wrath. He was not only contented, but he rejoiced to suffer as a surety for guilty men. His humiliation, and all the hardships and miseries which it implied, were the appointments of God's will. He was well aware that every arrow of affliction which pierced him, from the beginning to the conclusion of his mediatorial labours upon earth, got its direction, and its power, and its bitterness from the hand of his heavenly Father: and yet all along, even when they drunk deepest into his soul, he looked up and said, 'To do thy will, I take delight, O my God!'

Such was the constancy and such was the cheerfulness with which our blessed Saviour bore his sufferings. And surely we cannot but admire the character in which this excellence was so conspicuously displayed. And if our regards should be proportioned to the extent and energy of the virtues which excite them, what must be our admiration of the character of Christ, when we think of the number, and poignancy, and duration of his sorrows, and remember that he persevered under their pressure with a constancy which never wavered for a moment, and with a cheerfulness which found its happiest exercise in the season of his deepest adversity!

But to our admiration of his unequalled magnanimity, we must add the more valuable tribute of our gratitude: for it was in love to our souls that his engagement to suffer and to die had its origin; and it was by that love to our souls that he was animated to fulfil his generous engagement, with the unbending fortitude and the unaffected gladness which he exhibited throughout the whole course of his endurance. And if we ought to love him because he has so loved us, O how deep-seated should our affection be! How ardently should it burn towards him by whose compassion it has been kindled! And how resolutely and stedfastly should it be expressed in spite of all the sacrifices which it may cost us, and of all the troubles and trials in which it may involve us!

And while we admire the character of Christ, and cherish gratitude and love to him on account of the constancy and cheerfulness with which he 'bore our griefs and carried our sorrows,' let him be in this respect the object of our close and habitual imitation. As his disciples we have much evil to meet with before we 'enter into rest;' bodily pain, worldly disappointments, mental distress, spritual trials, a thousand things to harass and afflict us in our journey through this vale of tears. Now let us be like our divine Master, and let 'none of these things move us.' Let us 'bear our cross' with patience. Let us be more than patient: let our 'heart be glad and our tongue rejoice' in tribulation. Let us 'take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in persecutions, in distresses' with which we may be visited for our attachment to his Gospel, or our activity in the cause of Christian benevolence. And let us look well to 'Jesus the author and the finisher of our faith,' as he is held out to us in the Holy Scriptures, giving himself to a degree of suffering and to a kind of death, infinitely more awful than what we can ever be called to endure, that we may catch some portion of that lofty spirit which his severest woes were unable to subdue, and that we may go back into the world, better prepared to sustain the burdens of life, and to triumph over the fears and the agonies of death.

III. Let us now consider in the *third* and *last* place, what it was, according to the language of the Psalmist, that supported and cheered our Saviour in the midst of his sufferings.

And, *first*, he tells us that he 'set the Lord always before him.' He set the Lord always before him as the great object of his regard; to whom his utmost devotedness was due, and in whose dispensations it was at once his honour, his duty, and his happiness to acquiesce. To his will he in every thing submissively bowed. To his character he paid the unlimited homage which perfect and uncreated excellence deserved. To his glory he felt that every affection of the heart, and every action of the life should be uniformly subservient. And thus setting the Lord before him, he was prevented from yielding to those claims of self love which might otherwise have proved too powerful for him to resist. He could not have declined his sufferings at first, or prematurely ceased to bear them, without opposing the divine will, which he had with authority as well as in wisdom appointed them; without affronting the divine character whose brightest attributes they were intended to display; and without obstructing the divine glory, which was to be manifested equally in their fitness and their effects. And the boundless piety of Christ, being not only hostile to all such regardlessness of what was due to God, but ambitious of every thing by which he could be honoured or in which he could be obeyed, made him at once patient and delighted to bear the whole weight of affliction that was laid upon him, for accomplishing God's purposes of mercy to our fallen race.

Now let us also 'set the Lord always before us.' When we are visited with affliction of whatever kind, and in whatever degree, let us remember that it 'does not spring out of the ground,' and that it must not be considered and treated as an evil which has no connection with what is good in its origin or in its issue. We should recollect that it proceeds, either directly or indirectly, from the hand of that great Being who manages all our lot; that it indicates the wisdom, the mercy, and the faithfulness of his dealings with us, and that if it be allowed to 'have its perfect work,' it will in its final results reflect honour on his administration, and redound to the advantage and happiness of our souls. And recollecting these things, let us submit, without murmuring, to all the hardships of our condition, and even 'count it all joy when we fall into divers trials, and tribulations.

In the *next* place, our Saviour tells us that he was supported and cheered in the midst of his sufferings, by the assurance that God was 'at his right hand.' He was not in a forlorn and helpless state—unprotected against the assaults of his foes—unsustained under the weight of his calamities—abandoned to the feebleness of human wisdom and human strength, and left to resources as uncertain as they were inadequate in 'the time of his need.' Had this been the case, and had he known it, his heart would have sunk into despondency, the work of redemption would have failed in his hands, and we should have had no suffering obedience—no atoning death, on which to rely for acceptance. But far different was his situation.

Omnipotence befriended him. The arm of Jehovah was stretched out for his stay and his deliverance. His enemies might be numerous and strong, but there was one to help him mightier than them all. His perplexities might be great, but they were nothing to the scan of unerring wisdom. His anguish might be bitter and severe, but his bitterest and severest anguish must have given way to the consolations of divinity. His trials might be round about him, and within him, and press close and hard upon his inmost soul; but there was nearer to him still than these could be, that God who has the universe at his command, and is pledged to preserve his chosen from all that would injure and overwhelm them. All this the Saviour knew. He knew that Deity was thus present with him, and thus engaged in his behalf. He confided in the great truth as one which would be realized in every exigency of his case. And fully convinced that he had only to trust and pray, in order to experience, in richest abundance, the aid that would uphold him, and the comfort that would cheer him, and the interposition that would deliver him in all his times of danger and of need, he 'feared no evil' that could possibly befal him, at any stage of his perilous undertaking. His dangers might be imminent, and his prospects dark, and his sorrows multiplied and great, but he cast himself on the protection of the Almighty, whose servant he was, and whose work he was doing; and he rejoiced in the sense of present safety, and in the hope of ultimate triumph.

Such was our Saviour's 'strong hold in the day of trouble;' let it also be ours. If we be followers of him, God is at *our* right hand, as he was at *his*, and we may warrantably exercise the same reliance, and take to ourselves the same encouragement which sustained and animated him along the path of suffering. God is always beside us to observe our circumstances, to listen to our petitions, to guide us through our difficulties, to soothe us in our distresses, to rescue us out of the hand of our adversaries, and to keep us from falling away in the hour of temptation 'from our own stedfastness.' Is not he possessed of every attribute to which we would appeal for comfort and for preservation? Has he not promised to put forth these attributes in our behalf as often as our situation requires their exercise? Does not the infinite perfection of his nature insure the fulfilment of that gracious promise in all its extent? And does not the experience of our Redeemer, who showed what we might expect, as well as exemplified what we ought to do, afford us a practical and satisfactory demonstration of the faithfulness with which our heavenly Father will communicate to us all that he has taught us to pray and hope for in the course of our pilgrimage? Let us then confide in him without hesitation or reserve. Let us bear upon our minds continually the lively persuasion that wherever we are, and whatever we suffer, he is present with us in the character of our guide, our comforter, and our protector. Let us ask, according to our necessities, that we may receive what he is both able and willing to bestow for their relief. Let us lean upon him in the exercise of a faith which looks perpetually to his word, and doubts as little of its veracity as of its kindness. And when the multitude or the severity of our trials would lead us to despond, let us think of the conduct and the consolations of Christ, and remonstrate with ourselves for not cherishing the confidence by which he was held up, and say 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God.'

Lastly, our Saviour informs us that he was supported and cheered by the hope of a resurrection to life and blessedness. 'My flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.'

This was to be the determination and issue of Christ's sufferings. They were, indeed, to 'bring him to death,' and that death was to be characterised by all that was frightful and distressing. But he 'had hope in his death.' He knew that the dominion of the king of terrors was to be destroyed, and that he was, by returning from the grave, to 'become the first fruits of them that sleep.' God would 'not leave his soul in hell,' that is, would not allow his human spirit to remain in the state of the dead, and would not permit his body, which was as free from moral pollution as his soul, and equally sanctified with it for the work of redemption, to undergo in any measure that process of dissolution which must pass upon all the sinful posterity of Adam. Instead of suffering him to continue in the grave, he would 'show him the path of life;' he would make the darksome valley a way along which he would conduct him to immortality; and, 'raising him from the dead, would give him glory,'—would receive him into his heavenly presence as a triumphant Redeemer, and exalt him to his right hand, that in the fulness of everlasting bliss he might reap the reward of his meritorious sufferings, and his victorious decease. Christ had this prospect continually in his view. He was well aware that he should speedily 'rest from his labours' and sorrows, and that 'his rest would be glorious.' It was 'for the joy set before him that he endured the cross and despised the shame.' And knowing that when he committed his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, who would keep what he had thus committed to him, and that his body would come forth from the tomb unhurt by the power of corruption, and that thus raised again and 'justified in the spirit' by his resurrection, he would be 'straightway glorified with the glory which he had with the Father before the world was;' anticipating such a splendid and felicitous result as this, he was resigned in suffering, and he was brave in death, beyond all that the generations of men have ever witnessed, or will ever be able to exhibit.

But though we can never equal the fortitude with which our Saviour suffered and died, we may humbly imitate him in this as in other departments of his exalted character. And, indeed, it is our duty to study this resemblance to him, and to strive after it, under the influence of the same motives by which he was actuated. These motives, it is true, we have not in that high style and commanding power in which they presented themselves to his mind. Still, however, they form a part of our Christian privileges, and it becomes us to fix our regards upon them, and to surrender ourselves freely to all the effects which they are calculated to produce on our sentiments and conduct. If we are united to Christ by faith, and if we are studying to 'be holy as he who hath called us is holy;' then we shall be partakers of Christ's resurrection, of Christ's joy, of Christ's glory. Our bodies, indeed, must moulder into their kindred earth, and a long period may elapse before they are recalled from their dreary abode. But the doctrine is true and stable, that as Christ has risen we shall rise also—that there is 'life and immortality' for us beyond the grave—that there awaits us, in celestial companionship with him who 'is the resurrection and the life,' a 'fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore.' And with this scene of restoration and of happiness before us, why should we grudge to suffer, and why should we be afraid to die? Our sufferings may be severe and protracted, but we suffer along with Christ, and suffering patiently along with him, we shall also reign with him in heaven; and as his sufferings merited the recompense which he received in his resurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to 'the right hand of the majesty on high,' so our sufferings shall be so sanctified as to qualify us for being 'children of the resurrection,' and 'heirs of the kingdom' which he has secured for all his faithful followers. Death may come upon us unexpectedly, and may come in his most forbidding form; and the terrors of his coming may be more awful and agonising than our fearful imaginations had ever conceived; but Christ also died, and 'by his death overcame death,' spoiled him of his destroying power, and is pledged to make every believer a sharer in his dear bought victory, and in his well-earned triumph. And 'living to the Lord, and dying in the Lord,' the grave, dark and noisome as it is, is consecrated as a resting place to our mortal bodies 'till the times of restitution,' when he who 'lives for evermore, and has the keys of hell and death,' shall awaken us from our refreshing slumbers, and clothe us in the robe of undecaying beauty, and conduct us into that region of unclouded light, and spotless purity, and unmingled bliss, where we shall dwell and be happy for ever. And, destined to such an award as this, let us not be cast down by any calamities that can happen to us, or be immoderately alarmed by any dangers that can threaten us, either during the time of our sojourning in this evil world, or at the period of our departure from it. Let us cherish habitually the hope of that eternal life which God hath promised to us, and which he will assuredly bestow upon us. Let us believe stedfastly, and act holily, as it becomes those who have such a 'high calling' and such a glorious destination. Let our faith and our hope derive new energy from the contemplation of Christ's death, by which he at once purchased our title to immortality, and ratified the charter in which it is made over to us. And then let us go on our Christian way rejoicing, trusting in the Lord Jehovah, and looking forward to 'the glory that is to be revealed.' Thus, we shall be 'filled with comfort and exceeding joyful in all our tribulation;' and when the hour of our departure comes, we shall take up the language of triumph and say, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' 'Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

LECTURE VII.

'*Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile. When I kept silence, my bones waxed old, through my roaring all the day long: For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me; my moisture is turned into the drought of summer. I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found: surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him. Thou art my hiding-place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance.*—PSALM xxxiii. 1—7.

PART I.

The passage that we have now read presents to our notice, some important and interesting particulars. There is *first*, the uncomfortable state of a convinced but still impenitent sinner. *Secondly*, there is the pardon of sin. *Thirdly*, there is the connection between the pardon of sin and the grace of repentance. *Fourthly*, there is the happiness of such as have repented and obtained pardon. *Fifthly*, there is the disposition of those who are penitent and pardoned, to engage in the exercise of prayer. And, *lastly*, there is the security of God's people in the midst of danger and distress.

I. First, we have here represented to us the uncomfortable state of those who are convinced of sin but still impenitent. 'When I kept silence, my bones waxed old; through my roaring all the day long. For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: my moisture is turned into the drought of summer.

This was the sad experience of the Psalmist himself. He had transgressed God's law. This he both knew and felt; and it brought along with it the pangs of remorse. His mind was conscious of having offended the divine majesty—of having incurred the divine displeasure—of having done what rendered him liable to the punishment threatened in the divine law. But he did not seek for deliverance from the burden of guilt by the confession of a contrite heart, and by application to the mercy of heaven. In both these respects he 'kept silence.' And the consequence was, that his convictions of the commission, and of the evil, and of the danger of sin, continued to harass him as before. He could find no peace. Wherever he was, and with whatever he was occupied, 'the hand of God was heavy upon him.' And this compunction of soul, haunting him continually, disturbing his midnight repose, accompanying him through the active employments of the day, and incessantly troubling him with anxiety and alarm, so affected him, that the vigour and freshness of youth were exchanged for the debility and exhaustion of age, and his 'moisture was turned into the drought of summer.'

Thus was it with the Psalmist; and thus in some measure will it be with all who attempt to stifle and overpower the convictions of sin. They may not be sensible of their guilt as he was; they may not feel it so acutely; they may not be so much alive to its impression; and they may not suffer from it the same degree of annoyance and misery. But still, if they be really convinced that sin attaches to them, and if they see in it a forfeiture of God's favour, and if they read in it the sentence of God's wrath, how can it be that they should escape from the anguish of a 'wounded spirit,' and not be 'filled with the terrors of the Lord?'

When I say this, I doubt not that I speak in accordance with what has been actually experienced by some of you now hearing me; and, perhaps you are still in the situation which the Psalmist has so pathetically described as his own. The iniquity that you have done presses hard upon your conscience. In that iniquity you recognise what has exposed you to the indignation of the Almighty; and the apprehension of his wrath, justly deserved and awfully threatened, is a perpetual source of inquietude and sorrow. You try to forget it in the cares of business, or to charm it away by pleasurable indulgence, or to drive it off by an effort of the will, or to reason it down by the sophistries of a carnal mind. But the endeavour is fruitless. The arrow sticks fast within you; the wound festers in your very vitals; and your attempts to heal it, only serve to render it deeper, and severer, and more painful than ever. It is a mercy that conscience is still awake—that it does not cease to remind you of your wickedness—that it is not yet seared into torpid and fatal insensibility. You have reason to bless God that his voice thus speaks to you—that his spirit thus strives with you—that he does not permit you to enjoy any inward peace, or to find rest to the sole of your foot, so long as there is within you an impenitent heart, and an unforgiven soul—that he unweariedly pursues you with his admonitions and his warnings, all destructive as they are of your present comfort, till you have abandoned the unhappy struggle which you are maintaining with your convictions, and sought for relief to your troubled mind, where alone that relief can ever be found. And the more effectually to persuade you to make no hesitation, and to lose no time in betaking yourselves to this refuge, consider, we beseech you, that the wretchedness which haunts you as transgressors, in society and in solitude, amidst care and amidst amusement, while it intimates God's willingness that you should flee from sin, both as to its power and its punishment, is but the presage of that unmingled and everlasting wretchedness which awaits you in another world, if you will not listen to him in this the time of your merciful visitation; and that to persist in keeping silence, while conscience is constraining you every hour and every moment to cry for forgiveness, and to pour forth your penitential acknowledgments at the throne of grace, and to apply to the divine compassion for that rest from your sins which the divine compassion is so ready to bestow, is to aggravate a thousand fold all the perils and miseries of your condition, and by lulling into apathy that internal monitor, which now pleads with you so urgently to flee equally from your present anguish, and from the 'wrath to come,' is to secure for yourselves an undisturbed continuance in the path of guilt, and an uninterrupted passage to the habitations of darkness and despair.

And why should you so perversely remain in the state of suffering to which conscious unworthiness has reduced you? You know that deliverance from the evils by which you are distressed is not to be obtained by the means to which you have hitherto had recourse. You know that nothing can remove them but the assurance of a full and free forgiveness from him whom you have disobeyed, and whose anger you have incurred. And you know, not only that he is willing to grant this forgiveness, but that he has devised and executed a plan, the whole purpose of which is to accomplish the salvation of sinners, and to speak 'peace to them that are afar off.' Look at this blessing as it is represented to you in the Scriptures, that you may be satisfied of its sufficiency to constitute your safety, and to quiet all your alarms.

II. The Psalmist speaks of it in three ways, 'Transgression is forgiven,' 'sin is covered,' 'the Lord imputeth not iniquity.'

The sinner has his *transgression forgiven*. Having broken God's law, he has become liable to the punishment which the law has denounced, and unless some adequate interposition takes place, this awful punishment must be borne by him beyond the possibility of escape. But when he to whom the prerogative of forgiving the sinner belongs is pleased to exercise that prerogative in his favour, and to pronounce the decree of forgiveness, the punishment is wholly remitted, his obligation to suffer it is cancelled, and no power can again bring him into the condemnation out of which he has thus been authoritatively and judicially released.

More than this, his *sin* is said to be *covered*. The substantial meaning of this expression is the same as that of the preceding one. It conveys the idea of forgiveness. But along with that it associates another idea which tends to give it additional force as to its effect on the feelings and comfort of the sinner. His sin is not, and cannot be concealed from the eye, nor obliterated from the remembrance of Him who is as omniscient as he is holy. But having been forgiven, its consequences are as effectually and completely done away with, and his condition as free from obnoxiousness to these, as if it had been literally hidden from the observation of the Almighty, or beyond the reach of his knowledge. Could we suppose him not to have seen it or not to have been acquainted with it, no anger could of course have been kindled in him, and no penalty inflicted by him on account of it. And not in one degree more thoroughly secure would the sinner have been in that case from 'the curse of the law,' than he is, now that, though a transgressor in the sight of God, and condemned by him for his transgression, the sentence is recalled, and he who passed it says to him, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.'

And there is still another statement of more liberal import, and more emphatic phrase. It is affirmed, that the Lord *imputeth not iniquity.* When God justifies the sinner, he does not impute his iniquity to him—does not place it to his account, and punish it in his person,—but regards his as if he had not transgressed,—treats him as one of unblameable righteousness,—bestows upon him those blessings which can only be bestowed in consideration of the divine law being satisfied, both in its penal demands and in its active requirements. And why? Because God has laid upon Christ all the demerit of the sinner,—because that demerit has been expiated by the sufferings of the surety,—and because, in its place, and by the same surety, there has been substituted an obedience, not only perfect in itself, but equally authorized and accepted by him whose indignation the sinner had incurred. The guilt of the sinner is imputed to Christ, who accordingly was 'made a curse for him,' and 'suffered the just for the unjust:' and the righteousness of Christ is imputed to the sinner, who accordingly obtains that deliverance from punishment, and that restoration to favour, which God, in the exercise at once of his holiness and his mercy, confers as the reward of righteousness so perfect and so meritorious. This is the Gospel method of salvation as unfolded throughout the sacred writings, and as referred to by the Psalmist in the passage before us,—of which the Apostle Paul has given an explanation in the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, where he quotes the very language of David, in order to illustrate his doctrine of justification by grace, through faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ.

III. Now the blessing of pardon as thus secured and thus understood, is said to confer happiness upon those who receive it. '*Blessed* is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. *Blessed* is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.'

Those only who have experienced this blessedness, can rightly comprehend its nature, and appreciate its extent. But even for such as have not had that actual experience, it cannot be difficult to conceive that it is indisputably real and incalculably great. Supposing, in the first place, that the sinner, when he is pardoned, were wholly ignorant of the change that has been effected in his spiritual condition, still he must, beyond all controversy, and beyond all calculation, be pronounced happy: for though not aware of it, he is in fact freed from the condemnation, which, had he remained under it, would have insured his endurance of everlasting misery, and he is in fact brought into a state of reconciliation, which must ultimately insure his enjoyment of everlasting felicity. And whatever be the period of his continuance upon earth, and whatever be the anguish which the consciousness of guilt, and the dread of God's vengeance may inflict upon him, the time cannot be far distant when this season of distressing ignorance shall come to an end, and when, in the awards of the judgment day, he shall know, and see, and feel, that 'the anger of God had been turned away' from him, and that he had been invested with a new title to the kingdom of his father.

Such, however, is the constitution of divine grace that the blessedness of the pardoned sinner is not merely in reversion and in prospect: it is in a certain measure granted to him even now. It not only exists as an attribute of his condition; but it is present with him as a benefit which he is conscious of possessing, and which affords him heartfelt consolation. Whenever the Redeemer's righteousness is imputed to him for his justification, there is simultaneously wrought in him that faith by which he receives and appropriates the imputed righteousness of the Redeemer, and which imparts to him an immediate sense of safety similar to what he would have had if, in the midst of some temporal danger, he had taken a firm and decided grasp of one who was both able and willing to accomplish his deliverance. He also believes the testimony of the word of truth, which says, that whosoever has such a faith is justified in the sight of God; and the conclusion which he is inevitably led to draw from this, must more or less satisfy him, that to him 'there is no condemnation,' and that his escape from it is as certain as the Divine promise is unequivocal and true. And the grace which justifies him, and the faith through which the justification becomes his, operate such a change on his views, and principles, and temper, that there is borne in upon him the humble hope, or the assured confidence of his being the object of God's pardoning mercy. And, with such an impression as this prevailing or reigning in his mind, can it be doubted or denied that he is blessed? Is it a blessed thing for the rebellious subject to obtain the forgiveness of his sovereign, and to be restored to all the immunities and privileges which he had forfeited by his criminal revolt? Is it a blessed thing for the undutiful child to have his ingratitude and disobedience pardoned, to be re-instated in the affection of his offended parent, and re-invested with a title to the inheritance of which paternal displeasure had deprived him? Is it a blessed thing for us to be thus treated by those who are creatures like ourselves, and limited in their power of conferring good and of inflicting evil, and whose favour and whose frown shall shortly terminate in the grave, where they and we must lie down together? And can it be any thing but blessedness—must it not be blessedness inexpressibly and beyond comparison great, to be rescued from the vengeance, and to be recalled to the friendship, of that mighty Sovereign, that everlasting Father, whose vengeance and whose friendship can not only blast or nourish our every earthly comfort, but, what is of infinitely more importance, affect our eternal destinies, and either exalt us to the highest heaven, or sink us down to the lowest hell?

O how sadly do you who are the votaries of a sinful world mistake your interest and your happiness! You give yourselves up to sensual indulgence, or you accumulate sordid wealth, or you run from one amusement and one gaiety to another, or you engage in the busy and useful occupations of life, or your pursuits are directed to the objects of a nobler ambition, and all your activities are employed in the field of intellectual research: You do all this, and in the midst of it all, you think yourselves happy; you say that you are happy; you cannot see that any thing more is necessary to make you happy; you wonder that we can ever doubt of your being happy. And yet we must affirm that you labour under a grievous delusion, and that in truth you are not happy. We are aware that happiness is in one sense a matter of feeling; and that we should in vain attempt to persuade you that you are destitute of pleasurable emotions while you are conscious of having them. But still we must say, that you are not happy.

You are not happy *in comparison.* Giving to your peculiar enjoyments all the value, and variety, and sweetness that you can justly claim for them, still you would not think of putting them upon a level with the enjoyments of those who believe and feel that he who is the great fountain of life and happiness has ceased to be angry with them, and that while he has taken away all their iniquities and all the displeasure that was due on account of them, he loves them at the same time so freely and so fully as to make them heirs of his 'heavenly kingdom.' Even in speculation you must allow this to be the case; otherwise you must allege that there are no degrees of happiness, and that the animal which is merely sentient is as happy as the angels that dwell on high and 'excel in strength.' And if from speculation you come to experience, the argument is all against you: for though you may still adhere to your position that you are happy because you think so, it must be remembered that you are practically acquainted with nothing more than those gratifications, which are connected with present and visible and created things, that you are ignorant of the delight arising from the exercises of a mind that is at peace with God, and that therefore your testimony and your opinion are not to be credited like the testimony and the opinion of those whose experience has embraced both kinds of enjoyment; and has there been any one instance in which they have not assured us that they never knew what happiness was till they had become partakers of the grace which pardons and saves the guilty soul, and does not their united voice declare what David declared, when, from his own personal feeling, he uttered and recorded the language before us, '*Blessed* is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered, and to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity?'

But again we say, that if you persist in alleging you are happy, you are happy *without reason.* Supposing your pleasures were less criminal than we fear they often are; supposing that they were all of the most exquisite and refined description; and supposing that they were never interrupted by one pang or one disappointment, to remind you of their insufficiency;—we should nevertheless assert that to be satisfied with them, and to count yourselves happy by means of them, is irrational and absurd. For know ye not that all this while 'the wrath of God is abiding upon you' on account of your sins? Deny this, and then your conduct becomes consistent, though your condition remains as full of peril as before. But if you admit that God governs the world; that you are responsible to him for your actions; that you have disobeyed his law; and that consequently you are involved in the forfeiture of his favour and in obnoxiousness to punishment; if you admit this, as most of you profess to do—then, in these circumstances, can you or should you be happy? Though all the sources of indulgence which this world affords were laid open to you, and though you had not an earthly want unsupplied, nor an earthly desire unfulfilled, could all this compensate for the evil of being subject to the curse of Almighty God, any more than it could be effectual in removing it? Or would not your perseverance in devoting your affections to the gratifications of sense and time rather tend, by aggravating your guilt in the eye of offended heaven, to render your misery more certain and your folly more conspicuous? We can conceive nothing more preposterous in the whole range of human error, no deception more gross and melancholy, than for a man to imagine and to insist that he is happy, because the world, and its perishing objects, and its unthinking inhabitants, are smiling upon him, while yet the terrors of incensed omnipotence and of a coming judgment are frowning on his fate. Compared with this, the maniac is wise, who, in his dreary cell, and with his crown of straw, fancies himself to be the monarch of the universe; the slave is right and noble who boasts of liberty, while he dances in his chains; and the sleeping outcast is an object of complacency, when he dreams that he is 'rich and increased in goods, and stands in need of nothing,' though at that very moment he is in rags, and poverty, and wretchedness, and stands in need of every thing. Yes, my friends, yours is a sad and delusive dream, when you imagine and call yourselves happy; while, whatever may be your temporal circumstances, and whatever may be your temporal enjoyments, the sentence of condemnation, pronounced upon you by the righteous Judge, is yet unrecalled; while no voice from heaven has whispered that your 'sins are forgiven;' while Divine justice still asserts and urges its claim against your guilty souls; and while, from the very scene in which you are setting up your rest, and boasting that your wine and your oil and your mirth abound, there is 'a certain fearful looking for of wrath and fiery indignation to consume you.' O that you could be awaked from this wild and fatal dream, and that your eyes were open to see the infatuation which besets you!

From your own case of fancied bliss, look to the case of those into whose number, for your own sake, we would fondly introduce you. They are blessed indeed. They not only have that inward feeling of happiness which you pretend to have; and it is not only from its very nature profounder and more satisfying than yours,—but it can endure the test of reflection and examination; it has the approbation of their own minds impartially sought for, and deliberately conferred; and it must commend itself to the approval of every understanding that is capable of comparing one thing with another, and of forming a sound and unbiassed judgment on the operations of the human heart. It does not reject any enjoyment which God is pleased to bestow; it is not at variance with one innocent pleasure of life; and it has no natural alliance with a single evil for the suffering of which it does not contain an ample recompence. But it is principally and permanently derived from being delivered out of the greatest calamity, and from being put in possession of the richest inheritance, that can enter into the lot of an immortal being. The more it is considered, the more is its excellence demonstrated, and the more is its value felt. And it has this unspeakable advantage, that its worth and its continuance have no dependance on the fluctuations which belong to all other enjoyments, but remain untouched and undiminished, and are even enhanced and secured by the crosses, and troubles, and disappointments, which denude the sinner and the worldling of all their blessedness, and overwhelm them in misery and despair. O then, if feeling deceive you, let the deception yield to the dictates of reason, and act upon the conviction, that if you are happy, you ought not to be happy, lying as you are, under the curse of God: and let it be the earnest desire of your heart that you may be happy, like those whose situation the Psalmist describes when he says, 'Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.'

And should you still be obstinate, and content yourselves with the enjoyments that are consistent with an unpardoned state, and go on to live as if you both were, and had reason to be, happy, let me just conclude with hinting to you, that if, on any principle of reason, or propriety, or experience, you can be called happy, you are happy *only for a moment.* I allude not to the uncertainty which attaches to every one of your earthly pleasures—though even that consideration should not be without its influence—but I refer to the short period during which on any supposition they can be yours. Multitudes among the generations that are passed, lived and thought and felt as you are doing; they paid no regard to the blessedness of which the Psalmist speaks with so much emphasis; they wrapped themselves up in the fond persuasion that all was well with them, and refused to seek for any other, or any higher happiness than what they found in the gratifications of a carnal mind. And where is their happiness now? Did not death 'bring it to a perpetual end?' Could the remembrance of it have any other effect than that of increasing the agony of that punishment to which their unforgiven spirits were doomed when they appeared before the tribunal of their God? And in like manner, will not a few short years put a final period to your boasted felicity? And will not every indulgence to which you now so eagerly devote yourselves become as if it had never been? And will not you then be left to sink into utter perdition, under the burden of that guilt which now lies so heavy on your souls, and notwithstanding which you have the folly and the presumption to rejoice, as if you, and you alone, were happy? O be persuaded but to look forward a little way, that you may see how short your course of worldly enjoyment is, and how darkly and wretchedly it must terminate. And then cast your eyes upon the path along which the justified sinner is pursuing his way. It looks to you as if it were through a dreary wilderness; and so it is. But amidst all the sorrows and difficulties of that wilderness, he has the favour of a forgiving and reconciled God to uphold and to cheer him; to be his 'pillar of cloud by day, and his pillar of fire by night;' to fill him with a peace which the world that you serve can neither give nor take away. And his journey is as short as yours; but O how diffierently does it terminate! It terminates in a land of rest, and bliss, and glory, where the joy that he now feels from the sense of God's pardoning mercy, shall be freed from all that impairs it here, and where it shall be such as to afford the most delightful and the only satisfying illustration of that great truth which we partially experienced upon earth,—that 'blessed is he whose trangression is forgiven, whose sin is covered, and to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.'

Let me beseech you then to seek after this happiness with your whole heart. 'Give no sleep to your eyes, nor slumber to your eye-lids,' till you have asked and obtained the forgiveness of your sins. Apply for that blesssing through faith in the atonement and righteousness of the great Redeemer. Pray that it may be communicated to you in 'demonstration of the Spirit,' so that you may feel in your experience that you have 'obtained mercy,' and be glad in the possession and enjoyment of such a privilege. And He who sent his own Son to be a propitiation for your sins, and is now 'in him reconciling the world to himself,' will lend a gracious ear to your petition, and blot out your iniquities, and give you to partake of all the blessings of the everlasting covenant.

PART II.

We have considered, in the *first* place, the uncomfortable state of a convinced, but still impenitent and unpardoned sinner; in the *second* place, the blessing of pardon itself; and, in the *third* place, the happiness of those who have been so privileged as to obtain that blessing.

IV. We come now, in the *fourth* place, to consider repentance as connected with the forgiveness of sin. 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid; I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.'

Confession of sin has no reference to the idea of making God acquainted with our unworthiness. In confessing our fault to a fellow-creature, one principal part of the act frequently consists in revealing to him what he did not know before, and what he would never have known but for our communication. With God, however, the case is entirely and necessarily different. He is already intimately and perfectly aware of our guilt, of all its extent, of all its particulars, and of all its aggravations. Confessing to *him*, therefore, must mean something else than merely telling him of our unworthiness. It plainly stands opposed to that state of mind in which the transgressor is when he is awakened in some measure to see his sinfulness, but not yet sufficiently affected with the sight to act according to its influence and tendency. In that state he is sensible that he has committed many iniquities, and he is so far convinced of his demerit and his danger as to feel uneasiness from it. But still he labours to persuade himself that things are not so bad with him as his fears would suggest; he tries to believe that such and such actions, for which his conscience had been upbraiding him, have, in truth, no moral evil in them; he is ingenious in devising, and eager in discovering excuses, by which he may palliate conduct, the ungodly or immoral nature of which he cannot wholly deny; he will not recognize such depravity in his heart and life, as should make him tremble for his safety, and anxious to secure it; he struggles to keep down every rising of remorse—to check every feeling of anxiety and alarm; and he strives to satisfy his mind that he has not been so disobedient to the law of God, as to subject him to condemnation and punishment. When, however, his convictions of sin become powerful, his sense of its evil clear and acute, and his consciousness of its burden too oppressive for him to bear, he ceases to take a partial or a flattering view of his spiritual character. He feels that when he maintains his comparative innocence he is but deceiving himself with a vain and false imagination. Bitter experience teaches him that 'there is no peace to the wicked,' even when he is most resolute in speaking peace to his soul. All his sophistries, and all his stout-heartedness, and all his fond delusions are overborne by the aspect which his guilt now assumes. And instead of having recourse to what might be supposed to extenuate his offences or to justify his conduct, he chooses rather to admit that such an attempt is utterly hopeless; he does homage to the truth, mortifying and humiliating as it is, that he is nothing but a great and miserable sinner; and he seeks for relief to his agitated or dejected spirit by a free, ingenuous, and unreserved acknowledgment that he is chargeable with rebellion against God which exposes him to divine indignation, and which it is beyond his power to expiate. He not only sees the folly of imposing upon himself, by endeavouring, as it were, to impose upon omniscience; he is not only alive to the double guiltiness of first sinning, and then trying to think that he has not sinned, or has not sinned so as to provoke God; he is not only struck with the danger of thus putting a veil upon his iniquities, and steeling himself against the impression of that unalterable turpitude which belongs to them, and of that coming ruin in which they must in this case involve him;—not only do these things affect him deeply, and determine him, instead of struggling any longer with his convictions, to yield altogether to their impulse, and to allow them their full play on his feelings and his fears; he is also encouraged to cherish them by the views which he begins to take of the grace and mercy of Him against whom he has sinned, and by the assurances which are held out to him, that 'the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,' and that the divine compassion extends to the chief of sinners. And, therefore, he pours out his heart in unqualified and undisguised confession, pleading guilty to every offence which the holy eye of God has marked in his deportment, anxious that in no one instance, and in no one degree, he should indulge in a mitigated opinion of his delinquencies, and studying to take the completest survey, and to have the deepest sense, and to make the frankest and the fullest avowal, of that demerit which adheres to him as a hater and a transgressor of the divine law.

It is quite evident that confession of sin forms but a part of repentance. It is only one of the steps which the penitent takes in the course of that transition which he makes, or of that change which he undergoes, when he turns from sin unto God. And yet it obviously stands here for the whole of repentance, having the blessing of forgiveness and salvation annexed to it, and intimating the Psalmist's return from that state of guilt into which he had plunged, to the holy principles and holy practice which he had criminally abandoned. This is not uncommon in Scripture.* We read in another passage besides this, that 'if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Such a substitution of a part for the whole of repentance, seems to proceed on the same general principle, according to which we often find a single Christian virtue put for the Christian character at large; as when our Saviour says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' Here mercy stands for every thing which a good man is required to possess. And, when properly considered, such a representation is perfectly correct: For the mercy here spoken of is genuine mercy,—mercy wrought by the spirit of God, and governed by right and worthy motives; but this being the case, we may be quite sure that this grace will not stand alone, but will be accompanied and connected with every other grace that characterises a genuine disciple of Christ. The spirit of God cannot be supposed to implant the sentiment of mercy, and to leave the mind unfurnished with those other excellencies which are equally becoming, and equally necessary, and without which the persons whom it distinguishes would not be men of God, 'furnished unto *all* good works.' And the motives which lead to the cultivation of this moral quality, must, of course, operate to the cultivation of justice, temperance, faith, humility, and every remanent virtue which goes to constitute that character to the possession of which the promise of salvation is annexed. Now, in like manner, and for a similar reason, confession of sin is taken to signify the whole of repentance. This confession is not supposed to be a mere verbal or formal acknowledgment of iniquity, which is perfectly consistent with perseverance in the iniquity which is confessed. It is understood to be sincere and worthy; and that being the case, it proceeds from just and Scriptural views of sin; it implies a sacred homage to the character and the law of God; it is associated with godly sorrow and self-abasement; it is quickened by a believing regard to the mediation of Jesus; and it is succeeded by practical reformation and holy obedience. And, viewed in that light, and in these relations, it may, with the greatest propriety, be spoken of as we speak of repentance itself, and set down as bringing along with it the rich recompense which divine benignity has been pleased to attach to the exercise of that comprehensive grace. And we may remark also a peculiar propriety in its being so employed in the passage before us. For the Psalmist had been speaking of the misery that he experienced in consequence of his 'keeping silence,' or refusing utterance and effect to his convictions of sin; and now that his mind is relieved by adopting an opposite course, and giving vent to his feelings in an acknowledgment dictated by those full and affecting views of his guilt which would terminate in a thorough change, he very naturally ascribes to it the substantial character and beneficial results connected with repentance. 'I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.'

Repentance, as expressed by confession of sin, is here united with the blessing of forgiveness. And this is a union recognized and stated throughout the whole of Scripture. The doctrine of God's word is plainly and unequivocally this,—that while the impenitent must perish in their sins, the truly penitent shall obtain the pardon of their sins, and final admission into the kingdom of heaven.

We must be very careful, however, to entertain accurate notions of the relation which these two things bear to each other. It is not the relation of cause and effect. You do not obtain forgiveness on account of your repentance. It might easily be shown, from the nature of repentance itself, that it could not procure such a benefit by any worth or virtue or efficacy of its own. But I would just remind you of one essential truth in the gospel scheme, and in the gospel record; namely, that it is 'through the blood of Christ that ye have redemption, even the forgiveness of your sins.' It is for the sake of what Christ did and suffered, as an atoning sacrifice, that God in his undeserved mercy blots out your iniquities. And any weight given to your own doings in the attainment of this mighty boon, is just to detract so much from the riches of divine grace, and from the merit of the only Saviour, and to evince a spirit which is at once opposed to the gospel method of deliverance, and most inconsistent with the primary and essential elements of repentance itself. Forgiveness is annexed to the exercise of *faith*, but neither is faith the cause of your forgiveness, nor the foundation on which you can rest either your application for that blessing, or your hope of receiving it. It is nothing else than an acceptance of Him who expiates your guilt by the oblation of himself, and procures for you by his exclusive merit the pardon that you need. In its proper exercise, it withdraws your regards entirely from yourselves, and fixes them solely on the atoning death and finished work of the Redeemer. And as this faith is a leading principle in the true penitent, every true penitent will lose sight of all that is in himself, and place his confidence entirely in that one sacrifice by which Jesus Christ has taken away the sins of the world.

But still it must not be forgotten that repentance is necessary—absolutely and indispensably necessary for you. It is necessary for maintaining consistency in God's administration towards you—for nothing could be more contradictory to his moral perfection than to make provision for the pardon of your sin, and to allow you to continue in the love and practice of it. It is necessary to fit you for enjoying his favour and friendship upon earth, it being impossible for *him* to hold communion with you, or for you to have any relish for his loving kindness, while you continued 'enemies to him in your minds, and by wicked works.' It is necessary to qualify you for the employments and the blessedness of the heavenly world, because these are so holy and immaculate, that an unconverted man could neither willingly engage in the one, nor have any satisfaction or complacency in the other. It is necessary in all these important respects; and we cannot imagine a wilder or more fatal delusion, than for such as have not repented to appropriate to themselves the blessedness of those 'whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered, and to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.' We cannot here enter particularly into the nature and process of that repentance which you must exercise; but we would earnestly press upon you the necessity of having this evidence of your spiritual safety; and would beseech you to try and examine yourselves in order to ascertain whether you indeed possess it; and never to rest satisfied till in this respect 'there is no guile in your heart,' and till you can say with the Psalmist, in the full import of his language, 'I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.'

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* See Lecture III. Part II.

V. We now come to consider the disposition of those who are penitent and pardoned to engage in prayer. 'For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee, in a time when thou mayest be found.'

The true penitent may be denominated godly during every period of his progress; from the first moment that he gets decided views of the evil of sin, till he comes to abound in every good word and work. And at every period of his progress, he feels an inclination to pray. Nothing is more natural to him—nothing more requisite for him—nothing more beneficial to him. Whenever he is thoroughly convinced of sin, his heart instinctively ascends in supplication to the throne of God. He is impressed with an overwhelming sense of the evil of sin, in its contrariety to the divine law, and in its obnoxiousness to the divine wrath. His conscience tells him that it cleaves to him, and that it has involved him in dishonour and perdition. He is aware that there is no deliverance, and no safety for him but what must come from that great Being whose authority he has disobeyed, and whose anger he has incurred. He knows, also, that his offended Maker is as compassionate as he is holy, and is ready to forgive all that come to him by 'the new and living way' that he has appointed. And thus, not merely urged by his spiritual necessities, but encouraged by the divine willingness to supply them, he looks up and says, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' He beseeches God to 'save him from going down to the pit'—to pardon his manifold iniquities, and thus to speak peace to his guilty and troubled soul.

Nor is he contented with once offering up this supplication. He is too strongly impressed with the magnitude of his guilt and the imminence of his danger; he thirsts too vehemently for the blessing that he has implored; he is too anxious and fearful about falling short of that which he so greatly needs and so devoutly wishes for, to be satisfied with such a rare and short-lived application to the fountain of mercy. He continues to ask for the divine forgiveness and favour with a fervour and an importunity, such as might be expected in the case of one who knew that, if he succeeded, eternal felicity would be his, and that if he failed, he must die, and that for ever. And while he perseveres in petitioning for mercy to pardon him, he also supplicates 'grace to help him in his time of need.' He knows that he is polluted as well as guilty; that he must be sanctified as well as justified; that of his own strength he can no more do the former than he can do the latter; that both achievements must be performed by 'the great power of God;' and therefore, he prays, that while he is rescued from the curse of the law, he may be also emancipated from 'the bondage of corruption,' and 'created again in Christ Jesus unto good works.'

He is aware, that though God may have accorded to him the forgiveness he has asked, yet that he has *continued* need of the pardoning mercy he has experienced; that he is every day sinning against his Maker and Redeemer, and consequently is in daily want of that blessing, which can henceforth come only from him who at first bestowed it; and therefore he ceases not to intreat it from his merciful father in heaven; and amidst all the prayers that he offers up, he never forgets to ask the repeated forgiveness of his repeated transgressions. He is also sensible that the change which has been commenced in his soul, can no more be carried on and completed, than it was originated, by his own independent energies; that he must have the divine help to keep him from falling back into that state of blindness, and insensibility, and degradation from which he has been delivered; that without it, he would cease even to feel any desire for the thorough renewal and final purification of his character; that every view of the evil of sin which he had obtained, would quickly be obscured and lost; that all his good resolutions would be feeble and unavailing; that sin would regain its mastery over his affections and his conduct; that he would assuredly fall back into that state of impenitence, and unbelief, and wickedness, from which he was happily emerging. And therefore he prays, that 'He who had begun the good work in him, would perfect it until the day of Christ;' would save him from the corruption of his own heart; strengthen in him all the holy dispositions which he had implanted; fortify him against the assaults of temptation, and the inroads of his spiritual enemies; carry forward the process of his sanctification, and continue to administer to him that direction and that assistance, that sufficient grace and perfect strength, which would keep him from falling away, and 'preserve him blameless unto the coming of his Lord.'

He prays for these things. He prays for them with an ardour and an earnestness, proportioned to the lively conviction that he has of their infinite importance and indispensable necessity. He prays for them in the name of that great High Priest to whom every true penitent in every age has looked as the only foundation of hope. He prays under the influence of that encouragement which he draws from the goodness of God already vouchsafed to him in opening his eyes to the danger and misery of his condition, and revealing himself to him as ready to forgive, and imparting to him some portion of the relief and blessedness which accompany the communications of his pardoning love. And he prays 'in a time when God may be found.' He considers that any delay in applying at the throne of grace would be both idle and dangerous—that no season can be more proper than that in which the hearer of prayer is himself prompting him, as it were, to the holy exercise—that it is when God, by giving him an affecting sense of his guilty and helpless condition, hedges him in to the attitude of devotion, he can with most propriety and with fondest hope beseech him for deliverance from it—that as his need of pardon, and sanctification, and all other spiritual blessings, is both urgent and certain, he would be acting foolishly if he did not supplicate these as often as God's providence calls him, and as often as God's Spirit stirs him up to seek them—that life is short in reference to the great work of preparation for eternity, and that he may be suddenly and unexpectedly withdrawn from the means and opportunities of carrying it on. And, therefore, he prays to God *now*, which is 'the accepted time'—*now*, which is 'the day of salvation;' and has it as one of his most ardent petitions, that the spirit of prayer may be kept alive in his soul, and that he may be made as desirous to obtain, as God is willing and able to bestow, 'mercy to pardon, and grace to help him in his times of need.'

Are any of you, my friends, living in neglect of prayer? Then be assured that you are neither penitent nor pardoned. You must be sensible, if you know any thing at all of the subject, that of the real penitent, it cannot be more truly affirmed that he has repented than it may be said, 'Behold he prayeth.' The one necessarily leads to, and implies the other. All the discoveries that are made, all the feelings that are brought into operation, and all the grace that is experienced throughout the process of the sinner's repentance, and throughout the life by which that change is succeeded, do plainly and irresistibly dictate the necessity of supplication. And, indeed, one of the very sins of which he has to repent, and one consequently which he must be understood to forsake, is the neglect of this great duty. So that it is quite impossible that the repentance which is 'unto salvation' can have taken place, if it has not been accompanied with prayer. And yet you do not pray! You never went to the throne of grace; or if you did, you grew weary of the exercise, and have ceased in a great measure, or altogether to engage in it! And with all this you flatter yourselves that you have repented, and that you may appropriate to yourselves the blessedness of those whose transgression is forgiven! What inconsistency! What presumption! What self-deception is there here! No, my friends, repentance and neglect of prayer are quite incompatible. Repentance is not more evidenced to the world around him by the sanctified life of the penitent, than it is evidenced to his own mind by that recourse to prayer which it necessarily prompts, and which in its turn is requisite for the full accomplishment of his return to God and to the way of salvation. He only is the true penitent—he only is the pardoned penitent—he only is the godly penitent—whose moral change is attended with, and helped onward by supplication and prayer; who sees in God alone his refuge and his help; and who, according to God's appointment, and in the way of his appointment, applies to him for every thing that he needs. This is characteristic of the people of God; and it is on this account that we can speak of them as blessed beyond all that careless and indevout and unconverted sinners can either experience or conceive.

VI. This leads us to say a few things on the last particular which we proposed to consider, namely, the security of God's people in the midst of danger and distress. 'Surely, in the floods of great waters, they shall not come nigh him. Thou art my hiding place; thou shalt preserve me from trouble; thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance.'

This language does not intimate that God's people are to be exempted from trials and sufferings. On the contrary, it supposes them to be actually involved in these, as well as at all times liable to them. And, indeed, the history both of the Old and the New Testament church, not to speak of our own observation and experience, may satisfy us that though they have a happiness which others know nothing of, and cannot appreciate till they feel it, they are exposed to all the ordinary calamities which afflict the lot of man—that they are often visited with bereavements and sorrows from which the men of the world escape—and that they have spiritual troubles which are peculiar to themselves, and which are frequently far severer and more difficult to endure than the worst of outward distresses. But herein is their grand distinction, that they are supported, and guarded, and saved by Him who has all things under his sovereign control, and who says of his people, 'He that touches them, touches the apple of mine eye.'

They must pass through a wilderness, indeed, where difficulties beset them, where dangers threaten them, where privations visit them, where malevolence pursues them. And in many respects it is more a wilderness to them than it is to those who are yet 'far from God, and far from righteousness.' There is one consideration, however, which takes away from it, in their case, all that can render it gloomy or formidable to such as have to traverse its rugged paths. They are the objects of God's love, and from his love, which must constitute the safety and the happiness of every creature that is privileged to enjoy it, nothing that can possibly happen, whether of good or evil, is able for one moment to separate them. They enter the wilderness, blessed with the enjoyment and the assurance of his pardoning mercy, and warranted to look to him as their reconciled friend. They travel on under his unerring guidance and almighty protection. And beyond it lies the land of promise, into which he will ere long introduce them, and for the felicity of which the toils and troubles of their pilgrimage will be overruled to prepare them. 'The floods of great waters' may surround the Christian, and to the eye of unthinking men, and in the apprehensions of his own timid mind, they may be about to overwhelm him. But his God says to them 'Hitherto shall ye come, but no farther;' and he reposes on that love which 'many waters cannot quench, and which the floods cannot drown.' God is his 'hiding place' which he may flee to, when perils menace him, into which his most powerful enemies cannot follow him, and where he is as secure from harm as omnipotence can make him. God 'preserves him from trouble;' saves him from every disappointment, and from every pain that would injure his essential interests; blunts the edge of such afflictions as are allowed to befal him, by imparting help and consolation along with them; and converts them into blessings, by making them subservient to his present improvement, and his everlasting happiness. And even when he seems ready to fall a prey to the adversities which come upon him, when all things wear the aspect of hostility, and conspire to accomplish his ruin, and when escape appears to be hopeless and impossible, even then God magnifies his grace and his might by 'compassing him about with songs of deliverance,'—not only delivering him, but making the deliverance so manifest to him as to impress him with the sense of his divine interposition, and to fill his heart with gratitude, and his mouth with praise.

But though even here—in this world of sin and sorrow—which looks as if it were no resting place for the Zionward traveller, as if it had nothing for him but trials and temptations and distresses, and as if it would destroy him before he reached the place of his ultimate destination; though even here he is so much the object of God's providential care and upholding grace, that he is always safe, and can employ the triumphant strains of David on another occasion, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? the Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?'—yet it is in heaven that he expects, and it is to heaven that he looks forward, for that complete deliverance from his troubles which is necessary to his perfect blessedness, and which he has been taught to regard as the sure and final portion of every one that is pardoned and reconciled to God. And what are all the blessings that he can be called on to endure in this scene of trial—what all the violence of all his enemies—what all the hardships, and privations, and anguish that can be attached to his mortal fate—when compared with the great and glorious 'redemption that draweth nigh'—by which he shall be rescued at once from all sin, and from all misery—by which he shall be introduced into a world where no enemy can reach him, and where no tempter can harass him, and where no evil can befal him, and where, in a sense in which he could never use it, and with a joy which could never animate him here, he will take up the song of deliverance, and say in the company of the redeemed on high, 'Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever!'

I trust my friends, that such is the experience felt, and that such are the anticipations cherished by many of those now hearing me. The passage that we have been considering expresses the sense of safety and the hope of deliverance with which the Psalmist was favoured. Then he was in the midst of troubles from which he could not extricate himself, and by which, but for divine help, he must have been utterly destroyed. It expresses what was felt by all the ancient worthies both of the Old and New Testament church, when in the Providence of God, they were placed in similar circumstances of danger and distress. I trust it is no mean recommendation of it when I tell you that it was a chosen portion of Scripture with our forefathers, who, when persecuted for conscience sake, and hunted like partridges on the mountains, because they would not bend their necks to the yoke of bondage, often made the sequestered glen and the barren rock echo to their voice as they lifted it up to God in this appropriate and pathetic psalm, and in the notes of their favourite and heart-touching melodies, conveyed to his listening ear, the sorrows which oppressed, the consolations which supported, and the hopes which cheered them. And well will it be for you, if in every season of calamity you can cherish that confidence in the mercy of God, and count upon that saving power of his which have been the distinction, and the comfort, and the rejoicing of his saints in every period of his church—which will continue to distinguish and uphold them in all future generations—and which will have their issue in the purity, and bliss, and glory of his unsuffering kingdom.

LECTURE VIII.

Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man. For thou art the God of my strength: why dost thou cast me off? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy? O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me, let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles. Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy: yea, upon the harp will I praise thee, O God, my God. Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.—PSALM xliii.

It is evident, from the tenor of this Psalm, that David was in great difficulty and distress when he wrote it. He speaks of 'an ungodly nation' against whom he required help—of 'the deceitful and unjust man,' from whom he needed to be delivered—of 'the oppression of the enemy' that caused him to go mourning. We should find it difficult, and perhaps might find it impossible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, the precise circumstance to which he alludes; but that is no bar to our understanding the general import of the passage, and to our deriving from it those salutary lessons which it is doubtless intended to teach us. We are liable to afflictions similar to those with which the Psalmist was visited, and when thus afflicted, we cannot do better than look to the manner in which he expressed and conducted himself on such trying occasions, that we may learn how to suffer, and how to apply for consolation and deliverance.

You will observe, my friends, that at the very outset, and all along, his views are directed to heaven. He had set his heart upon God: in him he had placed his trust, and from him he expected all necessary aid. This was the habitual feeling and exercise of his mind. And whenever any peculiar exigency occurred, he had immediate recourse to that Great Being in whom he had been taught and accustomed to hope. It was not to himself—it was not to his friends—it was not to any mere created refuge that he applied; it was to God in whom there is all that is good, and mighty, and faithful, and wise; who has every object and every event under his supreme control; and who has promised that he will be with his people in all their times of trouble and of danger.

Thus it was with the Psalmist; and thus will it be with all of us who are truly devout. We will cherish a constant dependance upon God. It is to his providence and grace that we will look amidst all the vicissitudes of life. And, as in our seasons of prosperity we will ascribe to him the blessings that we enjoy, so in our seasons of perplexity and distress it is upon him that we will cast ourselves for guidance and comfort. The ordinary means of obtaining these we will carefully employ, whether they are to be found in our own personal efforts, or in the assistance of our fellow-men, or in the circumstances by which we are surrounded. We will carefully employ these means, because they are divinely appointed, and because we cannot succeed in procuring what we wish for without them. But still we will confide in the blessing of God for rendering them effectual. We will seek for our solace, and our encouragement, and our support in his promised grace and almighty power. We will lift up our souls to Him in prayer and faith. And from our knowledge of his character, our belief in his word, and our experience of his mercy, we will lean upon him as our stay, and rejoice in him as our salvation.

One reason why we are so much borne down by our adversities, is our thinking too little of the divine administration,—giving too much attention to secondary causes,—regarding the arrangements of our lot too much in a state of separation from the unseen hand which regulates them,—and viewing every thing that befals us rather in the effects which it produces upon our present feelings than in the purposes in which it originates, and in its final and permanent results on our most important interests. O, if we could only bring ourselves to see the finger of God in all that happens to us,—to believe, that whoever persecutes us, and whatever annoys us, He is our never-failing friend,—to remember that he calls upon us to place unlimited confidence in his government of the world, and in his dealings with his people,—and to build our hopes of his unceasing protection and care upon that strong foundation which he has laid for them in the gospel of his Son—if we could but bring ourselves to do this, we should less frequently repine and despond under the pressure of calamity; we should assume a loftier tone, and experience a more undisturbed serenity amidst the disappointments and vexations of life; and all the hardships to which the malice of our bitterest foes could subject us, would only make us cling closer to that arm which is 'mighty to save,' and drink deeper into those streams of life and consolation which flow from the throne of a reconciled God.

We may not, my friends, have to sustain the assaults of such enemies as those with whom the Psalmist had to struggle. But still we cannot expect to be exempted altogether from tribulation; and sometimes it may come upon us in its most aggravated form. There are *ungodly* men who, being destitute of religious principle, will not scruple to injure us, when they can thereby gratify their passions or advance their worldly interests. There are *deceitful* men, who will put on the garb of friendship, and acquire our confidence and esteem, and then treacherously cheat us out of our property, or our reputation, or our peace. There are *unjust* men, who, by fraud or by violence would rob us of our dearest rights and most valuable possessions, and not only reduce our powers and opportunities of doing good, but even diminish our means of comfortable subsistence. And there are *oppressors* who, taking advantage of our weakness or dependence, and trampling alike on the maxims of equity and humanity, may exact from us unreasonable services, impose upon us heavy burdens and cruel restraints, and ply us with insults, and harassments, and deprivations, from which we can make no escape, and for which we can find no redress.

And what does it become us to do when thus situated? Shall we indulge in those resentful feelings which the infliction of such wrongs is calculated to awaken in our breasts? No: that were to cherish an unbecoming spirit, and to add the demerit of sin to the evil of suffering. Shall we then give way to emotions of sorrow, and act as if our case were that of inevitable and hopeless misery? No: while God reigns, our condition never can be such as to justify despair. Or shall we be contented with using every exertion to vindicate our character and maintain our privileges, and repel the aggressions that are made upon us? No: that would both prove insufficient to its purpose, and be unsuitable to what we know and believe concerning the operations of a superintending Providence, and the necessity of divine interposition. We know and believe that there is one who 'rules over the inhabitants of the earth, as well as the armies of heaven,'—that his sway is universal, perpetual, and incontrollable; that infinite perfection adheres to every part of the dominion which he exercises—that all those who love and serve him, are the objects of his favour, and that his eye is ever upon them for good—that, far from beholding with indifference the severities which are practised upon them by wicked men, he *then* takes a more special and affectionate interest in their well-being—and that he speaks in these terms to them, when they are in circumstances of destitution and suffering, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.' And knowing and believing these things, we cannot but go to the throne of grace when our foes rise up against us, and while, in the spirit of love and of a sound mind, we employ every weapon of defence, and every means of safety with which God has entrusted us, it is at once our duty and our privilege to commit our ways to his guidance, and our fortunes to his management, and to say to him with the voice of earnest supplication, 'Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation. O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man: for thou art the God of my strength.'

We apply to God as our *Judge*—not that he may decide upon our personal merits, and give us the award that is justly due to us; for this were to court and to secure the punishment which our sins deserve. As guilty creatures we cast ourselves upon his mercy, and though we must look to him as 'setting his throne for judgment,' yet we look to him as appointing to that throne the Lord Jesus Christ in whom we have believed as our Saviour. But when we apply to him as our Judge in the sense in which the Psalmist uses that language, it is that he may judge between us and those who are inflicting upon us unmerited wrongs. And, therefore, in order that we may make such an application with propriety, with confidence, and with success, we must be previously satisfied that we are the injured party—that our adversaries, in vilifying or in maltreating us, are not merely resenting the mischief which we have done to *them*,—but that their cruelty is unprovoked, and their hatred without a cause. Were not this the case, were we chargeable with the same offences on account of which we complain of others, did their enmity to us proceed from our enmity to them, and had we indulged in the spirit or in the practice of a vindictive retaliation, our appeal to God in the character of *Judge* could only have the effect of involving ourselves as well as our enemies in a sentence of condemnation, and of increasing our guilt by exhibiting our presumption. But if we suffer from the wanton malice or unprincipled selfishness of our fellow-men; if we are innocent of what they allege against us as the ground of their hostility; and still more, if that hostility has been created by our firm adherence to truth and duty, or if it appears in the form of an ungrateful return for kindness that has been felt, and benefits that have been bestowed—then is it both safe and becoming in us to make our reference to God's judicial character; and in doing so, we may rest assured, that having committed our cause to Him who is the Judge of all the earth, and who 'judges righteous judgment,' its determination will be such as to vindicate our rights and secure our final welfare.

We apply to God as our *Advocate*. 'Plead my cause,' says the Psalmist, 'against an ungodly nation.' Those who have not the fear of God before their eyes, may reproach us, and wound us, and despoil us; and all our arguments and remonstrances may be unavailing to the removal or the abatement of their malevolence; and every effort that we make to ward off the injuries with which they menace us, may only add to the bitterness of their malignity and to the activity of their evil speaking and their evil doing. But God condescends to take up our plea, and to urge it home upon them with an energy which *we* could not employ, and which *they* cannot resist. And we render a just homage to those high and gracious attributes in which he has been pleased to reveal himself to us, as well as consult our own personal advantage, when we beseech him so to manage and defend our suit, as that our enemies shall not be permitted to succeed in their endeavours, or to triumph in their injustice. Thus praying to God, from the firm conviction that he can, we may also pray to him with the animating persuasion that he will, effectually take our part against them that trouble us—that by the secret influences of his Spirit or the open demonstrations of his providence, he will convert their hearts, or stop their mouths, or arrest them in their career of mischief—that in his own way, and at his own time, but certainly and completely, he will bring the controversy to such an issue as to show that the foes of his people, though they may harass for a season cannot and shall not ultimately prosper.

We apply to God as our *Deliverer*. 'O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man.' Those wicked men into whose hands we have fallen, and who are attempting to make a prey of us, may overmatch us in cunning or in force; and if abandoned to our own resources, we may become the victims of their malicious designs, or their violent assaults. But God is made known to us as a Being on whom, in such perilous and helpless circumstances, we may place unsuspecting and cheerful reliance, for he is our strength; he is strong in wisdom, strong in power, strong in all the perfections which can operate to rescue us from the grasp and machinations of our foes; and these perfections he is pledged by his promises to put forth in our behalf. Whatever be the number, and the artifice, and the might of them that set themselves against us, this is our comfort, and this is our refuge, that 'the Lord God omnipotent reigneth;' that his everlasting arm is underneath and round about us continually; that we have free access to that throne on which he sits as the hearer of prayer; and that if, from the midst of those perils into which unjust and deceitful men have plunged us, we implore his merciful interposition, our supplications will prevail upon him to 'take to him his great power,' to scatter all our enemies, and to emancipate us from all our fears.

And truly, my friends, what need we more than that we should thus be privileged to confide in God as our Judge, our Advocate, and our Deliverer? Yet the Psalmist who seems to have habitually looked up to God and trusted in him as sustaining these important characters, ventures, in a moment of forgetfulness and despondency, to utter this complaint, 'Why dost thou cast me off? Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?' And alas! it is to be feared that the same discontent is felt, and the same impatience expressed, by not a few believers, in the season of severe and protracted calamity. All this is quite natural. If God is almighty to destroy or to subdue our enemies, it is difficult to perceive why they should be allowed to disturb our peace, or to injure our welfare, as if they were stronger than He who is for us; and if, in spite of all our importunate intreaties for deliverance, we are still exposed to their fiery assaults, our argument being strengthened by feeling, it is not wonderful that in our haste we should be betrayed into that querulous language which fell from the lips of David, when under the pressure of evils which he had long endured, and to which he saw no symptons of a speedy termination. But though all this be quite natural, it is both erroneous and sinful. It is erroneous because it implies that the present is a state of unqualified retribution; that, because God is possessed of infinite justice and power, he must, therefore, exercise them immediately, and to their full extent; that when we are in danger or distress he cannot allow us to continue in it, consistently with his own revealed character or with our real welfare. And it is sinful, inasmuch as it is setting up our imperfect wisdom in opposition to the unerring wisdom of God, accusing him of violating his promises and abandoning his people, and dictating to him the time and the manner of bestowing upon us those blessings of which we stand in need, and for which he has instructed us to pray. Being thus erroneous and sinful, let us avoid such conduct; and if, on any occasion, we are like the Psalmist, betrayed into it, let us also like him, humbly impute it to a want of knowledge in our minds, and a want of grace in our hearts, and still let us apply to God in prayer as he did, that these wants may be supplied, and that we may be taught to see more clearly the rectitude of all his dealings with us, and enabled more submissively to acquiesce in all his dispensations, and more unreservedly to trust in his faithfulness and mercy.

No sooner had David vented his unreasonable and unjustifiable complaint than he poured out his soul in this appropriate supplication, 'O send out thy light and thy truth, let them lead me.' Let such be the supplication of our souls when similarly situated. Let us ask God to lead us into correct views and correct feelings, respecting his moral administration. We are naturally ignorant of that subject; and even though we have been made acquainted with it by means of the written word, yet much imperfection still cleaves to all the information we have acquired, and the trials with which we are frequently visited, are apt to darken and perplex our understandings, when endeavouring to scan the divine procedure, and to reconcile what we experience of disappointment and of suffering with what we believe of the greatness and the goodness of that Being, under whose government these evils befal us. But though our knowledge were as extensive and accurate on this point as we could desire it to be, still that attainment would not be sufficient; for amidst it all, there is a natural aversion to every thing which afflicts us with pain, or which frustrates our hopes, or which subjects us to the scorn and the enmity of our fellow-mortals; and this aversion is so strong and so inveterate as to make us mutiny under such calamities, notwithstanding their constituting, in our system of belief, a part of God's ordinances concerning our lot. And, therefore, we need a two-fold communication from heaven to meet our necessities, and to 'guide our feet into the way of peace;' and for these we must be careful to pray. We must pray that God would 'send forth his light;'—that he would give us such bright and realising conceptions of those attributes of his, which make him worthy to be 'the confidence of all the ends of the earth,' as that we shall see them operating in our seasons of adversity as well as in our seasons of prosperity, and shall recognise wisdom and mercy in those dispensations which to the carnal and unenlightened eye, wear the aspect of nothing but capricious chance, or cruel and relentless fate. And we must pray that he would 'send forth his truth;'—that he would hold out to us such a strong and impressive manifestation of that feature of his character which tells us that he is unchangeably true to all the promises that he has ever made, that he would so carry home this peculiar display of himself to our conviction and our experience, as that we should deem it at once irrational and undutiful to distrust him in any thing, and that in the gloomiest and most disheartening of his providences towards us, we may cling to his faithfulness 'as the anchor of our soul, both sure and stedfast,' and cherish the unwavering, cheering, delightful conviction that the most formidable of our adversaries shall never prevail against us—that he will 'make their wrath to praise him' by making it subservient to the good of his people, while 'the remainder of that wrath he will restrain;'—that he will finally and wholly rescue us from whatever they have inflicted, and from whatever they may threaten—and that all that we are doomed to suffer from their malice will be overruled by him for promoting our spiritual improvement and our future happiness.

But while we beseech God so to illuminate our minds with a knowledge of his character, and so to impress them with a sense of his faithfulness, as that we may be led to a right mode of judging, and a right tone of feeling, respecting his care of us when we endure the buffetings and persecutions of ungodly men, we should also pray for these divine influences in reference to our engaging in the ordinances of religion. 'Let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles.' At all times, and in all circumstances, it is both a bounden duty, and a valuable privilege to wait upon God in the exercises of his house. But from the nature of these exercises—from their tendency to instruct, and console, and encourage—it is more especially incumbent upon those to engage in them, who are in perplexity and distress by reason of the harsh and slanderous and injurious usuage which they receive from a world lying in wickedness. All who in such trying conditions have betaken themselves to the house of God, and devoutly mingled in its sacred occupations, can bear testimony to the comfort and the advantage which these are calculated to impart to the afflicted, but humble and sincere worshipper. He finds in them a support infinitely stronger, and a solacement infinitely sweeter than any that the mere worldling has ever found, when, visited by some sorrowful dispensation, he seeks for an assuagement to his grief, or a stay to his dejected mind, in the secularities of a busy life, or in the amusements of a gay one. The prayers that he offers up in faith—the sympathies of his Christian brethren—his researches into the oracles of truth—his meditations on divine things—and the various topics to which his attention is directed—all are fitted to give him a more thorough apprehension of the divine character and government, to reconcile him more effectually to the painfulness of that discipline to which he is subjected, to awaken in him a spirit of more patient endurance and more heartfelt submission, to procure for him more abundant supplies of that grace which is necessary to help him in his times of need, and to send him back to his scene of suffering, better prepared to encounter it with fortitude, and to bear it with resignation.

But, that we may thus profit by the services of the sanctuary, we must preface them with prayer and supplication. We require, and therefore we must ask the light and truth of God to 'bring us unto his holy hill and to his tabernacles'—to dispose us to make that solemn approach to him—to fit us for a right discharge of the duties which it implies—and to make it 'a good thing for us to draw near' to the object of our reverence and our love. And while we pray for such a blessing to accompany us, and to rest upon us, and to sanctify all our service, we must take care that our service be a spiritual as well as an external service—that we do not merely 'go unto the altar of God,' but 'unto God' himself—that besides passing through all the 'forms of godliness,' we study to feel and to cherish its animating power; that while we give a visible demonstration of our respect for every outward observance in which we are called to participate, it be our main concern to hold communion with the father of our spirits; that we appear before him, and think of him, and address ourselves to him, as the fountain of our happiness; that we recognise in him the giver of an 'exceeding joy,' a joy that far exceeds in its nature, its degree, and its duration, the joy that we can derive from any created source; that while enjoying the honour and the privilege of engaging in his worship, and experiencing the benefits with which his mercy has thereby provided us, we lift up our souls to him in grateful adoration; that, in conformity to the character of our New Testament economy, we praise him with our voices, as David praised him with his harp; that whatever be the channel through which our thanksgivings are conveyed, or whatever be the mode in which they are expressed, they be the outgoings of devout and deep-felt affection; and that they be offered with all the earnestness and ardour which should accompany the sacrifices that we present to God as our God, with whom we have reconciliation by the blood of sprinkling, who will be 'our guide even unto death,' and our 'portion for evermore.' And surely, if we thus pray, and if we thus go to the sanctuary of the Lord, and if we thus engage in its pious and holy offices, we may well employ the language of self remonstrance and self encouragement with which David concludes the Psalm, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope in God, for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God.'

The Psalmist had formerly, in the spirit of despondency, complained that God had cast him off, and allowed him to 'go mourning because of the oppression of the enemy.' But his mind now resumes a better tone; his views become enlightened; his soul 'returns to its rest,' and he blames himself for being immoderately agitated and dejected by what he had to suffer, and summons up all his energies to place an unlimited and rejoicing confidence in God, whom he had been guilty of 'charging foolishly' with having abandoned him to the malice of his foes. To such of you, my believing friends, as have much to harass and distress you, and who in your sad and solitary musings on the hardships of your lot, are ready to murmur or to despair; even though your path hitherto has been only ruffled and thorny, and you have at this moment a cup of bitter sorrow pressed to your lips, and in the picture of your coming life there be nothing but snares, and difficulties, and cruel mockings, and multiplied sufferings in the foreground, and nothing but darkness and desolation in the distance; even then I would say to you in the words of expostulation, why are your souls 'cast down, and why are they disquieted within you?' Do not you 'believe in God?' Are not you convinced that all things are at his disposal, and under his control? Is not his character adorned with all the excellencies which can assure you of present safety and eternal felicity? Has not he promised, and is not he faithful to perform his promise, that he 'will never leave you nor forsake you?' Cannot you trust that, armed as he is with irresistible power, and clothed as he is with unsearchable wisdom, and full as he is of the richest and tenderest mercy, he will bring light to you out of the darkness by which you are surrounded, and good to you out of the manifold evils which beset your path? Is it not the distinct prediction of Christ that 'in the world ye shall have tribulation?' but has he not told you that he has 'overcome the world,' and that he will give you the victory over all its terrors? Does not the history of the church furnish you with many illustrious examples of the divine interposition in behalf of persecuted and afflicted believers? And is the arm of your heavenly king now 'shortened that it cannot save, or his ear now heavy that it cannot hear?' Was Daniel safe amidst the fierce lions? Did the three children walk unhurt through the burning furnace? Did David escape from his troubles, though 'all the waves and billows of adversity had gone over him?' Was not God himself the angel of their deliverance? And is he not *your* God? And will he not also deliver you, 'O ye of little faith?' Did he give up his own dear Son to crucifixion and to death, that he might pluck you out of the spoiler's hand? And after this costly ransoming of your souls, and this marvellous exhibition of his grace and strength, think you that he either cannot or will not disenthral you from the power of unjust, deceitful, ungodly, and oppressive men? Away all such unworthy suspicions; such groundless fears! 'Hope in God.' Rest upon his promises, which are all 'yea and amen' in Christ Jesus. Take shelter in the declarations and assurances of that covenant which he has established with his church, and which in all things is well ordered, sure, and everlasting. Do this and you 'shall yet praise him.' His goodness will yet be for a 'song in the house of your pilgrimage.' And that 'sadness of the countenance' which has been generated by your trials and sorrows, will be found to conceal the tokens of his fatherly love, and by 'making your heart better,' will attune it for magnifying in higher and holier strains, the faithfulness and the salvation of him in whom you have put your trust.

And even though no such gladness should ever fill your bosom or pour from your lips, while you travel through the wilderness—though you should go 'mourning all your days' because of present and pressing hardships; though, when we ask you to sing us one of the songs of Zion, you should reply, with the captive Israelite of old, 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land;' yet we still bid you 'hope in God, for you shall yet praise him.' There is a world beyond this, where all your sorrows shall be hushed into oblivious silence—where the voice of the oppressor shall no more be heard; where you shall set up that everlasting 'rest which remaineth for the people of God;' where uninterrupted peace, and holiest love, and unmingled joy, shall pervade and animate the countless multitude that 'have come through much tribulation,' and have 'entered into their glory;' and where one theme of your unceasing gratitude shall be those very afflictions which, in this dark and distant dwelling, had almost overturned your faith, and almost plunged you into despair.

LECTURE IX.

O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer: give ear, O God of Jacob. Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed. For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness. For the Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly. O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee—PSALM lxxxiv. 8—END.

It has been the characteristic of good men in every age that they have not 'restrained prayer before God'—that they have, on principle and from feeling, been given to this exercise—that in all their varied circumstances they have engaged in it as at once a duty and a privilege, an expression of piety, a means of improvement, and a source of consolation. And if we be among the number of those who have received 'the spirit of grace and of supplications,' we will not only, under the influence of that spirit, 'make our request known unto God,' but we will be anxious that they should be heard with acceptance, and answered in peace and mercy. We are guilty of mockery when we ask that which we do not need, or when we are unconcerned about the success of the application that we make. It becomes us to take a lively interest in every thing that is requisite for promoting our real welfare; to depend for the communication of it upon Him 'from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift'—to make it the subject of sincere and devout petition at the foot-stool of his throne—and to address him with all that earnestness, and with all that solicitude, which correspond with the importance of the blessings that we implore, and with the character of the Being who is intreated to bestow them.

And as we pray for the particular benefits which are suited to our particular situations, so we will appeal to those particular attributes, by the exercise of which we may expect to find an appropriate supply to our wants, and an appropriate refuge from our distresses. If we are involved in difficulties which we have no skill to unravel or to remove, we will of course apply to God for deliverance; but we will apply to him more peculiarly as a God of wisdom,—a God whose wisdom can extricate us out of all our perplexities, and render our path plain, and our prospects clear. If we are in danger from the assault of enemies, whose hostility we have no strength to resist or subdue, we will of course apply to God for protection and safety; but we will apply to him more peculiarly as a God to whom 'belongeth power,' power to rescue us from every peril, and to defend us against every foe, and to place us in perfect security. If we are conscious of guilt, and fearful of condemnation, we will of course apply to God for forgiveness; but we will apply to him more peculiarly as a God of mercy, as a God whose mercy *may* be exercised in perfect consistency with his other attributes,—whose mercy *will* be exercised towards all who apply for it in the appointed way,—whose mercy can pardon the deepest and most aggravated guilt of the sincere penitent. And if we are in distress, whether it be of a temporal or of a spiritual kind, we will of course apply to God for support and relief; but we will apply to him more peculiarly as the God of consolation,—as a God in whom compassions flow,—who is 'afflicted in all our afflictions,'—and who is both able and willing to comfort us amidst the various tribulations in which we may be involved.

And while we pray to God for the blessings that we need, and while we offer up our supplications with sincerity and earnestness, and while we address God in special reference to those attributes, which correspond with the nature of our necessities, we will never forget, if we have drawn our notions from the Gospel, and if we have been taught by the Spirit to pray, that our petitions must depend for their success, not upon any merit of our own, for, alas! we have nothing of that kind to plead before the holy majesty of heaven,—but upon the merit of him whom God has appointed to be our Mediator, and for whose sake alone, therefore, we can expect to find acceptance when we approach the divine presence, and to get an answer in peace when we implore the divine bounty.

Of all this we have an example and a practical illustration in the case of the Psalmist. He was a man of God, and, therefore, he was a man of piety and prayer. And whether he was in joy or in sorrow, he delighted to pour out his heart to that great being to whom he was indebted for the one, and from whom he expected support amidst the other. It was particularly in seasons of difficulty and distress that he had recourse to 'the throne of grace.' Nor was it merely or chiefly in the time of temporal calamities—it was also and chiefly in the time of spiritual deprivations, that he took refuge in devotional exercises. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the passage before us. The Psalmist had, by the rebellion of his son, and the united power and malice of his enemies, been necessitated to abandon the holy city. In this way he was prevented from engaging in the public ordinances of religion on which he had, from principle and from experience, been accustomed to set the highest value. And considering it as one of the heaviest dispensations with which it was possible for him to be visited, he is naturally most anxious to be delivered from it, and restored to privileges in the enjoyment of which he had formerly been so happy, and through the loss of which he had become so miserable and forlorn. In his extremity, he calls upon God. He fervently intreats him to hear his prayer. He reiterates the intreaty that he would lend an attentive ear to the aspirations of his soul. And he pleads with all the urgency and importunateness of one who deeply feels his wretchedness, and eagerly desires to have it mitigated or removed.

He appeals to those characters by which God commends himself to his people when they are in circumstances of destitution and affliction, and when they are crying to him for help and for comfort. He prays to him as the '*Lord God of Hosts*,' who is the supreme ruler of the universe,—who has every thing in it at his uncontrolled command and sovereign disposal,—who 'does according to his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth,'—and whose arm, therefore, is mighty to guard from evil or to deliver out of it all who are interested in his favour, and need his aid. He prays to him as '*the God of Jacob*,' who had graciously condescended to make a covenant with Jacob and his seed,—who is faithful to fulfil all the promises of that covenant,—and one of whose richest promises is that which the Psalmist records in another place, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver *thee*, and thou shalt glorify *me*.' And he prays to him as '*God his shield;*' who was not only powerful to accomplish his relief, but whose power was in continual activity for that purpose; who said to Abraham of old, 'Fear not, Abraham, I am thy shield;' who was to be considered as holding the same language to all the spiritual descendents of the Patriarch; and who, in the time of their trouble, would 'hide them in his pavilion, and in the secret of his tabernacle,' and even when they were at a distance from that tabernacle, as the Psalmist now was, would still stand between them and all their foes, and secure them against every deadly assault, and every fatal catastrophe. And then, though he addresses God as the Lord God of Hosts, as the God of Jacob, and as God his shield, and though he addresses him in these characters with the utmost degree of importunity, he does not feel that he has done enough to effectuate the object at which he aims. He directs his believing regards to the Messiah, to him whom God had 'anointed' to be the Saviour of sinners, and on account of whose obedience unto death, typified by the unspotted sacrifices under the law, God became propitious to those who drew near to him; and he beseeches God to hear him, and answer him, in consideration of the appointed Mediator in whom he believed, and by whom he had confidence and boldness to pray.

Now, my friends, let us imitate the example of the Psalmist. Let us be especially afflicted by the deprivation of spiritual benefits, and especially solicitous to have spiritual benefits restored to us when they happen to be taken away. And for this end, let us address God in prayer; convinced that all our fortunes are in his hands, that he alone can comfort and assist, and rescue us when we are so situated as to require interposition, and that devout and fervent applications to him at his throne of mercy, are the means which he himself has ordained and sanctioned for our obtaining from him the blessings that we stand in need of. Let us in all such approaches contemplate him, and recognise him, and appeal to him, as possessing the peculiar excellencies which render him infinitely worthy of our dependance, and which invite and encourage us to ask, and to seek, and to knock for the communications of his grace. And while we apply to him as clothed with majesty and power, and as unchangeably true to the promises of his covenant, and as continually holding forth the protection of his providence, let us apply to him as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom alone it is that we can hope to find acceptance, and through whom alone it is that we can hope to receive what we supplicate; whose merits are at once absolutely essential, and altogether sufficient to procure for us 'mercy to pardon, and grace to help in every time of need.'

The Psalmist explains the reason that he had for being so urgent in praying to be restored to the privilege from which he had been unjustly and cruelly separated: it was the ardent love that he bore to the house, and the public ordinances of God. 'For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand; I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.' In the beginning of the Psalm, he had proclaimed the amiableness of God's tabernacles considered in themselves. Here he looks at the subject in the way of comparison; and he states his preference in terms the most explicit and emphatic. So much enjoyment had he in the services of the sanctuary, and such important advantages did he derive from them, and so closely was his engaging in them connected with a principle of obedience to the divine authority, and of regard for the divine honour, that if he could be permitted to devote ever so short a time to them, that short time would be far more precious to him than the longest period spent in places where God was not acknowledged, and in exercises with which the fear and the love of God were not permitted to intermingle. Sin, he saw and knew, had its honours, and its pleasures, and its profits; but though he could be allowed to inhabit its most costly and luxurious palaces, though he could command for himself every desirable thing which it had to bestow, and though he had the power of communicating these to all around him, he would not think for a moment of putting his situation there in competition with the meanest place that ever a saint occupied, and with the scantiest fare that ever a saint received, in the temple of his God. This was David's deliberate and determined choice; a choice which he often expressed in the most glowing language; a choice, the decisiveness and sincerity of which he uniformly demonstrated in his conduct.

O how unlike to the Psalmist, in this respect, are many professing Christians! We speak not of those who do not acknowledge the truth and authority of revelation. Living visibly, if not avowedly, 'without God in the world,' we cannot wonder that the institutions of the Gospel should be viewed by them with dislike, and treated by them with contempt. But we speak of those who profess to have faith in the Bible, and to hope for salvation by Christ, and who pay a certain degree of respect to religious ordinances; and we say of many of them, that in their mouths the language of the Psalmist would be mere pretence, because it is habitually contradicted by their conduct. They have evidently no liking to the house of God, and to its services. Many and trivial are their excuses for absence. When prevented from attending, they feel no regret; and when they do come, it is with an ill-concealed reluctance. And then how cold and unconcerned in their devotions! How inattentive are they to the preaching of the Gospel! How much more interested in their outward appearance, and outward comfort, than in the state of their affections, and in the improvement of their understandings and their hearts! And how fretful and discontented when the service exceeds by ever so little, the very limited period during which they are disposed to engage in it, or to be present at it, without losing their patience. But follow them into the world, and observe the contrast which they exhibit. To the gay pleasures, and to the grave pursuits of that world, they have no aversion. For these they so eagerly long, that the sacredness of the Sabbath scarcely escapes violation. Into these they plunge with a devotedness of feeling which all the prayers, and the praises, and the instructions of the sanctuary, could never command. While indulging in them, how quickly does their time pass away! How do they murmur when any thing occurs to interrupt or to shorten them! How vehemently do they strive to prolong their duration, and to heighten their relish, and to secure their permanency! And rather than forego them, how ready are they to renounce all that is good in principle, and great in character, if they render such a sacrifice indispensable, and to sit down contented with the paltriest advantages they can afford, and with the meanest gratifications they can give, to the most worthless of their slaves! In every thing worldly they engage with all their heart; but for the spiritual services of God's house, they have little or no heart at all. And it would be a just expression of their character, were they to invert the language of the Psalmist, and say, 'A day spent in the occupation and indulgences of a worldly life, is better than a thousand in the courts of the Lord: I had rather be the humblest partaker of those joys which are to be found in the tents of wickedness, than fill the most honourable station, and feast upon the richest blessings, to which I could be invited in the house of my God.'

O if there be any now hearing me to whom this description justly applies, think how completely it strips you of all your pretensions to genuine Christianity. Neglecting or disliking the ordinances of religion, what becomes of your respect for the authority of God, who has appointed these ordinances, and commanded you to observe them? Taking no serious interest in the pious and instructive exercises of the sanctuary, how is it possible to help concluding that the truths of the gospel have no value in your estimation, and that they are the objects neither of your faith, nor of your love? Taking no pleasure in holding communion with your God and Saviour in his house below, where is your preparation for maintaining that more intimate intercourse with him in his temple above, which is to form one of the highest honours, and most delightful employments of those who are to be introduced into that blessed place? And preferring the service of the world to the service of him who made you and has redeemed you, upon what ground can you expect that he will bestow upon you any reward at last, or that he will not leave you to be recompensed by that master to whom you have cleaved, and whose 'wages is death?' If you know any thing of what true religion is, and reflect but for a moment on what you are doing, you must be sensible that so long as the ordinances of God's house are treated by you either with indifference or dislike, you have no lot or part in the salvation of the gospel; you are not only destitute of one thing which has invariably distinguished the people of God, but you are destitute of that which indicates the want of all their essential principles, and all their peculiar affections. Let me therefore beseech you to examine yourselves by this test; and not to think yourselves safe till you have been brought to feel somewhat of that warm affection for the worship and service of God, which animated the breast, and actuated the conduct of the Psalmist. Nor rest satisfied with low attainments in this important grace. The more ardently you love the house of prayer and praise, the stronger will be the proof of your progress in sanctification; and then that devout attendance on the ordinances of the gospel, which will necessarily accompany your love for them, must have a powerful effect on the improvement of all your Christian virtues, and lead you to verify the statement in Scripture, which declares, that 'they who wait upon the Lord shall mount up on wings as eagles: they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.'

And you my Christian friends, who have cherished that profound and affectionate attachment to the house and ordinances of God, which was so deeply felt and so rapturously expressed by the Psalmist, will be ready to bear your testimony along with his, to the strong encouragement which his people have to draw near to him in his sanctuary. Such is his character, and such are the manifestations he condescends to make of it, that it is impossible to know him, and believe in him, and love him, without ardently desiring to dwell in his courts, and faithfully and piously engaging in the institutions which are there observed, 'The Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.' How comprehensive and how satisfying is this representation of him whom you are called to worship and to serve! And if you give credit to the statement, how anxious must you be to tread his courts, and with what fervour and delight will you mingle in those ordinances in which he thus reveals himself, and through which he thus becomes to you all that you need, and all that you can desire!

He is a *Sun* to enlighten your understandings with saving knowledge, and 'to guide your feet in the way of peace;' to cheer your hearts amidst the perplexities and discouragements of your earthly pilgrimage; and to give warmth and life and activity to all your powers, which, but for his vivifying influences, would become cold and torpid. And he is a *Shield* to defend you from 'the fiery darts of the wicked one;' to ward off the arrows of malice and of scorn with which ungodly men assail you; to protect you not only from the evils which would otherwise overwhelm you, but also from the petty injuries by which you might be harassed and depressed; and to interpose between you and your spiritual enemies with such vigilance and constancy, that they cannot overcome you, or prevent you from being finally triumphant in that arduous warfare which you are doomed to wage with them.

The Lord will give *Grace;* grace to pardon your offences, and deliver your conscience from the burden of guilt; grace to purify your souls more and more from that moral defilement which naturally cleaves to them; grace to help you in all your seasons of trial and of weakness; grace to comfort you in every disconsolate hour, and to strengthen you for every Christian duty; grace to keep you stedfast in the faith of Jesus, and in the obedience of his law, and in the hope of his gospel; grace to insure your perseverance in the path of spiritual life, and to obtain the victory over the terrors and the power of death. And having thus given you *Grace* here, he will also give you *Glory* hereafter. He will receive you into that heavenly kingdom for which he was preparing you upon earth; a state from which all that is sinful, all that is degrading, and all that is unhappy, shall be for ever excluded, and in which you shall be privileged with whatever is great in intellectual attainment, and perfect in moral excellence,—with whatever is splendid in honour, and exquisite in enjoyment,—with all the fulness of God, and all the blessedness of immortality.

And is there any thing else of which you feel your need, and which you do not conceive to enter into these views of the divine beneficence? Then here it is in the assurance that he 'will withhold no good thing from you.' There is nothing which is either necessary or conducive to your welfare, which his loving kindness will not bestow upon you in its proper measure, and in its proper season. Even the comforts of a present world will be given, so far as the wisdom of your heavenly Father sees them for your real benefit, and farther than that you could not safely or dutifully wish to receive them. No temporal evil will be permitted to befal you, which is not requisite for 'the trial of your faith' and patience, and which he will not overrule for promoting your highest advantage. No temporal blessing will be refused to you, or taken from you, except where its bestowal or its continuance is inconsistent with what you should value infinitely more than all that the world can furnish,—your advancement in the work of preparation for judgment and eternity. It is the general fact, announced in Scripture, and confirmed by experience, that as the people of God you have not only the promise of 'the life that now is,' but the actual and liberal fulfilment of that promise. And all the exceptions to it that you may meet with in your journeyings through the wilderness, all that you suffer in these from poverty, from sickness, from the loss of friends, from disappointments in business, from unmerited neglect, from base ingratitude, or from any other of the privations and sorrows to which humanity is liable,—all these things are but varied expressions of the same paternal love which cared for the salvation of your souls; many of them, even while they last and operate in all there bitterness. will be recognised by you as tokens of kindness; and there is not one of them which, when looked back upon from the land of promised rest, and contemplated in the light of celestial truth, will not furnish a theme of gratitude and praise, as having fomed a part of that plan of grace by which you were fitted and matured for glory.

Such, my friends, is that God whom ye are called to worship in his holy temple—such is the generous treatment which you may expect from him—such is his willingness, his ability, his sufficiency, his promise, to be unto every one of you all that is needful to make you perfectly and for ever happy. And will not you give yourselves in the full tide of admiration and affection, to the service of such a wise, and merciful, and mighty being? Will not you feel regret when you lose an opportunity of approaching him in the sanctuary? Will not you lament the imperfection and the sinfulness which mix with all your best endeavours to honour him in his 'house of prayer?' Will not you labour more and more that you may be disposed to engage in his ordinances with heartfelt devotion, and enabled to engage in them with a keener relish for the comforts which they inspire, and a more resolute ambition for the advantages which they impart? And will not you pray and strive that you may attain that height of pious regard for them which dictated the strong and impassioned language of the Psalmist, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! My soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God?'

Remember, however, my friends, that the blessings promised to them who love and observe the ordinances of God, are connected with a certain prescribed character. They will be given to those only who 'walk uprightly;' who have their conduct both in the sanctuary and out of it agreeable to the divine will; who 'worship God who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth;' who 'have their conversation in the world in simplicity and godly sincerity;' who are habitually and strenuously aiming at the possession of a good conscience, and at the cultivation of a holy life. You cannot otherwise be qualified for the services of the sanctuary, or the reception of spiritual benefits. As, therefore, you value these, be careful to 'walk uprightly,' and remember for your encouragement that it is one manifest and appointed end of the services of God's house, to improve your principles and dispositions, and to send you back to the world better prepared for discharging its ordinary duties, and 'keeping yourselves unspotted' from its pollutions. And remember also that your knowledge of the charactor in which God has represented himself to you as your sun and your shield, and as giving grace and glory, and withholding no good thing from you, is calculated to produce the same effect in your heart and your deportment; and that especially the divine influences are promised to comfort, and purify, and strengthen you, and to make you 'fruitful in every good word and work.' Study then to live and act as the people of God, that you may be fit worshippers in the temple of God, and worthy receivers of the bounty of God: and let God's bounty be often and affectionately thought upon, and let God's temple be regularly and devoutly attended, that you may feel their reciprocal advantage in having your faith invigorated, your piety exalted, your hatred of sin increased, your love of holiness strengthened, and your whole character brought to a nearer and a nearer resemblance to the character of him to whom you owe all your comforts and all your hopes.

And finally, 'put your trust in the Lord;' for it is in this case only, that you can be truly blessed. Trust in him that he will perform all that he has promised; place unlimited confidence in every assurance he has given you; and act as it becomes those in whose minds this affiance is lively and unwavering. Then shall ye be happy indeed; happy now as having the communications of his love and the hopes that stretch into eternity; and happy hereafter in the full and everlasting enjoyment of all that can constitute the felicity of a rational and immortal being.

LECTURE X.

I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice and my supplications. Because he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live. The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell got hold upon me: I found trouble and sorrow. Then called I upon the name of the Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul. Gracious is the Lord, and righteous; yea, our God is merciful. The Lord preserveth the simple: I was brought low, and he helped me. Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling. I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living.—PSALM cxvi. 1—9.

There are two motives which should constrain us to love God. In the *first* place, God has, in his nature and character, all those qualities which are naturally fitted to awaken this sentiment in our hearts. And, in the *second* place, these amiable qualities have been exhibited in promoting our welfare; and from a principle of our moral constitution, 'we love him, because he first loved us.' It is to the latter motive that the Psalmist here refers. 'I love the Lord because he hath heard my voice and my supplications.' David had asked the interposition of God's mercy in his behalf. It had been granted to him according to the desire and petition of his heart. And in the benefits which he received, he not only saw goodness manifested as an attribute of Deity, but he felt it in his own personal experience, as goodness of which he was the object, and as constituting an urgent and irresistible claim on his reciprocal affection. There arose, therefore, in his breast, and there was cherished there, the gratitude and love which he owed to his heavenly father; and in simple language he acknowledges and records at once the feelings of which he was conscious, and the consideration by which they had been excited.

The experience of the Psalmist, on this point, must be more or less the experience of every true Christian. Every true Christian habitually lifts up to God the voice of supplication; praying for the various blessings, temporal and spiritual, which his circumstances require. Every true Christian, praying 'with all prayer and supplication in the spirit,' has the promise of divine faithfulness that he shall receive according to his need. And every true Christian labouring to fulfil the first and great commandment, will meditate on the manifold tokens of kindness which God has shown him in answer to his applications at a throne of grace, and yield to the native influence of that kindness, by cherishing a still more cordial, and still more devoted attachment to the giver of all his mercies.

My friends, if you are real Christians, it is one of your leading characteristics, that you continually look to God as the fountain of all good, and that while you regularly ask from him in his own appointed way, what is necessary for your well-being, in the ordinary course of life, you ask from him with particular emphasis and importunateness, those benefits which are of the highest general importance, and those which are most suited to your special and unexpected exigencies. And I am sure that, having done so, you can bear your personal testimony to the truth of that declaration which God has addressed to every member of his church, 'Call upon me, and I will answer you.' It has been your privilege and your happiness to find, that he provides for the temporal wants of his people with wisdom and liberality; that he communicates in still richer abundance the blessings after which their souls are hungering and thirsting; that he gives them grace and glory, and withholds from them no good thing which is essential to their comfort, their improvement, their salvation. You may have had your seasons of mental dejection and distress; and you may have been sometimes ready to cry out, 'hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious, and will he be favourable no more?' but say, my believing brethren, if, when the Spirit carried you to the mercy seat, and with the faith which rests on the merits of your heavenly intercessor, you there poured forth the petitions of your hearts, these petitions were not answered by God's appearing in mercy as a sun to enlighten you in the midst of your darkness, and as a shield to protect you from all the dangers by which you were afraid of being overwhelmed? And when you have been weighed down with worldly cares and afflictions, and the whole scene of human life perhaps put on the garb of melancholy and of woe, and you have still had recourse to prayer, have not you felt your sorrowful spirits visited with consolation; and though it may be that the bitter cup is still pressed to your lips, have not you been taught that it is the hand of your heavenly father which gives you this cup to drink, and have you not learned that it is in faithfulness and in compassion that he has mingled it for you, and have not you been enabled even to 'rejoice in the midst of your tribulation?' Has not this been in one degree or another your comfortable experience? Has not such experience constrained you more and more to love God who thus hears you when you cry to him, and delivers you out of your distresses, and makes it 'good for you that you have been afflicted,' and causes you to be 'glad in the light of his countenance?' And is not this the language by which you at once express your gratitude, and encourage it, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits, who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies; who satisfieth thy mouth with good things, so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.'

But the Psalmist not only declares his love to God on account of God's goodness and mercy to him in answer to his prayers, he adds, 'Because he hath declined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live,' And this is precisely what all the people of God will do in similar circumstances. If God has graciously condescended to grant us deliverance and the other blessings that we implored from him, there is, in the *first* place, laid upon us an obligation to be thankful which we shall never be able to exhaust; and, in the *next* place, there is suggested to us a powerful encouragement to persevere in our supplications, to which a regard to our own welfare will determine us to yield. When we think of our personal unworthiness of any of the least token of God's mercy; when we think of our just obnoxiousness to his displeasure on account of our manifold and aggravated provocations; and when we recollect, that notwithstanding all this we have been invited to the throne of his grace, and have been allowed to make our requests known to him, and have received what was necessary to support, and comfort, and bless us, can we ever cease to 'sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and to declare his works with rejoicing?' Supposing that we were left to go mourning all the remainder of our earthly pilgrimage, still the remembrance of what we have already experienced of 'the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living,' and the hope which that experienced goodness has taught us to repose in his continued favour, will not only cheer us as we travel through the wilderness, but will call forth all our powers and affections to bless and to magnify his holy name. And the last breath that we draw will whisper the beginning of that song of praise which we are to sing to our redeeming God, when we enter upon the unmingled and eternal joys of the promised land.

But we will not only celebrate the praises of God so long as we live, on account of his merciful answer to our prayers;—having received such an answer, we shall feel encouraged to pray to him in every succeeding emergency of our spiritual career. There is no period when we can expect to be exempt from those necessities which require the interposition of divine aid and the communication of divine bounty; and we may lay our account with being sometimes placed in those circumstances of peculiar trial, danger or distress, which demand the peculiar supplies of Almighty grace to uphold and to save us; and our only resource in such cases is to be found in earnest, believing, unwearied prayer. And how much must we be animated to engage in thet exercise, not only by the promises held out to us in the word of God, but by the fnlfilment of these promises which have actually taken place in the history of our own lives! He who heard and answered us from his holy hill when we formerly petitioned him, will not fail to hear and answer us on every future occasion that we cast ourselves upon his compassion and his power. He has emphatically taught us by his past kindness, to apply to him and to trust in him, amid all the coming difficulties and hardships of our Christian journey. And we will but ill understand and ill improve the lesson, if it does not serve to keep alive in us an active spirit of prayer and supplication, and if it does not make us 'go boldly to the throne of grace,' and ask with confidence, that we may receive with freeness, mercy and grace, and every needful blessing.

Having stated, in general, God's mercy to him, and the general effect which it produced upon his sentiments and conduct, the Psalmist proceeds to take a more particular view of God's gracious dealings with him, and of the impressions which these made upon him, both as to his present feelings and his resolutions for the future. 'The sorrows of death compassed me,' says he, 'the pains of hell got hold upon me; I found trouble and sorrow.' He was menaced with death. It was not some bodily distemper which might be easily and speedily removed. It was not some ordinary calamity which ordinary fortitude would enable him to endure. It was a distemper which seemed to be mortal—it was a calamity which threatened to prove fatal. The prospect of dissolution was before him; and there was something more alarming still—something after death which made him shrink back from it as his worst enemy, and which filled him with trouble and sorrow.

It is truly a fearful thing to die; to go from the place of hope to the place of unalterable retribution; to leave this world, in which, amidst all its sinfulness, we are still permitted to hear the voice of divine mercy, and to pass into that untried scene where we must encounter all the perils of a righteous judgment, and have our doom irrevocably and everlastingly fixed. It is the prerogative of faith, indeed, to convert the king of terrors into a messenger of peace—to shed a cheering light along the dark valley—and to realize in the most holy judge a most compassionate Saviour. But even in those whose belief has been heretofore strong, and lively, and influential, and who have often said, under the impressions of its elevating power—'O death where is thy sting, O grave where is thy victory? To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;'—even in them, there may be misgivings at the last hour, and terrible apprehensions of a coming tribunal, and a coming eternity. They may be visited with the compunctions of guilt; and thinking of all their transgressions and all their aggravations, they may be agitated with the terrors of the Lord, and feel as it were the punishment of hell beginning in their souls. Melancholy and distressing is their situation. It is not indeed to be compared with the situation of those who are not only thus afraid to die, but who have reason to be thus afraid; who have sinned, and never repented; who have been offered a Saviour, but have not believed in him; who are called to give in their account, but have made no prepraration for such a dread reckoning; and who either are not aware of their danger, or try to banish it from their thoughts, or, roused to a sense of it, breathe nothing but the language of despair. The situation of the believer whose heart is fearful of dying, is not indeed for a moment to be compared with that of the careless and hardened, or the awakened and hopeless sinner. Still, however, it is one of severe suffering; and he is frequently heard to express the mental anguish which afflicts him. But then there is a refuge for him. To that refuge he flees. He looks to God as a God rich in mercy. He relies upon the mediator of the new covenant. He calls upon him whose 'ear is open to his cry;' and finds relief by committing himself to him in the earnestness and the confidence of prayer; 'then called I upon the name of the Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee deliver my soul.'

This prayer is short and simple, but it is the prayer of the heart and the prayer of faith, and cannot fail to succeed. He who prefers it, asks the deliverance of the soul; its deliverance from the guilt of sin, which would leave it under the sentence of condemnation; and its deliverance from the pollution of sin, which would disqualify it for the kingdom of heaven. And he does not merely ask it as if it were a matter of indifference whether he obtained it or not. He asks it as a blessing of the highest; of infinite importance; as a blessing *without* which he must be undone; as a blessing *with* which his happiness is secure and complete. 'O Lord, *I beseech thee*, deliver my soul.' Then again he appeals to God as a God of mercy and of grace. 'Gracious is the Lord, yea our God is merciful.' He knows and feels, that were God to deal justly with him, instead of obtaining deliverance, he should receive condemnation; and therefore he relies upon his mercy. He refers to that as the source of all his expectations; and laying aside as presumptuous and vain every claim on the ground of personal deserving, he looks and applies to the free and unmerited grace of him whose memorial it is, that he possesses this endearing attribute, and that he delights in the exercise of it.

But the believer does not rest satisfied with the conviction of God's mercy, and with resting his hopes upon that as if it were the only perfection in God's character. He entertains more worthy and consistent notions on the subject. He regards God, not as his own corrupt nature would perversely wish him to be; but as he really is, and as he has been pleased to reveal himself to sinners. He regards him as no less holy than he is merciful. 'Gracious is the Lord, and *righteous.*' And this leads him not merely to glorify and do homage to the character of God, by ascribing to it all its native excellence, but to attend to that provision which the high and holy One has made for the consistent and effectual manifestation of his love to guilty men. He contemplates the gospel scheme; he sees there the arrangement which supreme wisdom has contrived for reconciling the bestowal of mercy with the demands of justice; and he seeks for the deliverance of his soul in the way which has been divinely appointed; through faith in the atonement and mediation of Jesus Christ, which is God's instituted method for a sinner's justification.

Nor does the believer rest even here. He knows that while he must depend entirely upon the merit of Christ as the procuring cause, and upon the mercy of God as the originating cause, of his deliverance, still it is not in any spirit that he feels himself entitled to ask for that boon. He does not conceive it to be enough that he makes use of the mere words and phrases of a petition, or that he makes a verbal reference, however decided and orthodox, in that petition, to the work of the Redeemer. He knows that in all this, in order to its being of any weight, there must be 'simplicity and godly sincerity;' for it is only 'the *simple*' that the Lord '*preserves.*' And therefore he studies to be 'without guile' before God, to have a single eye to what *God* requires of *him*, as well as to what *he* is asking from *God;* and conscious of being without wisdom and without strength himself, he casts himself entirely and unreservedly on the divine protection.

Now, the consequence of such an application to God, is the attainment of that support and deliverance which were implored. 'I was brought low, and the Lord helped me.' I was brought so low; I was so beset with danger and so overwhelmed with fear; I was in such a miserable and hopeless state, that not only was there no help for me in man, but I was almost despairing of help from God. And yet he has disappointed all my fears, he has scattered all mine enemies, he has 'taken me out of the fearful pit and out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock and established my goings.' As a poor, destitute, and wretched man, 'I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me out of all my distresses.' I was cast down, but he raised me up: the waves and billows of adversity were threatening to swallow me up; but he made 'the overflowing of the proud waters to pass by,' and brought me to the shore of safety and of peace. His everlasting arm has rescued me from the jaws of destruction, and now 'I fear no evil.' 'Return unto thy rest O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.'

If our souls are properly affected they will be perpetually seeking rest; a rest in which they can delight themselves, and on whose permanence they can count with certainty. And this rest is no where to be found but in the bounty and favour of the Lord. 'The depth saith, it is not in me, and the sea, it is not in me. It cannot be gotten for gold.' All the wealth of the world cannot purchase it. The soul has wants which no human beneficence can supply. It has diseases which no human skill can heal. It has desires which no human power can satisfy. It has sorrows which no human sympathies can charm away. And if left to the resources of created being, it is indeed 'weary and heavy laden,' and can repose neither in what it has, nor in what it expects to attain. This is the case in some measure with every worldling; who, though not aware, perhaps, of the cause, or not inclined to have it removed, yet feels that in all his most eager pursuits, and in all his choicest pleasures, there is little else than 'vanity and vexation of spirit.' But it is more especially the case with the believer, who views things in the light of reason, and in the light of Scripture, and in the light of eternity; who sees in the very best and highest of earthly enjoyments nothing that is worthy of an immortal mind—nothing that accommodates itself to the necessities of a guilty conscience or of a depraved heart; nothing that can make affliction light, death comfortable, and futurity blessed; and who would, therefore, regard a sentence dooming him to seek and to find his happiness in these, as a sentence dooming him to an utter exclusion from the rest which he is so anxious to obtain, and to the continued endurance of that misery out of which he is so anxious to escape. But, blessed be God, while he feels that 'this is not his rest,' he knows where to find it. He 'arises and departs out of the land which is polluted,' and he goes into the land in which the dominion of sin is destroyed, and in which he can lie down on 'the green pastures,' and walk beside 'the still waters' of divine grace. He sees the ocean of a worldly and unsanctified life to be without an island on which he may dwell securely, and without a twig even on which for one moment he may plant his foot; and, therefore, he returns to the ark of safety and of peace. He takes the good and ever-living God for his portion; and in the riches of *his* bounty he finds all that can give 'rest to his soul,' amidst his most numerous troubles and his most aggravated sorrows. There is no evil in his existing condition, and no evil that he can anticipate, from which he is not emancipated, or under which he is not upheld and comforted, by that merciful and mighty being to whom he has surrendered himself in faith and in well-doing.

The Psalmist here gives an enumeration of the blessings which he experienced from the bountiful dealing of the Lord. There is first, the deliverance of the 'soul from death.' 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die.' And having sinned, we are justly and necessarily condemned to die. But as it is impossible to describe, or even to conceive, all the horrors of that punishment which we have incurred by our transgression of God's law, so proportionally awful must be the convictions of the awakened sinner who has in any measure realized these in his imagination, and is conscious of deserving them, and is impressed with the apprehension of suffering them. But if, in the midst of all these dangers, and all this anguish, we have 'fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us,' and have put our trust in God's mercy as exhibited in the mediation of Jesus, it is the assurance of him 'who cannot lie,' that our guilt is remitted, that we obtain reconciliation, that we become partakers of an 'eternal redemption.' And what can be wanting to give us rest from the agitations of guilt, when we hear that great and gracious being whose wrath we had incurred, saying to us, son, 'daughter, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee?' Surely this declaration, so full of mercy, and so full of meaning, must impart to us that 'peace of mind which passeth understanding,' and fill us with 'a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory.'

But, besides delivering our souls from death, the Lord also in his bounty delivers our 'eyes from tears.' In this sinful world, there is no complete exemption from evil that is either promised to us, or that can be experienced by us. It abounds in causes of mourning, to the operation of which we must be subjected in common with all the children of mortality, and there are some by which we are peculiarly affected as the disciples of a holy and crucified Redeemer. But though we are exposed to these, and must often endure them in all their variety, and in all their weight, still being reconciled to God through Christ, and consequently interested in all the promises of the well ordered covenant, we have wherewithal to comfort our hearts in the darkest and most distressful hour. No affliction befals us which is not accompanied with its appropriate consolation. Even our heaviest calamities are represented and brought home to us as expressions of God's paternal love. And in the gloomiest vale of sorrow, we are permitted to lift up the eye of hope to that region of unclouded sky and undisturbed repose which is reserved for the faithful; and to consider what we suffer now as a preparation for that blessed period longed for, though not distant, by all the afflicted followers of Christ, when God shall translate them into his unsuffering kingdom, and shall 'wipe away all tears from their eyes.' With this prospect before us, secured to us by the word of promise, and brought near by that 'faith which is the evidence of things not seen,' we may not only 'possess our souls in patience,' but even 'rejoice in our tribulations.'

And while God delivers our souls from death, and our eyes from tears, he also delivers our 'feet from falling.' If we are true believers, sensible of our obligations to God, and desirous of final admission into heaven, we must be perpetually concerned to maintain 'a conscience void of offence,' and to be 'holy in all manner of conversation.'' And, aware of the numberless temptations that surround us, and of our own weakness and inability to resist and overcome them, the fear of falling a prey to them must frequently harass and distress us. But here also a bountiful God has provided rest for us. We are assured by him that his 'grace will be sufficient for us, and that his strength will be perfected in our weakness;'

that the divine Spirit is to be given us for our guidance and sanctification; that Christ has vanquished our spiritual foes, and that believing in him, his victory becomes ours. And having such an assurance, what reason have we not merely to exclude all despondency as to our perseverance, but even to go on our Christian way rejoicing, humble indeed under a sense of our manifold dangers and deficiencies, but yet animated by the encouraging truth, that we are 'strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might,' that even in the wilderness we shall have 'rest from our enemies,' and that by a course of cheerful and universal obedience, we shall be maturing our meetness for enjoying that sinless, and perfect, and eternal 'rest which remains' above 'for the people of God!'

Now, what is the practical result of this experience? What was it with the Psalmist? And what should it be with us? 'I will walk before the Lord,' says David, 'in the land of the living.' This was his resolution, this was his endeavour; and it must be ours. We must act with a spirit of confidence in his wisdom and goodness; with unfeigned submission to his authority, with 'a single eye to his glory,' with the blessed hope of seeing him in heaven. And especially we must act as it becomes those who have experienced so much of his loving kindness, recognising in this a powerful motive for being more active and zealous in his service, more anxious in promoting his honour among our fellow-men; and more careful to embrace every opportunity that is offered, of showing to the souls and bodies of others that mercy which we have received from him.

And there must be no delay, no remissness, no indolence in the great duty of walking before the Lord. 'I will walk before the Lord *in the land of the living*.' O my friends, life is short. We are now in the land of living men: We shall ere long be immured in the darkness and the silence of the tomb. Let us 'work the works of God, therefore, while it is day; the night cometh' soon, and it may come unexpectedly, 'when no man can work.' 'Whatever our hand findeth to do;' whether it be an exercise of faith in the Redeemer, or whether it be an act of repentance towards our offended Maker, or whether it be an application by prayer at the foot-stool of mercy, or whether it be a deed of justice and reparation to some one that we have wronged, or whether it be a work of piety and beneficence, in behalf of the victims of disease and poverty, '*whatever* our hand findeth to do, let us do it with our might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither we are going.'

LECTURE XI.

I believed, therefore have I spoken: I was greatly afflicted. I said in my haste, All men are liars. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all his people. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. O Lord, truly I am thy servant, and the son of thine handmaid: thou hast loosed my bonds. I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all his people, in the courts of the Lord's house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem. Praise ye the Lord.—PSALM CXVI. 10—END.

'I believed,' says David, 'therefore have I spoken.' The Apostle Paul, in his second epistle to the Corinthians, quotes this language, and applies it to himself and to his fellow labourers, as enduring affliction, and yet preaching, and openly declaring their attachment to, the truths on account of which that affliction was suffered. And hence, we may learn, according to the judgment of the Apostle, that the Psalmist intimates, in this concise phraseology, that he was bold to confess his reliance on the divine promises, even in the midst of all his persecutions and distress, and that he was enabled to manifest this boldness by the strength and the vividness of his religious faith.

The conduct of David and of Paul was rational as well as pious, and it must be our conduct if we would be wise, and consistent, and holy. Trusting in the providence, and 'glorying in the cross of Christ,' we may, like many that have gone before us, be exposed to ridicule and reproach. Our understanding may be impeached; our sincerity may be denied; our good name may be traduced, and our worldly interest impaired; and we may be beset with evils as many and as severe as those which harassed the King of Israel and the Apostle of the Gentiles. But, amidst them all, we will never, if we are true Christians, be deterred nor discouraged from confessing the Redeemer of our souls, and the God of our salvation. We will make this confession, when called upon to do so, even though it should increase the hatred of our enemies, and the severity of our hardships a thousand fold. And we will be the more resolute to do this, not only because it is right in itself, but because by the noble testimony which we thus give, of a good conscience, and to a righteous cause, we may be instrumental in awakening, and finally converting the hearts of those who so unjustly vilify and oppress us.

Nor my friends can we possibly act otherwise, if we truly and firmly believe. Let us only be convinced that 'the Lord reigns,' and that his word concerning his people is as true as his purpose is merciful, and as his arm is mighty; let our minds be influenced by realizing views of the necessity and the greatness of that deliverance which he has provided for us, by the meritorious righteousness and atoning death of his own Son; let our belief extend to all that he has spoken of the compassion and the kindness, with which he will regard us as we journey along the pilgrimage of life, and travel through 'the dark valley of death;' let our hope 'enter into that within the vail,' and contemplate whatever is great and good and happy in the sinless and unsuffering kingdom which is prepared for us in heaven; and what is there in the hostility of mortal man; what is there in the privation of earthy comfort; what is there in the last and deepest agonies of bodily suffering, that should prevent us from proclaiming in the loudest strains our unshaken trust in the Lord Jehovah, in the grace and power of Jesus, in the virtue and the faithfulness of the everlasting covenant? The afflictions to which we are subjected, cannot alter the objects towards which our faith is turned: they cannot alter the grounds upon which it is established; they cannot alter the reasonableness of that connexion which subsists between the principle itself, and the arguments, whether speculative or experimental, which have produced it; they cannot alter these things, and, therefore, why should our faith in such circumstances, be either enfeebled or destroyed? Nay, if that faith be genuine and enlightened, it will not merely brave the storms of persecution, but will gather strength and vigour from them. For while he in whom we believe gives us no reason to expect any exemption from the ills and calamities of life, he has even told us that our lot in consequence of our Christian profession, and Christian practice, may be more troubled than that of other men, and that it may happen that every proof we give, either in word or deed, of our devotedness to the doctrine of a particular providence, or of a crucified Saviour, may be the signal for opposition, and contumely, and scorn. And, consequently, when such things befal us, they give us additional evidence of the truth of the Gospel, and of the veracity of him to whom we have committed our interests. This evidence becomes the more interesting and powerful, when we recollect the promise with which the prediction of suffering is accompanied, namely, that it will be all overruled for our ultimate happiness; and, indeed, that it is to operate as a wise and intended means of sanctifying us for the presence of the blessed God. And, in this view of the subject, it surely becomes us to be 'strong in the faith;' to 'sing at once of mercy and of judgment;' to lift up a witnessing voice to the unceasing and unchangeable love of him under whose permission, or by whose appointment, we are put into the furnace of affliction; and to tell the church and the world, in the language of settled and animated belief, that we rejoice in him who suffered on Calvary, and that in spite of all the obloquy that can be heaped upon us by infidel and ungodly men, we still cling to his cross as 'all our salvation and all our desire.' 'Thus believing, we will thus speak.'

But, my friends, though this be the language of true and genuine faith, we know enough of the frailty of men, and of believing men, not to be aware that believing men do not uniformly hold this language; that they sometimes allow their convictions to be weakened, or to fall into a temporary slumber; that when assailed by bitter provocations, or by unexpected miseries, they occasionally become uncharitable, fretful, and disconsolate. In the intensity of their feelings towards those who are but the instruments of what they endure, they forget the perfection and the character of him by whom these instruments are guided or restrained. And irritated by the pains that they suffer, or perplexed by the difficulties in which they are involved, they lose their hold of that stay on which their souls, in less trying circumstances, had securely rested; they speak and act as if the divine protection were withdrawn, or, as if their enemies were now stronger than God; and look with an evil eye, and pronounce an indiscriminating sentence of condemnation, on all their brethren of mankind.

Of this we have an example in the Psalmist. 'I was greatly afflicted. I said in my haste, all men are liars.' He had been deserted by those on whom he relied as his friends; he had been deceived, as well as thwarted and persecuted by such as might have been expected to stand by him, and support him in his time of need. But, not contented with expressing his indignation at the treachery and misconduct of these individuals, he concludes that every other person is actuated by the same spirit of falsehood and deception, and involves the good and the bad, friends and foes, in one sweeping censure. And he does it in such a way as to show that he was thinking with more concern, about the guilt and the malice of his adversaries, than about the power and the providence of his God.

But then he acknowledges that he did this rashly and unadvisedly. He did not sufficiently consider the nature and grounds of the sentiment which he uttered. He yielded to a sudden ebullition of temper, instead of having recourse to the great truths in which he believed, and which would have served in this, as in former cases, to fortify his courage, to comfort his heart, and to guide his steps. And this sinful conduct originated in the greatness of his affliction. His affliction was so great as to overwhelm his better principles and feelings, to bring into action the angry passions of his nature, and to make him speak as if he had been faithless, as well as resentful.

This, however, is not to be viewed so much in the light of an excuse for *him*, as of a warning to *us*. We may suffer greatly and grievously from the malice of men. There may be found among our foes, those whom we had befriended, who had 'eaten of our bread,' who had shared of our bounty, who had taught us to confide in their affection: And they may employ the very tokens of our confidence as the weapons of their malignity. But what is there in all this to justify us in anathematising the whole of our species, and in branding with duplicity such as have never done us wrong? We know not how many hearts may be sympathising with us in our distresses; how many voices are lifted up in prayer for our deliverance; how many hands are actively engaged in our defence. And why should a sense of injuries, however unmerited, and however great, crush in our souls that charity which would make us believe to be good in our brethren, what we do not know to be evil? Or why should the persecution of a few, or of many, sour us against the rest, and alienate our affections from all? Granting, however, that there were a countless multitude against us, why should we give way to the feelings, or why should we utter the language of disappointment and of querulousness, when we know who is for us? We 'believe in God; we believe also in Christ: Let not, therefore, our hearts be troubled; neither let them be afraid.' Instead of the discontented and unbecoming effusion which David poured forth in his haste and his forgetfulness, let us adopt the tone of triumphant confidence which animated him on another occasion, when he said, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? When the wicked, even mine enemies and my foes came upon me, to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise up against me, in this will I be confident.' But, sensible how weak we are, how apt we are to be thrown off our guard, and overwhelmed by unlooked for calamities; warned of this, if not by our own experience, at least by the experience of the Psalmist, and by the teaching of the Bible, let us be vigilant against the influence of such circumstances; let us study to live in the habitual exercise of faith; let us be especially careful to call forth its energies in such trials as that which made David unmindful of his trust in the Almighty; let us be continually employed in nourishing and invigorating it, by meditations on the divine character, and the divine promises; and let us pray earnestly that, in every season of peril and of perplexity, it may be made strong by the might of heaven to overcome every foe, and to banish every fear.

Notwithstanding the sinful and uncharitable despondency into which the Psalmist had fallen, the Lord had been merciful to him, and delivered him out of all his troubles: 'set his feet in a large place, and established his goings.' And, strongly impressed by a sense of his manifold obligations, he cries out, 'what shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?' Such is the feeling which it becomes every Christian to cherish, and such is the language which it becomes every Christian to employ. Numerous are the blessings which God has conferred upon us. From the earliest moment of our existence until now, he has watched over us to do us good. How often has he rescued us from pain and danger! How often has he guided us in our difficulties, and comforted us in our sorrows! How liberally has he provided for our ever returning wants! How abundantly has he favoured our lot both with temporal mercies, and with spiritual privileges! And how undeserving have we been even of the very least of those benefits which we were daily and hourly receiving from his bountiful hand! Surely then, if gratitude be due to a benefactor, it becomes us to be grateful to the Lord our God; and if our gratitude to a benefactor should be enhanced by the generosity of the giver, and the unworthiness of the receiver, what a debt of gratitude do we owe to him whose loving-kindness to us has been equally unbounded and unmerited! Let us often think of the preserving and redeeming goodness of our Maker: let us call up every thankful emotion of which our hearts are susceptible; let every year, and let every hour, as it increases the weight of our obligations, find us more disposed to acknowledge and to fulfil them; and let it be our serious and perpetual inquiry, how we shall give the most unequivocal and most suitable expression to that gratitude, which such a rich experience of the divine beneficence should awaken in our breasts. 'What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards us?'

'I will take the cup of salvation,' says the Psalmist, 'and call upon the name of the Lord.' The Psalmist, it is probable, by 'the cup of salvation,' means the drink offerings appointed by the law in token of thankfulness for any deliverance that had been experienced; or he may refer to a custom that prevailed among the pious Jews, of the master of the house having at his private meal a cup of blessing of which he drank first, and in which his guests and family pledged him,—all uniting in the act of thanksgiving to God with which the ceremony was accompanied. Whichsoever of these interpretations be the just one, the instruction which it imparts to us is, that we should adopt every appointed and every proper method of signifying how much we owe to our heavenly father; that in the exercises of public worship and of domestic piety, as well as of private devotion, we should not fail to make mention of our debt of gratitude; that we should 'call upon the name of the Lord,' praising him for his works of mercy and of kindness, and praying to him for a mind more willing to make those returns to which he is entitled, and for ability more ample to act according to what we feel in our hearts and utter with our lips.

And especially should we be faithful to the vows that we have made in the season of distress. It too often happens that these vows are broken and forgotten. Under the pressure of affliction, and more particularly in the prospect of its terminating fatally, we are apt to form resolutions and to make promises of amendment, and to say, that if it pleases God to spare us and to deliver us, we will henceforth render him a new and a better obedience; that we will be careful to avoid the sins of our past lives, which we now see to have been sinful far beyond what we had ever conceived them in the season of health and safety; and that all who shall hereafter witness our conduct, shall behold it adorned with the fruits of sincere penitence, and holy purposes, and sanctified distresses. All this is well: but alas, how often does it all vanish like the goodness of Ephraim, which was as 'the morning cloud and the early dew that passeth away!' How often have we risen from the bed of sickness, or escaped from the jaws of death, and thought little more, or thought no more, of the contrition that we had felt, of the confessions that we had made, of the determinations that we had formed to be more watchful against temptation, and more vigorous in duty, and more abundant in faith than we had ever been before! How often have we exhibited the spectacle of employing our renovated health, our restored life, our returning prosperity, far more for the gratification of our own perverse dispositions, than for the honour and the praise of him by whom these blessings were bestowed, and to whom we solemnly covenanted them all the rest of our days! Brethren, these things ought not so to be; and let them not be so with any of us. But as we have vowed unto the Lord, let us be faithful to *pay* our vows. Instead of coming short of what might have been expected from all that we had felt and said in the time of trouble, let us labour if possible to go beyond it; and show in the confirmed stedfastness of our faith and in the growing purity of our deportment, not only that it was 'good for us to have been afflicted,' but that we were sincere and decided in the surrender which we then made of our future selves, and of our whole selves, to the glory of that God whose mercy we invoked, and whose mercy we experienced.

And let us do this 'now.' Delay in such a case is sinful. It is a violation of the very vow that was made; it is persevering in what we know to be wrong, and have promised to forsake. And it is foolish as well as sinful; for if we do not begin to fulfil our engagements when the circumstances which induced them are still fresh in our recollection and our feelings, how is it to be supposed that we shall afterwards be prevailed upon to begin the work, when the pains of sickness, the ills of adversity, the apprehensions of death, shall have been swallowed up in the cares, and the amusements, and the fascinations of a world which we have so deliberately allowed to regain its ascendancy? Nor is it less dangerous than it is foolish and sinful, to defer to any future day the fulfilment of our vows. The retrospect of every past year, and all which the events of that year have taught us, inculcate the momentous lesson which is recorded in our Bible, that '*now* is the accepted time—that *now* is the day of salvation.' We know not, and we cannot know, whether our period of probation shall be lengthened; whether our present opportunities shall be repeated; whether space shall be granted us, not for carrying our purposes into full effect, but even for giving one decisive proof that they were cordial and sincere. And, therefore, our only safety lies in beginning immediately to embody our resolutions and our vows into our actual character, and to become all that we intend to be, and all that we must be, as the monuments of God's saving mercy, and as the expectants of his heavenly presence. We must 'pay our vows *now* in the presence of all God's people;' telling them what great things he has done for our souls and our bodies; calling upon them to join us in magnifying his holy name; and giving them to see our renewed anxiety and our improved exertions to conform to all his holy will. We must do it, 'in the courts of the Lord's house,' by a more punctual attendance on the public ordinances of his grace, and by a more devout, more fervent, more consistent engagement in all the exercises and services of the sanctuary. And we must do it, as it were, 'in the midst of Jerusalem.' We must do it before the world as well as before the church; in the presence of God's enemies as well as in the presence of all his people. We are not to make an *ostentatious* display of God's merciful dealings with us; nor of the gratitude which we feel to him on account of these; nor of the practical proofs by which that gratitude is evinced and perfected. But as little are we to be ashamed of these things or to conceal them from the knowledge and observation of 'them that are without.' This would neither be honourable to God, nor would it be just to our own personal feelings and consistency; nor would it be any thing towards ungodly men, but a withholding from them what, if plainly and prudently exhibited, might have the effect of subduing their opposition, and calling them to serious thought. Under the influence of all these considerations, we must pay our vows to the Lord with unaffected simplicity and undaunted boldness: believing it to be at once right and useful that none should be ignorant of the divine goodness to 'them that love him' and put their trust in him, and of that tribute of piety and righteousness, which, as he requires it, so they are ready to yield, in token of their gratitude to him who preserves 'their souls from death, their eyes from tears, and their feet from falling.'

It is a comfortable and an animating thought, that, 'precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.' He has often permitted his people to be persecuted unto the death; and there is a host of blessed martyrs around his throne. But he gave them up to the will of their enemies that they might bear a more impressive witness to the truth, than the longest and most prosperous life could have effected; he stood by them when they were suffering for his sake, and spread a glory over their last scene, brighter and more permanent by far than what has ever accompanied the departure of the proudest and most splendid of this world's heroes; and from the scaffold or the flames, where they perished, he has wafted their spirits to the peculiar blessedness of those who 'have come through much tribulation.' And as in these cases he has loved and honoured his saints even in the midst of apparent desertion, so in all circumstances he watches over them for good. He does not needlessly allow them to be the victims of human enmity. He does not set so little value on their continuance in the world as to eye their treatment in it, or their exit from it, with indifference. While they are here, he 'keeps them as the apple of his eye,' and when they go hence, his Spirit goes with them to place them in their sainted rest, and to give them entrance into 'the joy of their Lord.' How anxious, then, should we be to consecrate to him the life which he is so careful to preserve, and the death which he is so gracious to embalm! 'Whether we live, let us live to the Lord; and whether we die, let us die to the Lord; that living or dying we may be the Lord's.'

If we are real Christians, then are we truly the 'servants' of God—his servants by our being the children 'of his handmaid,' or born and settled within the pale of his church, and inheriting its outward privileges: and his servants by his having 'loosed our bonds,' and rescued us from 'the sorrows of death and the pains of hell, which had compassed and taken hold upon us.' Let us then remember the obligations, and perform the duties of that service into which he has called us by his grace, and to which he has bound us with the chords of love. Let us walk worthy of the spiritual advantages and of the temporal benefits by which he has distinguished us. Remembering that we 'are not our own, but bought with a price,' even the precious blood of his incarnate son, let us 'glorify God in our bodies and in our spirits which are his.' And let us be animated to fidelity, and diligence, and constancy, by the assurance he has given us, that he will support us under our labours, and crown us at last with a great recompense of reward.

LECTURE XII.

'*Lord, how are they increased that trouble me? many are they that rise up against me. Many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in God. But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head. I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill. I laid me down and slept; I awaked: for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about. Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek-bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people.*'—PSALM iii.

David's conduct in the case of Uriah had justly provoked the divine displeasure, and God threatened to 'raise up evil against him out of his own house.' This threatening was soon executed. His son Absalom became his foe; contrived a scheme for depriving him of his crown, and of his life; prevailed upon his subjects to join him in the unnatural rebellion; and speedily reduced him to a state of extreme danger, and of deep distress. There was every thing in his situation to agitate him with alarm, or to sink him into dejection and despair. His enemies were inveterate in their hostility, and formidable by their numbers. They consisted of his own people whom he had ruled with equity, and treated with kindness and indulgence. They were headed and led on by a child on whom he doated even to weakness, and in whom he trusted as he would have trusted in himself. The object at which they aimed with determined purpose was his dethronement and his death. And so unable did he seem to defend himself from their assaults, and so inevitably devoted to destruction, that they could not refrain from saying in the language of mockery and exultation, 'There is no help for him in God.'

In these circumstances, however, David was not cast down. He could not fail indeed to experience much cutting disappointment, many painful apprehensions, numerous hardships and privations. But still he did not give way to despondency; he placed his confidence, and found his refuge in the protection of Almighty God. On that great and good Being he had hitherto relied; and he had known experimentally too much of his willingness and his ability to save, and partaken too richly of his precious promises, to suspect that he would desert him now, in the season and under the pressure of his utmost need. From all that he had been taught to believe, and from all that he had been privileged to feel respecting the ways of his Providence, he was fully persuaded that light would rise out of darkness, and order out of confusion, and safety out of peril. And in the very midst of his trials, severe and complicated as they were, and menacing as was the aspect which they assumed, he steadily addressed himself to God as his God, and stayed himself on the assurance that he would be 'a shield' to guard him from all the attacks of his adversaries; that he would be his 'glory,' his honour and his boast, amid the reproaches they were heaping upon him, and the degradation in which they were attempting to involve him; and that he would be the 'lifter up of his head,' his deliverer from those troubles by which, for a time, he was to be harassed, and his restorer to that dignity and authority of which, for a time, he was to be deprived.

Thus was it with David; and thus must it be, and thus will it be, with all who have that deep and enlightened piety by which he was distinguished. The time of affliction is the time for trying your faith and your patience, for ascertaining your possession of these virtues, for giving them a salutary exercise, for manifesting the energy and perfection which belong to them, and for enjoying the consolation which they are so well fitted to impart. And as ye all have need of them, so you have reason to be thankful that they are warranted by every view that Scripture gives you of the character and government of God, and by every one of his dealings with those who have made him their 'stronghold in the day of trouble.' Such are his attributes, such are his promises, such has been the whole course of his administration, that there is no degree of trust which you may not safely repose in him, and no degree of resignation which you may not cheerfully yield to him. It matters not what your trials and your sorrows be; your support and your solacement remain unchangeably the same. His assurances of protection and deliverance make no distinction between the greatest and the smallest evils that can enter into your lot; the infinitude of his perfections enables him to perform all that he has said respecting their mitigation, or their removal; and if there be one case, rather than another, in which he demonstrates the facility wherewith he can accomplish these ends, it is that in which the tribulations of his servants have been multiplied even to utter hopelessness. You may not be called to suffer what the Psalmist suffered; but though you were; though like him you had your hearts pierced by the disobedience and undutifulness of beloved children; though those who had been indebted to your guardianship and your beneficence had requited you with base ingratitude; though you had met with enmity where you expected nothing but friendship; though your foes, being of your own household, and of your own kindred, were increasing every day in numbers, in malignity and in power; though they had robbed you of your just dominion and your dearest rights; though they had not only laid your honour in the dust, but were seeking to deprive you of life itself, and to load your memory and your name with unmerited obloquy as the last effort of their hostility, and the last gratification of their malice; and though to these were added, every other calamity with which your mortal existence can be afflicted, what then? These are as much within the reach of God's sovereign and absolute control, as is the most inconsiderable evil that can possibly befal you; and in proportion to the burden which they lay upon you, and the anguish which they occasion you, and the dangers to which they expose you, will be his care that you be not overwhelmed and ruined by them. If he is for you, this is your comfort, that he is greater than all that can be against you. Is it requisite for you that he have goodness? His goodness prompts him to compassionate you in all your distresses, to send you the help and the relief that you need, and to visit you with 'a joy that is unspeakable.' Is it requisite for you that he have wisdom? His wisdom is such as to fathom and to defeat the most artful devices of them that seek to hurt you; to extricate you from the most perplexing difficulties in which you can be involved, and to make the most untoward circumstances and events conducive to your highest advantage. Is it requisite for you that he have power? His power is irresistible: he has only to say to the storm of persecution that rages around you, 'peace, be still,' and all its elements are hushed into silence; he has only to will it, and calumny departs from your reputation, and disease from your body, and grief from your spirit; he has only to put his everlasting arm around you, and you are beyond the reach of woe. Is it requisite for you that he give the promise of gracious and mighty interposition in your behalf? This promise is given by him explicitly and emphatically; it is repeated in every various form; it has respect to all the circumstances of your pilgrimage, to all the vicissitudes of your warfare; and it partakes of the truth and unchangeableness of the source from which it has proceeded. Is it requisite that you have a practical proof of its fulfilment? This proof is to be found in the life of every afflicted saint, from the beginning of the world to the present moment; they have had recourse to it in every hour of trial, and it has never failed them, nor disappointed them; and the Psalmist speaks the sentiment of them all, when he says as the result of his own experience, 'I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord, my God, I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me. O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from the grave; thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit.'

But we shall suppose your case to be still more discouraging than it has been just now represented. We shall suppose your distresses to be the result of your transgression; not merely the effect of sin, as all suffering may be justly considered, but an immediate and visible consequence of some particular demerit; a punishment inflicted upon you for certain specified iniquities, as was the case with David when he composed this Psalm; still I would exhort you not to despond or to allow you confidence in God as your God to be impaired. Just cause, indeed, would you have for despair, if having disobeyed God, and enduring a penalty for that disobedience, you yet hardened yourselves against him, and continued in a state of rebellion. In that case every evil to which you were subjected would be a token of divine vengeance, and the beginning of that more insupportable condemnation with which the finally impenitent must be overwhelmed in a future world. But your circumstances are totally different, if, like the Psalmist, you have become sensible of your guilt, and have felt contrition and self-abasement on account of it, and have cast yourselves upon God's covenanted mercy, and have returned to him with renewed affection and devotedness. Having done this, you may be satisfied that God will not give you up to destruction; that he will not permit the calamities with which you are visited to crush you; that he will not allow a single pain to harass you for one moment longer than what is requisite for the vindication of his own ways, as connected with your moral corruption on the one hand, and with the advancement of your spiritual well-being on the other. He is neither vindictive nor relentless. He has no pleasure in your sufferings or in your death; but is rather willing that you should come to him, and be forgiven, and live. He appointed his own Son to 'make peace by the blood of his cross' between you and your offended God. This end is actually accomplished in behalf of all them that believe. And looking up to him in faith as not only full of compassion, but as reconciled to you, and reconciling you to himself, and 'not imputing to you your trespasses,' you have no more to fear from his indignation. That is overpast; and, beholding you in the face of Jesus Christ, he becomes your father, your protector, and your friend. And being the objects of his redeeming love, can you suspect for a moment that he will at any time abandon you to the malice of your enemies, or leave you a prey to the difficulties and the dangers with which you have to struggle? O no; you must not, you cannot entertain such hard and unjust thoughts of 'the Lord God merciful and gracious.' Doubtless he hates sin, and can have no complacency in those who commit it. Doubtless you have provoked his displeasure by your manifold and aggravated transgressions. Doubtless the supreme and holy ruler of the universe cannot clear the guilty, without an adequate satisfaction to the demands of his righteous and violated law. But this satisfaction having been made by the obedience of your divine surety, and your interest in it secured by the instrumentality of a true and cordial faith, there is nothing to prevent the love of God from following the impulse of its own inherent energies, and sending forth upon you all the blessings that can contribute to your safety and your happiness. From the riches of his grace, and the promises of his word, he is as much pledged to do you good, as if you had never swerved from the way of his commandments. And though you cannot be exempted from the ills that are incident to fallen humanity; and though, in the course of his Providence, you may have to bear many a heavy burden and to feel many a bitter pang; and though you may have to undergo special inflictions of adversity in consequence of special aberrations from the path of duty, still the Lord is on your side; he will guard you in your most perilous hour; he will support you under the pressure of your severest trials; he will ultimately deliver you from all your sorrows; and he will overrule the very chastisements which he lays upon you for your forgetfulness of him, or your disobedience to him, as the means of bringing you nearer to himself, of elevating your Christain character, and of rendering you fitter for that world where you shall never offend him, and never be afflicted by him any more.

Amidst all his sins and all his sufferings, the Psalmist had recourse to the exercises of devotion, he retired into his secret chambers, or he went into the public sanctuary, and addressed himself to God in prayer and supplication. This he knew to be his duty, and felt to be his privilege; and he not only exemplifies the practice, but gives his testimony to the divine goodness and faithfulness towards those who observe it, when he says, 'I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill.' If, indeed, we are animated with the spirit of real piety, and if we have acquainted ourselves with God, with our dependance upon him, with his ability and readiness to save us, and with the encouragement he gives us to draw near to him; then, in all situations of perplexity, and danger, and distress, we will be irresistibly carried to the throne of his grace. That will be our resort in the ordinary course of our lives, and in the ordinary events of our lot; but surely we will hasten to it, and we will dwell before it, and we will plead at it, when labouring under strong convictions of sin, or exposed to peculiar hardships and calamities. What else can we do in such circumstances; in what other way can we consult our welfare; how can we otherwise do homage to the hearer of prayer? The divine character, as unfolded in the Scripture, holds out a broad invitation to every humble and suffering worshipper; and he to whom that character belongs, has expressly said to every one of his people, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver *thee*, and thou shalt glorify *me*.' And it is nothing more than exercising that reverence which is due to the word of truth, and yielding to that lesson which is taught us by universal experience, when we cry unto God from the depths, and cry unto him, with the settled confidence, that he will listen to our petitions, and grant us according to our heart's desire. To be successful, however, in our application, we must be careful to make it in the appointed way. The Psalmist speaks of God's hearing him '*out of his holy hill.*' His holy hill was Mount Zion. There the ark of the covenant was deposited. That was the ark of God's presence; from it he was pleased to give his answers to those who sought him by prayer. And David had respect to this institution, as originating in the wisdom and authority of the Being to whom he offered up his supplications, and trusted to it for obtaining the blessings which he asked. Now, in like manner, *we* must look to God as seated on a throne of grace, made accessible to us by the blood of Christ. He is to be approached only by that 'new and living way' which he himself has appointed. Every petition we prefer to him must be preferred in the name of Jesus, in a dependance upon the merits of his death, and the efficacy of his intercession. If we neglect to take refuge in this ark, when the floods of divine wrath, and of temporal adversity, are sitting in upon us, most assuredly we shall perish; and all the methods of deliverance we can have recourse to will be of no avail to our salvation. But if, agreeably to God's revealed plan of mercy, we regard it as the resting place of our hopes, and seek to it with confidence in its sufficiency, as well as its necessity, to rescue us from the surrounding deluge, then the overflowing of the waters will pass by, and we shall be safe amidst the perils which sink the unbelieving and the ungodly into perdition. Relying on the atonement and righteousness of our mighty Redeemer, we may 'come with boldness to the throne of divine grace, and there implore,' with the expectation of receiving, 'mercy to pardon, and grace to help us in our times of need.' Thus crying unto the Lord, and thus praying to him in faith, he will hear us, as he heard the Psalmist, out of his holy hill. And in answer to our believing entreaties, he will impart to us support and consolation, and deliverance; so that though we be 'troubled on every side, we shall not be distressed; though perplexed, we shall not be in despair: though persecuted, we shall not be forsaken; though cast down, we shall not be destroyed.'

But while the Psalmist refers with emphasis to God's extraordinary interpositions in his behalf, when his foes increased, and his situation was full of danger, he does not forget to make mention of the divine care exercised over him in the common habitudes of his life. 'He laid him down and slept; and he awaked, for the Lord sustained him.' Habits of piety in the mind, and correct views of providence, will lead us to acknowledge our obligations to our Heavenly Father, even in our most tranquil hours, and in our least considerable mercies. It is not only when we come safe out of the ensanguined field, or escape from the dreadful shipwreck, or are raised to unexpected honours and affluence, it is not only then that we should confess a present and wonder-working God, and give praise to him for such striking manifestations of his mercy: the wonders of his mercy and his power are just as real and just as worthy of praise, in our preservation from day to day, and from hour to hour, when every thing in our condition looks so peaceful and secure, that we are apt to think, we need no protector, and have no injury to fear. 'We laid us down, and we slept; and we awoke;' but it was 'the Lord that sustained us.' It was the great 'shepherd of Israel who slumbereth not nor sleepeth' that watched over us; that allowed 'no evil to befal us, and no plague to come nigh our dwelling;' that kept our vital functions in play while we were all unconscious and utterly helpless; and that brought us in health and comfort to the light, and the duties, and the privileges of another day. How many of our fellow creatures were there who, from poverty and misfortune, had no place on which to lay their aching head, and stretch their wearied limbs, while we were blessed with the sheltering roof and the bed of repose! How many have been all night long tossing with agony, or languishing in sickness, while we have enjoyed undisturbed and refreshing sleep! How many have shut their eyes never to open them again on this world; while we have been permitted to continue in the land of living men, to rise in the full possession of all our faculties, and still to engage in our work of preparation for eternity. And is not all this to be ascribed to him who careth for us, even when we are incapable of remembering him? And does it not call for our warm and unceasing gratitude? And should it not be daily acknowledged in the language of devout and cordial thanksgiving? Yes, my friends; if we are sensible of the relation in which we stand to God as our constant preserver, and if we feel as we ought to do under the experience of his minute and mighty guardianship, we will say with the Psalmist on another occasion, 'My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer to thee, and will look up.' 'Every day that I rise I will bless thee, and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.'

And if God is pleased to sustain us in our midnight slumbers, and give us the comforts of quiet and unbroken repose, even when the storm of adversity is raging around us, (which is probably what David here particularly alludes to,) still warmer then should be our gratitude, and still louder our song of praise. Staying ourselves upon his grace and power, and maintaining a good conscience towards him, we shall find that his loving kindness extends to all the circumstances of our lot, and neglects nothing which is conducive to our personal comfort, or our ultimate safety. And having seen what he has done for his suffering people in this respect, or, it may be, having realized it in our own case, let us give glory to him for his goodness in the time that is past, and continue to trust in him for all the time that is yet to come. 'Why should we be afraid of ten thousands of people that may set themselves against us round about?' They are as nothing when they dare to contend with the Almighty, by assaulting and persecuting his servants. He will arise and take to him his great power, and save us out of their hands, and scatter them as chaff before the wind. He is able to 'smite all our enemies upon the cheek-bone,' so that they shall no longer be capable of harassing us with those bitter reproaches, and cruel calumnies by which they have hitherto endeavoured to wound and to destroy us. He is able to 'break the teeth of the ungodly,' so that with all their rancorous hostility, and all their demonstrations of malice, they shall not have the power of inflicting upon us any severe or lasting mischief, or of carrying into effect one of all the schemes which they have laid for our ruin. He is not only able to do these things in our behalf, but he has often accomplished them in the history of his persecuted church. They are recorded 'for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, may have hope.'

This hope, then, let us cherish amidst all the vicissitudes of our life, and even in the darkest hour of tribulation. Whatever be the evils that we suffer, and whatever be the evils with which we are threatened, let this great truth be constantly remembered, and firmly believed in, that 'salvation belongeth unto the Lord.' He is mighty to save, let our enemies be as formidable, and our circumstances as desperate as they may. It is his prerogative to save; for there is salvation in none other. It is his good pleasure to save; 'judgment is his strange work,' but he takes delight in the exercise of that mercy which rescues from the pressure of calamity, and from the jaws of death. And it is his promise to save; he has assured us that he will deliver them that put their trust in him out of all their troubles, and the fulfilment of this assurance is as certain as his faithfulness is unchangeable, and his strength omnipotent. Let us only be among the number of his people, and all will be well with us; his blessing will be upon us, and his is a 'blessing which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow.' Men may revile us, our spiritual foes may assail us, all external things may seem to be against us, and not one feature of our condition may indicate that there is any hope for us; but, being the people of God, justified by his grace, sanctified by his Spirit, and devoted to him in the affections of our hearts, and in the obedience of our lives, we shall be the objects of his tender regard; a regard which will increase in proportion to our necessities; and being blessed of God, we shall be blessed indeed. 'All things shall be ours;' whether prosperity or adversity, joy or sorrow, life or death, things present or things to come. Every coming day will find us enjoying that 'peace of God which passeth understanding,' and which depends not on the favour of men, or on the wealth of the world. And at whatever time it shall please our Heavenly Father to remove us, the blessedness which he gives upon earth will be exchanged for the blessedness which he gives in heaven; and as a gracious recompense for all our services, and a happy termination to all our sorrows, we shall enter into the regions of immortality, and into the felicity of 'the just made perfect.'

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Journal of two voyages along the coast of China, in 1831 *and* 1832; *the first in a Chinese Junk; the second in the British ship Lord Amherst: with notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-choo Islands; and remarks on the policy, religion, &c. of China. By Charles Gutzlaff, New York: John P. Haven,* 1833. Pp. 332, 12*mo.*

The title indicates the nature of this volume and will awaken in many a desire to become acquainted with its contents. The first Journal appeared sometime since in the Chinese Repository, a work published at Canton, and from thence was copied into many of the periodicals of our land. The second is now for the first time offered to the public. The author is a very remarkable man. He was born in Prussia, and received a medical education. Seven years since, he devoted himself to a Missionary life in the East. Since that time, he has been abundant in labours and sufferings, and has been very successful too in the cause of his Master. He appears to possess a zeal and faith truly apostolic. It is delightful to learn the fact, that the religious prospects of China are brightening, that her millions are accessible through the medium of Tracts and the printed Word. Armed with these weapons, a few such men as Gutzlaff would soon effect wonderful changes in the Celestial Empire.

The Bible Companion, designed for the assistance of Bible classes, families, and young students of the Scriptures, illustrated with maps and engravings. From the last London edition. Revised and adapted to the present times, with an Introduction by Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. Edward C. Mielke, 1833. Pp. 149, 18*mo.*

The increasing study of the Holy Scriptures is one of the most interesting facts the age presents. The publication of all books tending to facilitate this, ought to be cordially welcomed and sustained. The work before us is one of this description. It contains in a small space the information that is necessary to a profitable study of the Bible, and will prove peculiarly acceptable to those whose limited means and circumstances preclude the possession and study of larger works. Its chief value consists in the analysis which is presented of each book of scripture. On this subject Dr. Tyng justly remarks, "it is amazing to an unpractised student, what degree of light is thrown upon the doctrinal statements, as well as the historical references found in them, by a previous consideration of the scope and design of the work. Let one of the Epistles be taken for example. If it be taken up and read, as they often are, as an independent writing, it will be found, to a very great degree, unintelligible. References will be found which cannot be explained, and assertions to the comprehension of which there is no key. And it may be read over many times without any distinct impression being made upon the mind, or any real information having been derived from it. If the same writing be taken up again, after information has been obtained in regard to the writer, the circumstances under which it was written, the persons to whom it was addressed, the object and purpose for which it was written, it will appear like another production. Difficulties will be cleared up, dark passages will seem quite intelligible, and the epistle will give new information and light, as often as it is considered. I have seen a Bible-class astonished and delighted at the amount of knowledge in regard to one of St. Paul's epistles, which a mere reference to the circumstances contained in his history in the Acts was able to communicate. Such kind of information is here collected in a compact and convenient form, and I cannot but hope, that the publication of this work will be found a real service to the youthful readers of the Bible among our churches."

Memoir of the Rev. George Burder, author of the "Village Sermons," and Secretary of the London Missionary Society. By Henry Foster Burder, D.D. New York: Jonathan Leavitt. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833. Pp. 381, 12*mo.*

The subject of this memoir was one of the most useful men of the age. He was born in London in 1752. He began his ministry among the Methodists, but did not long remain in connexion with them, at the age of twenty-six; he was ordained to the pastoral office and settled over an independent church at Lancaster. Five years afterwards he removed to Coventry. Here he laboured with great faithfulness for twenty years, when he was called to London as secretary of the Missionary Society and editor of the Evangelical Magazine. He also took the pastoral charge of the church in which he was born and baptized. Here he laboured incessantly until his death in 1832. His principal publications, beside his contributions to the Evangelical Magazine are, "Early Piety," a book for children—his "Closet Companion," "Village Sermons," "Cottage Sermons," and "Sermons for the Aged." He also published "A Series of Observations on the Pilgrim's Progress," and an abridgment of "Owen on the Spirit." His "Village Sermons" have probably had a wider circulation than any other in the language.

The life of so useful and distinguished a man cannot but be interesting. Though the volume before us does not contain much of striking incident, yet in his diary and letters there is that amiable simplicity of character, ardent piety and soundness of judgment manifested, that will richly reward the reader for a careful, and indeed repeated perusal.

Polynesian Researches, during a residence of nearly eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands. By William Ellis. From the latest London Edition. In four volumes 12*mo. New York: J. & J. Harper,* 1833.

The first English edition of this work appeared in 1821. It has since passed through several editions, and is now for the first time offered to the American public. The author was for eight years a Missionary at Tahiti. From his daily journal, from printed and manuscript documents in the possession of the London Missionary, Society, and from the communications of various Missionaries, the materials for these volumes have been drawn. They contain a brief but satisfactory history of the origin, progress, and results of the Missionary enterprise, which, during the last thirty years, has transformed the barbarous, cruel, indolent, and idolatrous inhabitants of Tahiti, and the neighbouring islands, into a comparatively civilized, humane, industrious, and Christian people. They also comprise a record of the measures pursued by the native governments, in changing the social economy of the people, and regulating their social intercourse with foreigners, in the promulgation of a new civil code (a translation of which is given,) the establishments of courts of justice, and the introduction of trial by jury. Besides information on those points, they furnish an account of the intellectual culture, Christian experience, and general conduct of the converts; the proceeding of the Missionaries in the several departments of their duty; the administration of the ordinances of Christianity; the establishment of the first churches, with their order and discipline; the advancement of education; the introduction of arts; the improvement in morals; and the progress of civilization.

Scenes in our Parish. By a Country Parson's Daughter. First and second series. New York: Published by Harper & Brothers, 1833. Pp. 260, 12*mo.*

This will be a very popular book among the serious lovers of amusing literature. We are disposed to believe the anonymous author when she tells us that she is a country parson's daughter, and that the scenes she describes are from real life. She evinces great vivacity of mind, a fine susceptibility to the beauties of nature, a heart to feel for the sufferings of her race, and a desire to promote their highest interests. She has, too, a delicate sense of the ludicrous, and what is remarkable for one who has so much poetry about her, a goodly showing of strong common sense. Better than all, a vein of apparently sincere and genuine piety runs through the book.

She is quite too discussive in her habits, and deals too much in descriptions of flowers and natural scenery. The style is in the main, chaste and unaffected, and there are not infrequent passages of beautiful simplicity.

The author has an almost hysterical horror of "reform," and her solicitude for the fate of the establishment, and that of the world which she seems to think dependant thereon, is sometimes amusing.

Exposition of Psalm CXIX. *as Illustrative of the Character and Exercises of Christian Experience. By the Rev. Charles Bridges, M. A. Vicar of Old Newton, Suffolk. First American from the sixth London edition. Philadelphia, George Latimer & Co.* 1833. Pp. 360, 12*mo.*

Mr. Bridges is one of the most spiritual and popular writers of which the establishment can boast. His work on the "Christian Ministry," has been widely diffused and highly appreciated, and the exposition has passed through six editions in three years—a fact alike creditable to the author, and to the church which thus evinces an increasing demand for sound evangelical truth. The writer informs us that this Psalm was selected in consequence of its peculiar adaptation to Christian experience, that his main design in its study was to furnish his own mind with a correct standard of evangelical sincerity in the habitual scrutiny of his own heart and to assist others in that important duty. The composition of the work is diversified with as much variety as the nature of the subject will allow. The descriptive character of the book will be found to be interspersed with matter of discussion, personal address, hints for self-inquiry, and occasional supplication, with the earnest endeavour to cast the mind into that meditative, self-scrutinizing, devotional frame, in which the new creature is strengthened, and increases and goes on to perfection.

A PORTRAITURE

OF

MODERN SCEPTICISM;

OR,

A CAVEAT AGAINST INFIDELITY:

INCLUDING

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE EVIDENCES OF REVEALED TRUTH, AND A DEFENCE OF THE CANON AND OF INSPIRATION.

INTENDED AS A PRESENT FOR THE YOUNG.

BY JOHN MORISON, D. D.

AUTHOR OF "AN EXPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS," ETC.

PREFACE.

As the forms of infidelity are constantly changing, it becomes the duty of all good men to watch its versatile movements, and to endeavour, according to their several abilities, to counteract its subtle and pernicious influence. Standing, as we now do, in the full blaze of secular knowledge, there is the utmost danger, through the depravity of our fallen nature, of our preferring the wisdom of man to the wisdom of God; and if the advocates of revealed truth do not rush into the field of conflict with the enemies of human happiness, there is reason to fear that scepticism will obtain a partial and momentary triumph:—I say *partial* and *momentary*, for the truth of Heaven must ultimately prevail, and every power that would silence the voice of "THE LIVING ORACLES" must at last be crushed by the omnipotent energy of the Son of God. I am not afraid for the ark of the Lord; but I regard it as a solemn duty to contribute my aid, however humble, to the defence of revealed truth; and particularly to make my appeal to that portion of my fellow men who, either from mental tendency, or association in life, are peculiarly exposed to the desolating and pernicious onset of sceptical opinions.

I am aware there is nothing novel or peculiar in the treatise which I now place on the altar of the public; but I am fully satisfied that the position I have taken is sure, and that the sternest or the most insiduous infidelity has no honest argument to oppose to the conclusions I have ventured, with unhesitating confidence, to draw. I have written with the decision which becomes him who feels he has truth, and the truth of Heaven, on his side; and I beseech no man, who deigns to examine what I have said, to indulge a sneer, while conscience tells him that he should offer up a prayer to "the Father of lights" for wisdom to guide his devious course, and, above all, to rectify his wayward and erring heart.

If there be any thing requiring distinct specification in the plan of the following work, it is the order pursued in laying down the series of evidence in support of the claims of Revelation. Whether right or wrong, I have wrought my way from the interior to the outworks; and have made my first attack on the citadel of the heart, by endeavouring to point out the adaptations of Christianity to the known and admitted condition of human nature. In doing so, I flatter myself that I have pursued a simpler and more natural course than those writers upon the same important subject who have placed an almost exclusive dependence upon external evidence. At the same time, I have not dared to overlook any part of that proof which shows the Bible to be the word of God.

In the views I have ventured to express, in reference to the momentous subject of Inspiration, I am fully aware that I have exposed myself to the criticisms of some of my friends, eminent for their piety and their biblical erudition. But this I cannot help. I have gone where truth led me; and I verily believe, in the fullest sense, that the Scriptures are—*The Word of God*. Should any respectable individual, giving his name, do me the honour to controvert my views of *verbal* inspiration, I shall, if spared, endeavour to reply to his animadversions. But I will not allow myself to be dragged into the field of controversy by any one who treats this awful subject with irreverence. May all my readers be taught of God!

PART FIRST.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

"THERE IS NO FEAR OF GOD BEFORE THEIR EYES:"—Such is the concluding sentence of a description which strips fallen humanity of all its boasted excellence; which shows, by a most convincing train of reasoning, that Jews and Gentiles are alike guilty before God; and which pictures, in vivid colours, the awful depravity into which men sink without the intervention and the vital reception of the Gospel of peace. As the whole race are involved in one common apostacy, there is only one remedy that meets their case, and that remedy is Christianity. Wherever this divine catholicon is embraced, it ultimately effects the cure of man's moral distempers; it purifies his conscience from guilt, by an application of "the blood of sprinkling;" it purifies his heart by the operation of a living faith; and it purifies his life by the all-subduing influence of motives which animate him with the love of God, and with the quenchless desire of being conformed to his moral image. Wherever Christianity is rejected, man remains the victim of apostacy, the child of wrath, the sport of evil passions, and, in the truest sense, "without God, and without hope in the world." Whether we survey a state of pure heathenism,[*] or contemplate a condition of society in which Christianity is rejected as a fable, we behold, in either case, a soil fertile in every species of wickedness that can insult the divine Majesty, or that can degrade and brutalize the human race. Could we conceive of a community wholly made up of men denying Revelation, and wholly imbued with the principles and feelings of modern deism, we should have presented before our minds a scene of moral turpitude and guilt, too fearful to admit of minute examination. In such a community, we should see every social tie dissolved, every virtuous obligation trampled upon, and all the savage passions of the human heart brought into resistless and destructive play. In the creed of an infidel there is nothing whatever to deter him from the basest actions, provided he can screen himself from the eye of public justice, and from the scorn and derision of his fellow men. He is a man altogether without principle, who denies the legitimate distinction between virtue and vice, who resolves all human motive into a principle of self-love, and who is an equal foe to the laws of Heaven, and to the wise and benevolent institutions of men. A powerful writer, and an acute observer of mankind, has said, that "modern unbelievers are Deists in theory, Pagans in inclination, and Atheists in practice."[†] They profess, indeed, to believe in one supreme and uncreated Intelligence, infinitely benevolent, and infinitely holy; but they neither cultivate his benevolence, nor imitate his purity; and as it respects prayer, and praise, and the homage of devout worship, they are as scornfully neglectful of them as if there were no God, and are practically in that state of total irreligion, which shows that verily "There is no fear of God before their eyes." Though they talk loudly of one God, and profess to pay him homage in the temple of nature, it is most clear that in escaping from the folly and absurdity of the "gods many and lords many" of the heathen, they have plunged themselves into a state of reckless scepticism and doubt, which leaves every perfection of the Deity undefined, which utterly extinguishes his moral government, and which renders even the belief of his very existence a powerless and uninfluential admission.

By the aid of Revelation, indeed, they have wrought their way out of the Pantheon; but, standing in the full blaze of celestial discovery, they have set themselves to blaspheme "the only living and true God." Ungrateful return for that light which the God of mercy has shed upon their path, and which was never surely intended to heighten their guilt, or to accelerate their condemnation!

What, then, are we to understand by *modern* infidelity? Not surely that infidelity is a new thing; for since man lost the image of his God, he has, in all the periods of his eventful history, evinced a tendency to discredit his Maker, and even "when he knew him, not to glorify him as God." To provide, in some degree, against this tendency, and to preserve the successive revelations of Heaven from being utterly lost, the Most High selected one family as the depositaries of his truth, and as the ministers of his mercy to the rest of mankind.

It would be easy to show, by an induction of facts, that it was infidelity, in the days of old, which paved the way for the abominations of polytheism. Men first discredited and opposed the true oracles of Heaven, and then they set themselves to serve God in their own way, and to proscribe a religion and a worship for themselves; and because 'they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, back-biters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents; without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful; who knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them." It was such infidelity as this, my esteemed reader, which prepared the minds of mankind for all the grossness and all the absurdity of heathenism; it was such infidelity as this which obtained in Philistia, and Egypt, and Canaan; it was such infidelity as this which called forth the stupendous energy of Omnipotence, in confounding and terrifying those evil powers who contemned the name of Israel's God, and oppressed the chosen tribes; yea, it was such infidelity as this which prompted all the idolatries of the ancient church, who no sooner forgot the Lord their God, than they set themselves to worship the gods of the nations among whom they sojourned.

Infidelity is no new thing. It is a plant indigenous to the sinful heart of man; it has sprung up in every age; it has more or less prevailed in every nation under the whole face of heaven; it is the palpable exhibition of that secret and deep-rooted unbelief which is unwilling to accredit any communication as divine that does not picture the Most High as a being altogether answering to the sinful imaginings of a depraved and apostate heart.

By *modern* infidelity, then, we are simply to understand those new forms, and that new energy which scepticism has put on, in modern times, and more particularly since the era of the French revolution; by which it has mightily diffused itself among all ranks of society, and has produced a class of writers capable of making their appeal to each separate branch of the community. It is *modern*, because those who are yet in middle life can remember the baneful period when it began to exert its giant strength, and when, with a fiend-like daring, it aimed a deadly blow at the thrones of monarchs and at the altars of religion. We can remember all this, and we can trace in the bloody and impure and ruthless steps of infidelity, the hateful character which belongs to it. It is *modern*, for it has decked itself forth in a thousand novel aspects,—and at one time assuming the air of reason and philosophy; at another, appealing to the most vulgar prejudices of the human mind; now weaving itself into the texture of history, and then clothing itself in the maxims of political wisdom; in some instances, concealing itself beneath the witchery of a well-imagined tale; and, in others, polluting even the very streams of salvation, by infusing a portion of its deadly virulence into the theology of the age.[*]

It is *modern*, for where, at any former period in the history of the world, did a thing so worthless and abominable put on such an imposing air, and give itself forth as an angel of mercy to the afflicted race? Though it has taught men, that "adultery must be practised if we would obtain the advantages of life; that female infidelity, when known, is a small thing; and, when unknown, nothing;"[†] that "there is no merit or crime in intention;"[‡] that "the civil law is the sole foundation of right and wrong, and that religion has no obligation but as enjoined by the magistrate;"[§] that "all the morality of our actions lies in the judgment we ourselves form of them;"[‖] "that lewdness," in certain cases only, "resembles thirst in a dropsy, and inactivity in a lethargy;"[¶] that virtue is "only the love of ourselves;"[**] though these are the scandalous lessons which it has unblushingly taught mankind, yet is it loudly proclaimed as the only system calculated to model and perfect humanity; as the last and only refuge for the sorrowing, suffering, and unhappy children of men! This it is which is to rescue them from all unworthy prejudices, which is to dissipate the mists of ages, which is to bring back the golden period of wisdom and reason, which is to convert the whole earth into a paradise, and which is to make men happy as angels under its mild and benignant sway!! There is no cant so disgusting as that of infidelity. Though most of its advocates have been libertines, though its footsteps may be traced in the blood which it has spilt, though it has trampled on all the laws of personal property and of individual right, though it pollutes and degrades wherever it touches, yet are its advocates ever and anon boasting of its sublime virtues, and its blessed achievements. One thing we may be quite sure of, that no one will listen to their vain and empty declamations till he has lost a certain portion of self-esteem, and till he wants to find an excuse for his conduct in the laxness and uncertainty of his belief. Looking at both the literary and vulgar part of modern infidels, we are constrained to say of them, in the words of the great apostle, "There is no fear of God before their eyes."

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[*] It may be fairly questioned, from the practices of all pagan countries, whether there be any people in a state of pure heathenism. Tradition seems every where to have spread some faint glimmerings of celestial light.

[†] Rev. Andrew Fuller. See his Works, vol. i. page 17.

[*] In proof of this, see Professor Milman's History of the Jews, and many other productions savouring of the Neological school.

[†] Hume.

[‡] Volney's Law of Nature.

[§] Hobbes.

[‖] Rousseau.

[¶] Lord Herbert, the father of English Deists.

[**] Lord Bolingbroke.

CHAPTER I.

The views which Infidels have entertained respecting the moral character of God.

God cannot be duly feared, as the proper object of religious homage, where his moral attributes and perfections are lost sight of. If we disconnect his wisdom and power from his holiness and goodness and justice, it is impossible to conceive of him with reverence, or to think of him with complacency. In the Christian Scriptures, God's natural attributes are invariably represented as the ministers of his benevolence, integrity, and faithfulness. They declare him to be "a God of truth, and without iniquity; just and right" in all his ways. They proclaim him to be "the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and in truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and yet by no means clearing the guilty." They describe him as "of purer eyes than to behold evil," and tell us that "he cannot look upon iniquity." They exhibit him as "righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." They teach us, that he is "not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with him." Such is the God of Revelation; a Being infinitely wise and powerful indeed, but one, at the same time, "glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, and ever doing wonders;" a Being before whom the highest orders of created intelligences prostrate themselves and exclaim, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."

How unlike are these descriptions of the eternal and immutable God, to the vague, contradictory, and even wicked representations of infidelity. "We cannot," says Lord Bolingbroke, "ascribe goodness and justice to God, according to our ideas of them, nor argue with any certainty about them;" and again, "it is absurd to deduce moral obligations from the moral attributes of God, or to pretend to imitate him in those attributes." The language held by Bolingbroke is common to the infidel school. The entire moral character of God is overlooked by them, unless when they talk of his mercy, which they always do in a manner totally inconsistent with the existence of any such thing as a moral government. Mercy displayed at the awful risk of prostrating the claims of immutable holiness, can only be another name for injustice; and can therefore have no affinity to that infinitely benevolent Being who, in all the distributions both of his goodness and mercy, acts in a manner worthy of himself, the source and pattern of all the rectitude and purity which exist throughout the universe.

"The object," says a distinguished author, "of the Christian adoration is Jehovah, the God of Israel; whose character for holiness, justice, and goodness, is displayed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, in a more affecting light than by any of the preceding dispensations. But who or what is the god of deists? It is true they have been shamed out of the polytheism of the heathens. They have reduced their thirty thousand deities into one, but what is his character? What attributes do they ascribe to him? For any thing that appears in their writings, he is as far from the holy, the just, and the good, as those of their heathen predecessors. They enjoy a pleasure, it is allowed, in contemplating the productions of wisdom and power; but as to holiness, it is foreign from their inquiries: a holy God does not appear to be suited to their wishes."*

After tracing the conflicting views of modern infidels, in reference to the proper standard of morality, the same powerful writer adds,—"It is worthy of notice that, amidst all the discordance of these writers, they agree in excluding the Divine Being from their theory of morals. They think after their manner; but 'God is not in all their thoughts.' In comparing the Christian doctrine of morality, the sum of which is *love*, with their atheistical jargon, one seems to hear the voice of the Almighty, saying, 'who is this that darkeneth counsel with words without knowledge? Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole of man.'"†

CHAPTER II.

Though Infidels profess to hold the doctrine of the Divine Existence, yet they refuse or neglect all religious worship.

In this feature of their character, they are more inconsistent, and more irreligious too, than even pagan idolators themselves, who evince great zeal and make many sacrifices in the service of their dumb idols. One would imagine, that if there be one great first cause, the Creator and upholder of all things, the benignant source of all the happiness which creatures in any part of the universe enjoy; one would imagine, I say, that if such a Being exists, he is entitled to the devout and spiritual worship of all his intelligent creatures. Such is the dictate even of unassisted reason, as has been demonstrated by a reference to the rudest and most brutalized portions of the human race. How astounding then is the fact, that only in Christian countries can men be found denying the validity of stated worship to the Deity; as if the only use to be made of Revelation were to employ it for the horrid purpose of obliterating all our natural feelings of reverence for his awful perfections! In the inspired volume we learn that "God is a spirit, and that they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." This supposes the duty of worship, and prescribes the qualities by which it is to be distinguished. The language of those who know the divine character, and who possess a right spirit, will ever be, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms. For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods. O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker; for he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand." Men may boast as they please of their belief in one God, but if they do him no actual homage, if they have no stated seasons and places of devotion, they are in a far worse condition than were those benighted Athenians, whom Paul beheld prostrate at an altar dedicated to "the unknown God." It is the temper, the disposition of infidelity, no less than its preposterous creed, which distances it from the spirit of true worship. Devotion cannot grow in a soil on which the inexpressible levity of scepticism has cast its withering blight. Religious awe cannot be felt in a mind that has no sensible hold of God's moral perfections. Love to God, drawing the soul forth in repeated and habitual acts of grateful adoration, cannot dwell in a heart where worldly lusts and enmity against the moral government of the Most High are struggling for the mastery.

The very same thing which led men of old to forsake the worship of the only living and true God, and to betake themselves to the abominations of idolatry, is that which banishes from every circle of infidels everything like the semblance of religious homage to the Deity. Is it demanded what this said thing is? I reply, in the language of the Apostle, "they did not like to retain God in their knowledge." They lost all delight in his holy character, and hence they sought relief for their guilty feelings in the exercise of a religion which corresponded with the dictates of their own impure hearts.

Deists are placed somewhat peculiarly. As they are found only where Revelation has either completely banished the grossness of idolatry, or where, at least, it has shed its benignant rays, they cannot for shame revel in the impurities of heathenism; but as they take no delight whatever in the character of that one God whom they profess to adore, they live in the habitual and avowed neglect of his worship. The ancestors of paganism forsook his worship, "because they did not like to retain him in their thoughts;" and for the same reason precisely infidelity has no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, no avowed, habitual, and well-defined worship to that glorious Being, from the near contemplation of whose character it shrinks with instinctive dislike and dread.

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* Fuller's Works, vol. i. p. 11.

† Fuller's Works, vol. i. p. 27.

Could we see infidelity cultivating the spirit of prayer, laying aside its extreme and disgusting levity, and evincing an anxiety to arrive at the true knowledge of God, we should begin to hope on behalf of its unhappy victims; but reckless as its advocates are of all devotion, and leaning as they do to their own understanding, and evincing an utter contempt for every thing sacred, we are compelled to look on them as in a condition peculiarly hopeless, and must say respecting them "There is no fear of God before their eyes."

CHAPTER III.

A brief survey of the character of that morality which Infidelity inculcates and displays.

All who read the Bible attentively, whatever they may think of its divine origin, must be struck with the perfection of its moral precepts, and especially with the sublime and cogent reasons which it assigns for the performance of every duty which we owe both to God and man.[*]

That monster of wickedness, Thomas Paine, whom no man that ever knew could trust, has said respecting the Bible—"I feel for the honour of my Creator in having such a book called after his name." He must surely have meant, that he felt for himself, when he discovered in the Bible, if he ever read it, such an array of holy and benevolent precepts upon which it had been his habitual practice, during a long life, to trample with proud disdain!

The morality of the Bible is not the morality of mere decorum, the garnishing of the outward man, the "making clean the outside of the cup and platter;" it is the morality of principle; it is the morality of right dispositions; it is the morality of love to God and love to man. Infidelity says, "there is no merit or crime in intention;" but Christianity says, that hatred is murder, that secret lust is adultery, and that we must "love the Lord our God with all our heart, and strength, and mind, and our neighbour as ourselves." It prohibits the resentment of injuries, and urges the forgiveness of enemies. It tells us "to weep with them that that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice." It enforces every relative duty by an appeal to motives equally tender and sublime, and it demands a personal sanctity of manners, which admits of no reserve, and leaves room for the indulgence of no single habit of transgression.

If infidelity were from above, it would bear the marks of its celestial origin. God must be holy; and a religion suited to his intelligent creatures ought to carry with it some resemblance to his moral nature. Infidelity has no such resemblance in either theory or practice. In theory it is an apology for almost every crime that disgraces human nature; and in the different codes of its advocates, every species of transgression is either defended or palliated. And what it is in theory, it is yet more abundantly in practice. Its leading characters have been worthless beyond expression. What were Herbert, and Hobbes, and Shaftesbury, and Woolston, and Tindal, and Bolingbroke, but so many notorious hypocrites, who, for a piece of paltry self-interest, professed to love and reverence Christianity, while they were all the while insidiously endeavouring to lower its credit in the world? In the long and gloomy catalogue of human delinquents, where shall we find two miscreants such as Rochester and Wharton? They were indeed a reproach to our common nature. Morgan's dishonest quotation of Scripture to serve a purpose, and his miserable cant in professing himself to be a Christian, notwithstanding his amazing zeal to subvert all the peculiarities of revealed religion, speak volumes as to his notions of morality. Hume, the most dishonest and prejudiced of all historians,[*] died as a fool dieth, cracking vulgar jokes with some of his unhappy companions.[†] Voltaire so little regarded truth, that, in speaking in his "Ignorant Philosopher" of the tolerative spirit of the ancient Romans, he observes, "they never persecuted a single philosopher for his opinions from the time of Romulus till the popes got possession of their power." In this passage a veil is drawn over the massacre of thousands and tens of thousands of unoffending Christians. In like manner, this boasted friend of liberty and reason, when he describes the expatriation, or cruel death of one million of French Protestants, speaks of them as "*weak and obstinate men*." As these Protestants, not being infidels, were stripped of all claim to philosophy, we suppose it was a small matter to murder such vulgar persons in cold blood! We find this same champion of infidelity requesting his friend D'Alembert to tell for him a direct lie, by denying that he was the author of the "Philosophical Dictionary." His friend told the lie for him; and he has himself well described his own character in the following words:—"Monsieur Abbé, I must be read, no matter whether I am believed or not." Voltaire, after all his infidelity, being threatened by the authorities, died a Catholic.

Rousseau was profligate and immoral from his youth up. "I have been a rogue," says he, "and am so still sometimes, for trifles which I had rather take than ask for." He abjured Protestantism and became Catholic; "for which," says he, "in return, I was to receive subsistence; but," he adds, "from this interested conversion, nothing remained but the remembrance of my having been both a dupe and an apostate." After this, settling at Geneva, and finding that there he was denied the rights of Christian citizens, he renounced popery and conformed to the religion of the state. The life of this wretched man was one continued and uninterrupted scene of hypocrisy, fornication, seduction, base intrigue, and, withal, constant violation of the rules of honesty. What he said of one of the events of horror which marked his career may be applied, with too much truth, to his whole history—"Guilty without remorse, I soon became so without measure."

CHAPTER IV.

The practical effects of Infidelity.

It is no wonder surely that such a race of men should have prepared the minds of their disciples for deeds of unusual atrocity. In a neighbouring country, a fit theatre presented itself for the exhibition of infidelity in its own native colours. There gross superstition on the one hand, and arbitrary government on the other, led thousands *virtuously* to sigh for national deliverance. With loud professions of love of liberty and self-devoted patriotism, infidelity rushed into the field of conflict; but though she professed to be an angel of mercy, she soon proved herself to be but a fiend of perdition. There was no deed of horror which she did not perpetrate. Within her destructive sphere life and property ceased to have any value attached to them. The most virtuous citizens fell victims to her insatiable cruelty. Personal aggrandizement became the sole object of her ambition; and, under the fair pretence of philosophy, of enlightened policy, and of regard to the public weal, a whole nation was laid in ruins, every public institution was plundered, the state was sunk in anarchy and confusion, deeds of blood too shocking to describe were perpetrated, and the church herself, already sufficiently degraded, was made the organ of propagating blasphemies the most hideous against the God of heaven. "Infidelity," observes a spirited and able chronicler of these events, "having got possession of the power of the state, every nerve was exerted to efface from the mind all ideas of religion and morality. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, or a future state of rewards and punishments, so essential to the preservation of order in society, and to the prevention of crimes, was publicly ridiculed, and the people were taught to believe that death was an everlasting sleep.

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[*] See the second part of this Treatise, chap. i. sect. 3.

[*] How can the guardians of the rising generation still leave them to the guidance of such a sycophant in politics, and such a sceptic in religion?

[†] "Nothing but the most frivolous dissipation of thought can make even the inconsiderate forget the supreme importance of every thing which relates to the expectation of a future existence. Whilst the infidel mocks at the superstitions of the vulgar, insults over their credulous fears, their childish errors, or fantastic rites, it does not occur to him to observe that the most preposterous device by which the weakest devotee ever believed he was securing the happiness of a future life, is more rational than unconcern about it. Upon this subject, nothing is so absurd as indifference; no folly so contemptible as thoughtlessness and levity."—See a work entitled "*The Nature of the Proof of the Christian Religion, &c.*" by D. B. Baker, A. M., p. 42.

"They ordered the words 'Temple of Reason' to be inscribed on the churches, in contempt of the doctrine of revelation. Atheistical and licentious homilies were published in the churches, instead of the old service; and a ludicrous imitation of the Greek mythology exhibited under the title of 'The Religion of Reason.' Nay, they went so far as to dress up, with the most fantastic decorations, a common strumpet, whom they blasphemously styled 'The Goddess of Reason,' and who was carried to church on the shoulders of some jacobins selected for the purpose, escorted by the national guards and the constituted authorities. When they got to the church, the strumpet was placed on the altar erected for the purpose, and harangued the people, who, in return, professed the deepest adoration of her, and sung the *Carmagnole* and other songs by way of worshipping her. This horrid scene; almost too horrible to relate; was concluded by burning the prayer-book, confessional, and every thing appropriated to the use of public worship; numbers, in the mean time, danced round the flames with every appearance of frantic and infernal mirth." I might also notice the fiend-like malignity which was directed against the institution of the Sabbath, during the reign of terror in France, as if the sole design of that desperate faction was not only to efface all reverence for the Deity from the public mind, but also to destroy every memorial of an intelligent creature's obligation to him, and every symbol of the existence of a moral government.

Let revolutionary and infidel France teach mankind, by one great and effective lesson, what the enemies of Revelation can do to heighten the standard of national morals, and to render inviolable the persons and properties of men. With the page of their own infamous history before them, let sceptics of every school blush to talk of the benefits which their system is fitted to confer on the human race. And let them remember, that the grand reason why the prevalence of their principles has ever issued in the disruption of every social and moral tie, has been because there was "no fear of God before their eyes."

CHAPTER V.

A contrasted view of Infidelity and Christianity.[*]

From such scenes as these, how delightful to turn to the pure, and mild, and benignant genius of Christianity! Were her golden rule, "as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them" the universal law of all the families and nations under heaven, how would it change the face of society! how would it stem the torrent of pride, ambition, and vain glory! how would it cause wars, and rumours of wars, to cease to the very ends of the earth! how would it unite the whole family of man in one common bond of brotherhood! how would it banish injustice, cruelty, oppression, and licentiousness from the earth! In proportion as Christian principles have triumphed, in that same proportion immorality has disappeared, and all social virtues have been practised; and when it is universal, which we are assured it will be, it will bring moral health along with it to all the dwellers upon earth.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity," said the immortal Washington, "religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert the great pillars of human happiness, those firmest props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of a peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."[*]

In a happier age, fast approaching, Christianity will dictate rules of right government; it will establish equitable principles of national commerce; it will teach kings and senates how to rule in wisdom and love; it will remove the great barriers to national tranquillity and national prosperity out of the way, by constituting the "people all righteous," and setting up the authority of God as the best possible support of laws which accord with his word.

Infidelity can dream of no such renovation. Its past steps may be traced in blood and anarchy; and the prospect which stretches before it is scarcely less appalling. It has no link whereby to bind man to man, because it severs man from his Maker. It is essentially heartless and cruel. It rules without God, and would exclude him from his own world, and nothing awaits it but the exposure and infamy which must sooner or later overtake all systems of evil.

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[*] The Bishop of Calcutta, in his twenty-second lecture on the "Evidences of Christianity," has finely contrasted the character of Voltaire with that of the Hon. Robert Boyle. "Now contrast," says he, "with this character, any of the eminent Christians that adorned their own country and Europe about the same period. Take the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE, of whom it is difficult to say whether his piety, as a Christian, or his fame, as a philosopher, was most remarkable. Consider the compass of his mind, the solidity of his judgment, the fertility of his pen, the purity of his morals, the amiableness of his temper, his benificence to the poor and distressed, his uniform friendships, his conscientious aim at truth in all his pursuits and determinations. At an early age he examined the question of the Christian religion to the bottom, on occasion of some distracting doubts which assaulted his mind. Confirmed in the truth of Christianity, his whole life was a comment on his sincerity. He was admitted to certain secret meetings before he had reached mature years—but they were graced and enlightened associations—for canvassing subjects of natural philosophy, at a time when the civil wars suspended all academical studies, and they led to the formation of one of the noblest establishments of his country.* His disinterestedness and humility were such that he refused the provostship of Eton, and the honours of a peerage, that he might devote his talents and time and noble fortune to works of public utility and benevolence. His uniform regard to truth made him the example and admiration of his age. His tenderness of conscience led him to decline the most honourable office† in the scientific world, because he doubted about the oaths prescribed, and his reverence for the glorious Creator induced him to pause whenever he pronounced his name. From such a student we may expect the truth. From such a philosopher we receive, with unmixed pleasure, '*A Treatise of the high veneration which men's intellect owes to God*;'* or a discourse '*On greatness of mind promoted by Christianity.*' "†

The same excellent author furnishes the following admirable contrasts:—

"Contrast, in point of mere benevolence, the lives and deportment of such an infidel as Rousseau, and such a Christian as Doddridge; the one all pride, selfishness, fury, caprice, rage, gross sensuality—casting about firebrands and death—professing no rule of morals but his feelings, abusing the finest powers to the dissemination, not merely of objections against Christianity, but of the most licentious and profligate principles;—Doddridge all purity, mildness, meekness, and love, ardent in his good will to man, the friend and counsellor of the sorrowful; regular, calm, consistent; dispensing peace and truth by his labours and by his writings; living, not for himself, but for the common good, to which he sacrificed his health and even life.

"Or contrast such a man as Volney with Swartze. They both visit distant lands,—they are active and indefatigable in their pursuits,—they acquire celebrity, and communicate respectively a certain impulse to their widened circles; but the one, jaundiced by infidelity, the sport of passion and caprice, lost to all argument and right feeling, comes home to diffuse the poison of unbelief, to be a misery to himself, the plague and disturber of his country, the dark calumniator of the Christian faith. The other remains far from his native land to preach the peaceful doctrine of the gospel on the shores of India; he becomes the friend and brother of those whom he had never seen, and only heard of as fellow-creatures,—he diffuses blessings for half a century,—he insures the admiration of the heathen prince near whom he resides,—he becomes the mediator between contending tribes and nations,—he establishes a reputation for purity, integrity, disinterestedness, meekness, which compel all around to respect and love him,—he forms churches,—he instructs children,—he disperses the seeds of charity and truth,—he is the model of all the virtues he enjoins."

[*] *The Royal Society.* † *President of the Royal Society.*

[*] *Published in* 1685. † *Published in* 1690.

[*] Washington's Farewell Address to the people of the United States.

O, what a world were this if all men were infidels! Then, indeed, would they soon destroy themselves. Their vices would be such as to annihilate all the social sympathies, and to cause the various elements of society to rush together in wild confusion and ruin.

What cause of congratulation is it, that infidelity, in its more direct forms, has so little power in this country to mould our national institutions! No one who marks the zeal and malignity of our infidel press, can doubt, for a moment, what would be the fate of every honest and virtuous family, if infidels could, by any means, acquire ascendancy. There is a great deal of secret and avowed infidelity in the land; but, blessed be God, our property, our domestic peace, our national security are not as yet menaced by the impugners of Revelation.

It is at the same time a mournful consideration, that so many of the labouring classes of the community are vitiated by the wretched dogmas of this school. It is a distinct characteristic of modern infidelity, that it aims to subvert the hopes of the poor. The writings of Mr. Paine, combined with other circumstances, have led to this feature in its malignant history. The libertinism of sceptics, till of late years, was regarded as the exclusive privilege of the educated, the intellectual, and the distinguished portion of mankind. Now it is far otherwise; the pestilence has spread itself, and operatives, in every department of trade, are plied by the apostles of infidelity, who, not content with destroying the poor man's hopes of immortality, set themselves to lower all his notions of moral obligation, to vitiate all his social habits, to foster in him the spirit of rebellion against all constituted authority, and thus, as it were, to deck their victim for the day of sacrifice. I firmly believe that in London alone, to say nothing of other large populations, there are thousands and tens of thousands lost to industry, to health, to reputation, and to peace, outcasts from society, and terrors to the community, who might trace the utter wreck of their characters to their association with companions of infidel sentiments, and to their familiarity with the infidel press. It has been my lot as a Christian minister, more than once, to confirm these affecting statements by the unequivocal avowals of infidels themselves, in the last periods of human existence, and also by witnessing in some, once promising characters, the baneful effects arising from the adoption of infidel opinions.

CHAPTER VI.

An affectionate appeal to those who have been entangled in the snares of Infidelity.

When I reflect how many there are whose faith in Christianity has been shaken, and whose minds have fallen a prey to the wiles of scepticism; and, moreover, when I call to remembrance that so many of the young and promising rank among the victims of this moral contagion, I cannot but feel an earnest desire to become an instrument of good to a portion of my fellow-creatures, at once so interesting and so much exposed. O that God would strengthen me to speak a word to unhappy and deluded sceptics! With all the zeal for their salvation that I can possibly give utterance to, would I make my appeal to their judgments and consciences. Let me bespeak their candour. I am conscious of no motive but a desire to honour God, and to save their souls. Regarding them as the victims of fatal error, I am devoutly anxious to see them extricated from it. Their creed I hold to be alike gloomy and pernicious, and I would show them a more excellent way, and would introduce them, with a bounding heart, into the light and liberty of Christianity.

What, then, let me ask, has led you to reject Christianity? Have you carefully examined it, and found its evidence defective? If so, where does the difficulty press? If you are really perplexed, ask counsel of some enlightened Christian, and he will readily aid you in disposing of the doubts and misgivings of a mind really sincere. I believe a doubting man may be sincere. There are many volumes suited to your state, and which you might read with the greatest possible advantage. Let me particularly recommend to your attentive perusal "The Gospel its own Witness," by the late Rev. Andrew Fuller; "The Evidences of Christianity," by Dr. Paley; "A Short Method with Deists," by Leslie; Dr. Chalmers' works on "The Christian Revelation," and a work entitled "A Treatise on the Nature and Causes of Doubt in Religious Questions."

But let me deal honestly with you, as your friend. *Have* you all this supposed difficulty about the evidence and the truth of Christianity? Or is your hesitancy of a very different order? Do you feel a repugnance to the holy requirements of Christianity, and a consequent dread of the judgments which it threatens? And does this prompt in you the baneful wish, "O that it might not be true?" Remember what Rochester said—"A bad life is the only grand objection to this book;" laying his hand emphatically on the Bible. Has not this been very much the case with you? You have fallen into sinful courses—you have yielded to the ways of the world—you have gone with a multitude to do evil—you have forsaken your better fellowships—you have learnt to spend your Sabbaths in pleasure, and you have gradually become more and more careless. In this state you have been very unhappy at times; you have thought, well, "what if, after all, the Bible be true! What if, after all, the wicked shall be turned into hell!" At this juncture, some one further advanced in scepticism than yourself has aided you in shaking off the galling yoke of conscience. He has put some infidel publication into your hand; you have read it; it has fallen in with your previous wishes and habits; you have said, "This is the very thing I wanted;" and you have, at last, learned to revile the Bible, to set light by its hopes, and to talk slanderously of its professors.

Come now, my friend, and let us reason together. Look back on the process. Why did you so readily drink in the poison contained in the infidel volume? Why? because you were in a state of mind very much the opposite of that which the Bible demands. But what have you found, my friend, in the regions of scepticism? You have relinquished the hopes of Christianity, by Christ Jesus. What have you obtained in their place? Amidst all your acquirements, have you found peace of mind? Will your present character and your present religion sustain you in a dying hour? Multitudes of infidels have found their creed, at death, insufficient to meet the awful catastrophe. Not a single instance can be produced, in which a believer in Revelation was terrified or dismayed *because he had been a Christian.* Many have been distressed on account of the defective evidence of their Christianity, but none on account of their being Christians. Does it never occur to you, that if Christianity be true, you are undone?—that if it be false, he who believes it can suffer no injury?* Who, let me ask you, are your companions? What are your pursuits? and what your hopes? I deeply feel for you, while I greatly blame you. You may have been inadequately instructed; you may have seen bad examples; you may have witnessed great inconsistencies in some of the professors of religion. Granting, however, that all this may have been the case, still the interests of the soul are a *personal* concern. No man can stand in your place when you die. I beseech you, then, to arouse yourself from that lethargy into which *sin* and *unbelief*, acting and reacting, have conjointly sunk you.

Ask yourself this question, "What makes me a sceptic? Is it because I have examined for myself, and know the Gospel to be a fable? or is it because that I desire it may be one?" And why should you desire this? If Christianity does not meet your case, no other system can. Infidelity has not met your case; it has not awakened hope; it has not allayed despair; it has not ministered peace. No: it has only stupified a conscience which must yet awake; it has only taught you to put the evil day far away; it has only blinded you for a time to the dread prospects of a future and impending eternity.

Why, I ask again, should you wish that Christianity may not be true? Is it because you feel yourself guilty, and shrink from the condemnation which it threatens? Well might you thus shrink if it did not reveal a remedy, as well as disclose a disease and point out its consequences. You *are* guilty—yea, ten thousand times more guilty than you ever imagined yourself to be; but what I maintain is, that if you turn away the eye of faith from that great sacrifice which Christianity reveals, you must sink for ever beneath the pressure of your guilt, and with this superadded horror, that you perished at the threshold of mercy.

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* "Indisputably," said Lord Byron, in a letter sent by him to the late Mrs. Sheppard, "the firm believers in the Gospel have a great advantage over all others, for this simple reason—that if true, they will have their reward hereafter; and if there be no hereafter, they can be but with the infidel in his eternal sleep, having had the assistance of an exalted hope through life, without subsequent disappointment, since (at the worst, for them) 'out of nothing, nothing can arise,'—not even sorrow."

Is it because you do not love the pure and holy demands of Christianity, that you turn away from it? Well, but is not this, its pure character, the proof of its celestial origin? and if so, will it avail you to reject it? Will the holy life it requires be less obligatory because you determine not to pursue it? Will the great Judge excuse you at last because you loved your sins more than his revealed will?

Besides, what is to root out unholy inclinations, to correct depraved habits, to superinduce devotion, and to raise the soul to God? *Is it not divine meditation on the blessed word?* Here is that consecrated fountain which, by the grace of God, shall quench your thirst of sin. Here you may read of "the new heart" till you know by experience what it is. Here is a divine Deliverer, whose "name is called Jesus, because he saves his people from their sins." Here is a divine Sanctifier, who can "create within you a clean heart, and renew within you a right spirit." One word more, and I have done. Ask God to teach you. Ask him, if the Bible be from him, to enable you to come to the belief of it. Ask him to remove your blindness, to allay your prejudices, and, above all, to prevent any sinful habit from giving a bias to your decision. Make no delay in this work. If you die a stranger to the hopes of Christianity, it had been better for you that you had never been born!

PART SECOND.

THE TRUTH AND EXCELLENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.

The comparative credit due to the conclusions of Sceptics and Christians.

"For we have not believed cunningly devised fables."

Such, at least, is the Christian's estimate of the stability of his own hopes; and such is the settled conviction of every sincere friend of revealed truth. When the moral character and habits of those who profess their belief in Christianity is taken into account, there can be no hesitation in admitting that they are strictly honest in the avowal of their faith, and that they do not affect to repose on the truth of a system which, after all, they secretly disbelieve. That there are many false pretenders to the faith of Christ is readily conceded; but after the names of all such have been struck off from the list of its genuine friends, there will yet remain a multitude of honest men, far above all suspicion, who, in life, and at death, have professed their sincere and heart-felt belief in the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. To impugn their integrity, as men of veracity, would be alike absurd and unjust. They are, beyond doubt, entitled to all credit for sincerity, when, with the Bible in their hands, they exclaim, "We have not followed cunningly devised fables."

The great question then is, are they mistaken in the estimate which they have formed of the Bible? Are they under the influence of a delusion, though they fondly believe that they have embraced the truth of God? In deciding such inquiries as these, several considerations naturally occur to the mind, irrespective even of the *direct* evidences of the Christian revelation.

What, then, has been the amount of *intellectual* qualification possessed by Christians for investigating the truth or falsehood of their hopes? It may be true, indeed, that the mass of those who have embraced the gospel have been little elevated, in point of mind, above any other equal portion of the human race; although it cannot be denied, that in Christian countries the common people are much superior to their fellows in heathen lands. But be this as it may, can any one affirm that among the list of Christian advocates there are not to be found multitudes of men in the highest degree qualified to decide upon any question of evidence submitted to their notice? Will it be pretended that imbecility of intellect produced the faith of such men as Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke, Sir Matthew Hale, the Hon. Robert Boyle, Bishop Butler, Dr. Watts, Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Paley, Dr. Beattie, Dr. Chalmers, and Robert Hall? Such a pretence, on the part of any infidel, would be equally fatal to his sense and candour. In grasp of mind, in depth of erudition, in diversity and extent of science, the pledged advocates of the gospel have had no rivals in the republic of letters, or in the ranks of scepticism.* All who know any thing of the state of facts, must concede this point, that the sublimest exercise of reason is not incompatible with the most profound deference to the truth and excellence of Revelation. It is easy for some infidel demagogue to vaunt himself of his great wisdom and learning before an ignorant and vicious assembly; but let the entire history of the Christian era be appealed to as the proof, that the choicest spirits in each age, since the days of the apostles, have been the professed adherents of the gospel. Christianity, then, has not been subjected to the humiliation of being only embraced by the weak and ignorant of mankind; it has called forth the plaudits of the greatest men that ever lived, and has done more by its own simple energy to augment the genius and to multiply the acquirements of the race, than all other systems of religion and other causes combined.*

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* The following eloquent passage, from a speech of the late Lord Erskine, delivered by him in the Court of King's Bench, on occasion of a prosecution for the publication of Paine's "Age of Reason," may not be unacceptable, as tending to illustrate the position, that superiority of intellect has been enlisted on the side of Christianity :—

"'It seems, gentlemen,' said his lordship, this is an age of *reason;* and the time and the person are at last arrived, that are to dissipate the errors which have overspread the past generation of ignorance. The believers in Christianity are many, but it belongs to the few that are wise to correct their credulity. Belief is an act of reason, and superior reason may, therefore, dictate to the weak.

"In running the mind along the list of sincere and devout Christians, I cannot help lamenting that *Newton* had not lived to this day, to have had his shallowness filled up with the new flood of light.

"But the subject is too awful for irony ; I will speak plainly and directly. Newton was a Christian!—Newton, whose mind burst forth from the fetters cast by Nature upon our finite conceptions. Newton! whose science was truth, and the foundation of whose knowledge of it was philosophy ; not those visionary and arrogant presumptions which too often usurp its name, but philosophy, resting upon the basis of mathematics, which, like figures, cannot lie. *Newton,* who carried the line and rule to the utmost barriers of the creation, and explored the principles by which, no doubt, all created matter is held together and exists.

"But this extraordinary man, in the mighty reach of his mind, overlooked, perhaps, the errors which a minuter investigation of the created things on this earth might have taught him of the essence of his Creator.

"What, then, shall be said of the great Mr. Boyle, who looked into the organic structure of all matter, even to the brute inanimate substances which the foot treads on? Such a man may be supposed to have been *equally* qualified with Mr. Paine to 'look through Nature, up to Nature's God.' Yet, the result of all *his* contemplation was, the most confirmed and devout belief of all which the other held in contempt, as despicable and drivelling superstition.

"But this error might, perhaps, arise from a want of due attention to the foundations of human judgment, and the structure of that understanding which God has given us for the investigation of truth.

"Let that question be answered by Mr. Locke, who was, to the highest pitch of devotion and adoration, a Christian. *Mr. Locke,* whose office was to detect the errors of thinking, by going up to the fountains of thought, and to direct into the proper track of reasoning the devious mind of man, by showing him its whole process, from the first perceptions of sense to the last conclusions of ratiocination; putting a rein, besides, upon false opinion, by practical rules for the conduct of human judgment.

"But these men were only deep thinkers, and lived in their closets, unaccustomed to the traffic of the world, and to the laws which practically regulate mankind!

"Gentlemen! in the place where we now sit to administer the justice of this great country, above a century ago, the never-to-be-forgotten *Sir Matthew Hale* presided,—whose faith in Christianity is an exalted commentary upon its truth and reason, and whose life was a glorious example of its fruits in man,—administering human justice, with a wisdom and purity drawn from the pure fountain of the *Christian* dispensation, which has been, and will be in all ages, a subject of the highest reverence and admiration.

"But it is said by the author, that the Christian fable is but the tale of the more ancient superstitions of the world, and may easily be detected by a proper understanding of the mythologies of the heathen.

"Did *Milton* understand those mythologies? was *he* less versed than Mr. Paine in the superstitions of the world? No! they were the subject of his immortal song ; and though shut out from all recurrence to them, he poured them forth from the stores of memory, rich with all that man ever knew, and laid them in their order, as the illustration of that exalted faith, the unquestionable source of that fervid genius, which cast a shade upon all the other works of man. The mysterious incarnation of our blessed Saviour (which this work blasphemes in words so wholly unfit for the mouth of a Christian, or for the ear of a court of justice, that I dare not, and will not, give them utterance), Milton made the grand conclusion of the "Paradise Lost,"—the rest from his finished labours,—and the ultimate hope, expectation, and glory of the world.

"'A virgin is His mother, but His sire
The Power of the Most High ; he shall ascend
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With earth's wide bounds, His glory with the heavens."

But I ask again, what have been the *moral* qualifications possessed by Christians to enable them to decide upon the validity of their own hopes? Have they been men, in general, whose perceptions have been blunted and vitiated by an irregular and profligate life? or has not the very reverse of this been the case? If two persons of equal intellect, but of extremely different moral habits, the one devout, consistent, benevolent; and the other proud, self-important, devoted to pleasure, should set themselves to ascertain the truth or falsehood of any system assuming to be a revelation from God; which of the two parties might be expected to be the more successful in the investigation, provided that the assumed revelation were genuine? It cannot surely be denied that the advantages in favour of the man of correct moral feeling and habit would be immense. Nor can it be maintained by any one in possession of sound reason, that a wrong state of mind and character will not materially influence the decisions of the understanding, in reference to moral truth. Upon this principle it is that we enter our earnest protest against the flimsy dogma of modern infidelity, that belief is, in all cases, a thing strictly involuntary. On the contrary, we submit, that in no case where belief is claimed on behalf of moral truth, can it be yielded in a state of mind fairly entitled to the appellation involuntary. That can never be involuntary which may either be prompted or retarded by the state of disposition. Nothing is more obvious than that men may blind themselves to the light of truth, and stumble, as in the dark, at noon-day. But who would say that that blindness is involuntary which is the result of a man's loving darkness rather than light, because his deeds are evil?

Upon a full and impartial review of the moral character and habits of those who have truly embraced Christianity, we are disposed to abide by the conclusion, that their advantages for reaching truth have been astonishingly great. Compared with the leading advocates of Deism, they stand on a lofty eminence, from which, with a vision unclouded by the mists of prejudice and crime, they can discern the moral beauty and loveliness of that fair land which opens to their view in the territory of revealed truth.†

If, then, the intellectual advantages of the Christian are fully equal to those of the infidel, and if his moral advantages are far superior, to what conclusion must such a fact conduct us? Why, to this, that the Christian is much more likely to be right in *embracing* the gospel, than the sceptic is in *rejecting* it. His judgment is not less to be respected, and his dispositions and habits are more in accordance with the dictates of what even natural conscience and pure deism would pronounce to be right. And do we on this account urge men to receive Christianity? By no means. All we demand is, that they will give it a fair hearing, and that they will look on it with that respect which will dispose them to weigh well its divine evidence, and not rashly to dash from their parched lips the cup of salvation. We ask not that men should believe because others have believed; but that they would honestly inquire whether believers or sceptics are most worthy of imitation? The careful investigation of this question will generate a state of mind favourable to the claims of revelation, and will prompt the reasonable desire that the gospel may be true.

I may here premise, that no man was ever in earnest to find out the truth of Christianity who did not make conscience of imploring God's direction and assistance in an inquiry upon which so much depends. If Christianity be *not* a revelation from God, then has none ever been vouchsafed to the children of men; and if none has ever been vouchsafed, then are the whole race sunk in darkness as to the character of God, and the destinies of futurity. If Christianity *be* a revelation from God, then is it treason against Heaven to reject its evidence, or to set light by the remedy which it prescribes for our fallen and guilty nature. Under these circumstances, how necessary is it to ask of God that he would lead us, his erring children, into all truth, and that he would so far banish every unholy prejudice that our minds may be open to receive whatever bears upon it the stamp of a celestial origin. It is a mournful fact that this spirit of devotion seems an utter stranger to almost all writers of the sceptical class. They boast of their deism, and neglect one of its first and simplest lessons, viz., the duty of an intelligent, but feeble and dependant creature seeking counsel of the great and merciful Being who formed him.

CHAPTER II.

Showing that the evidence of Christianity is of such a nature that it admits of being brought home individually, with convincing power, to every man's bosom.

It is never to be forgotten that those who are called to examine the divine pretensions of Christianity are the very persons interested in its communications. To man it distinctly makes its appeal, and in him it proposes to effect that mighty renovation of which it speaks. Should it be true, then, to its own assumed character, it will undoubtedly verify its several claims in the personal consciousness of all its recipients. I choose to begin here, because I am satisfied that no man can sit down to investigate the truth of this Bible, who does not stand in need of light on the subjects of which it treats. Every man's conscience may suggest to him that he has offended against God, that he has violated, in innumerable instances, his own sense of right and wrong, and that there may be some fearful retribution awaiting transgressors in another and unknown state of existence. But whatever Reason may surmise on these subjects, she has no balm with which to soothe an anguished conscience, no system of propitiation by which to relieve a guilty and foreboding mind, no mediator between the offended Majesty of Heaven and his erring creatures. It is Christianity alone which opens up a door of hope to an apostate race; every thing besides is utter conjecture. Infidels may boast of the composure and satisfaction they feel in contemplating the issues of the present life; but their exemption from anxious dread is but one instance out of many in which the voice of conscience is silenced by that spirit of utter and reckless scepticism, which on the one hand rejects a mass of well-authenticated evidence, and on the other professes firm belief and unshaken confidence in its own dogmas, without so much as a title of proof to support them.

The man, then, who examines Christianity in a right spirit, may expect to perceive, in its intimate bearing on his own case, that it is of God. If he is in that state of mind which is suitable to a rational creature anxious to know the will of God, he will find in Christianity what he can discover no where else. Is he conscious of sin? it reveals to him its true character, traces it to its source, and points to its consequences. Is he the subject of legitimate dread and apprehension in prospect of standing before an offended God? it tells him how his guilt may be effectually removed, and how the peace of an accusing conscience may be restored. Is he oppressed whenever he thinks of the divine purity, and contrasts it with a nature ever prone to evil? it proposes to subject him to a healing and remedial process, by which moral health is to be restored to his diseased soul, and by which he is to be taught to delight in God, and to aspire after his likeness. Is he mournfully sensible of the fact, that "all is vanity and vexation of spirit," and that nothing under the sun can satisfy the desires of a mind panting after immortality? it opens up to his view sources of never-ending delight, it brings him to the very fountain of all happiness, it shows him how his fondest expectations may be realized, it tells him how to delight in God, and how to draw near in acceptable worship to Him whom angels adore, and before whom the spirits of darkness flee in terror and dismay.

It becomes every man who sets himself to the task of examining Christianity, to fix his attention on the following momentous inquiry:—"Is this professed revelation adapted to my actual necessities? to my fears and hopes? to the circumstances by which I am surrounded? and to the prospects which stretch before me?" If, upon minute inquiry, it is found to be thus adapted to our fallen state, it will surely carry along with it a striking demonstration of its divine origin; and if, upon actual experiment, we find that the reception of Christianity allays our guilty fears, gives peace to our troubled consciences, quenches the thirst of sin, inspires the hope of immortality, supplies motives for patient endurance, and sheds the lustre of moral loveliness and purity over the character in whom it dwells, then may we assure ourselves of the source whence it sprung, and then may we enter, with a full heart, into the meaning of the beloved disciple when he says, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself."[*]

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* "If a map," observes the present Bishop of Chester, "could trace the real influence of the Gospel, it would also delineate the proportion of intelligence and active virtue. The measure of spiritual knowledge is also the measure of barbarism and of civilization, of mental stupidity, or mental illumination."—*Evidences*, Fourth Edition, 12mo, pp. 427, 428.

† "Religion *cannot* exist," said Sir Walter Scott, "where immorality prevails, any more than a light can burn where the air is corrupted."—*Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 54.

"I think," said the good and great Richard Baxter, "that in the hearing and reading of the Bible, God's spirit often so concurreth, as that the will itself should be touched with an internal gust and savour of the goodness contained in the doctrine, and at the same time the understanding with an internal irradiation, which breeds such a certain apprehension of the verity of it, as nature gives men of natural principles. And I am persuaded that this, increased by more experience and love, doth hold most Christians faster to Christ than naked reasonings could do. And were it not for this, unlearned, ignorant persons were still in danger of apostacy by every subtle caviller that assaults them. And I believe that all true Christians have this kind of internal knowledge from a suitableness of the truth and goodness of the gospel to their now quickened, illuminated, and sanctified souls."[†]

Let no one venture to reject Christianity, then, who has never made it the subject of his intense regard, in connexion with the exigencies which press upon his own condition and prospects. It can be but ill understood by the man who has never looked at it in its adaptation to his own case. It is an individual, as well as a general remedy; and the true study of Christianity is the examination of its coincidence with the wants and wishes, the hopes and fears, which press upon every son and daughter of Adam. For the want of this close inspection of the individual aim of Christianity, it is to be feared that thousands either reject it, or are utterly indifferent to it. But how contrary is all this to the spirit of true science, which rejects nothing, and admits nothing but upon actual experiment.

Let Christianity be fairly put to the test; let it be taken home with unhesitating confidence to the heart; let its divine remedies be applied to the distempered mind; let its proffered influence be implored; let its true character as a restorative system be fully and impartially tried, and then, should it after all fail to impart peace, to heal the malady of the soul, to answer its own professed designs, let it be held up to that obloquy which it deserves.

But where is the man who ever betook himself to Christianity without finding it to be the refuge of his weary mind? Who could ever, upon actual trial, charge it with a lack of faithfulness to its own pretensions? Who ever embraced its animating hopes without finding them productive of peace, and purity, and joy? Who ever became a true Christian without feeling the self-evidencing power of the gospel? Who ever believed on the Son of God without having proof, in his own mind, that the Bible is true? Who ever made actual trial of Christianity without finding it to be the "wisdom of God, and the power of God," to the salvation of his soul? Who ever knew the truth as it is in Jesus without being made free by it from the thraldom of sin and the bondage of corruption? The man who is a genuine believer is as fully conscious as he is of existence, that Christianity is no cunningly devised fable. It has established its throne in the deep-seated convictions of his heart. He has felt the transformation it has wrought: "old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." His entire character has been favourably affected by it. Upon his once gloomy path it has shed the light of immortality; it has taught him to "rejoice even in tribulation;" it has changed all the aspects of life, by throwing over them the hues of eternity; it has conferred on him a reality of happiness which the whole creation had no power of imparting. In his own person he beholds a monument of the truth and excellency of Christianity, which forbids him for ever to doubt. By other evidences, indeed, his faith is confirmed; but in his peace of mind, in that "hope which is full of immortality," and in the heavenward bearing of his once earthly character, he is enabled to feel that Christianity is no "cunningly devised fable."

Having briefly looked at what may be regarded as the *experimental evidence* which Christianity is capable of planting in every man's bosom, we may now advance to other parts of this momentous subject.

CHAPTER III.

Containing a brief survey of those branches of evidence which it is proper to urge upon the attention of those who have not as yet yielded up their minds to the divine authority and transforming power of the Gospel.

Some of those evidences may be traced in the internal character of Christianity itself, and others in those outward attestations by which Divine Providence has demonstrated the fact of its celestial origin. As I am fully convinced of the self-verifying power of the religion of Jesus Christ, I think it well to begin with the first of these branches of evidence, that no one may, with truth, imagine that we shrink from a thorough investigation of the internal structure and actual tendencies of our Holy Faith.[*]

SECTION I.

The internal evidence of Christianity.

When the subject of internal evidence has at any time deeply engaged my thoughts, I have proposed to myself the following question: "What is the most wonderful, and at the same time the most unaccountable, object which presents itself to our notice in a careful perusal of the New Testament Scriptures?" This question has always drawn forth one simple answer: *the character of Jesus of Nazareth.* In examining the *internal* evidence of Christianity, look—

1. *At the moral character of its Great Founder.* Let that character be fairly investigated, and I am greatly mistaken if it will not breed a conviction that Christianity must be from heaven. That such a person lived, and suffered, and died in the land of Judea, is admitted equally by heathen and Jewish writers, and requires no formal proof, therefore, to establish the fact. Josephus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny the Younger, place beyond all reasonable doubt the fact of his existence, and the period of his life, misery, and death.

But what an object of astonishment and wonder do we behold in "the man Christ Jesus!" Trace the son of Mary and Joseph from the manger at Bethlehem to the cross on Cavalry, and what a combination do you witness of all that is innocent and pure and benevolent! Here is wisdom the most profound in the absence of all the ordinary means of acquiring it. Here is a Being in whom all the social and relative affections are not only seen to advantage, but in absolute perfection. Here are humility and dignity perfectly combined; the loftiness of moral excellence, without a single approximation to the feeling of contempt for others. Here is a sanctity of character which never yielded to a single temptation, and never deviated from the path of rectitude in a single instance, combined at the same time with a condescension and mercy which never spurned the miserable, and never frowned on the trembling penitent conscious of his guilt and pleading for forgiveness. Here is one who never resented an injury, and never forgot a kindness; who never thought of an enemy, but to bless him, or of a faithless friend, but to pity and forgive him. Here is one whose days were devoted to the exercises of active benevolence, and whose nights were spent in communion with his God, who sought no reward of all his generosity, who wept tears of anguish over the approaching fate of those who persecuted him at every step of his existence with unabating cruelty, and who spent his last breath in praying for his guilty and relentless murderers. Whence such a character as this? Was it from earth or heaven? If from earth, then where can we look for its great *archetype?* Not, surely, in the Gentile world; for it infinitely surpassed even the *ideal* models which were laid down by the purest and most enlightened of its philosophers. Not in the Jewish world, for even its most cherished patriarchs were chargeable with innumerable imperfections; and in the days of Jesus of Nazareth, the great body of the nation were peculiarly degraded, both as it respected the acquirements of the understanding, and the habits of the life and conduct. Whence, then, this mysterious and wonderful personage; this Being so unlike all the generations of men who had preceded him or who have followed after him, yet clothed in a human form, possessed of human sympathies, and subject to human woes? No wonder that *Rousseau*, in his exquisite and well-known contrast between Socrates and Christ, should feel himself constrained to remark, that "the inventor of such a personage would be a more astonishing character than the hero."[*] "Is it possible," said he, speaking of the Bible and of the character of Christ, "is it possible that a book, at once so simple and sublime, should be merely the work of man? Is it possible that the sacred personage, whose history it contains, should himself be a mere man? Do we find that he assumed the tone of an enthusiast or ambitious sectary? What sweetness, what purity in his manner! What an affecting gracefulness in his delivery! What sublimity in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his discourses! What presence of mind, what sublimity, what truth in his replies! How great the command over his passions! Where is the man, where is the philosopher, who could so live and so die without weakness and without ostentation? When Plato described his imaginary good man, loaded with all the shame of guilt, yet meriting the highest rewards of virtue, he described exactly the character of Jesus Christ: the resemblance was so striking that all the fathers perceived it." Yet this was the strange and unhappy man who, through the wickedness and pride of his heart, declared, "I *cannot* believe the gospel."

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[*] John v. 10. See also a discourse, by the Author, on "the Experimental Evidence of Christianity," included in a volume lately published by ministers connected with the Monthly Meeting, "On the Evidences of Christianity."

[†] See Baxter's reply to Lord Herbert, entitled "More Reasons for the Christian Religion," 12mo, 1672, pp. 135, 136.

[*] I do not think, judging from the manner in which infidels themselves have written, that the most successful method of assailing them is to begin with a discussion of the *external* evidences of the gospel. From their general ignorance of the character of Revelation itself, and from its marked adaptation, when examined, to produce conviction of its divine origin, I rather hesitate as to the propriety of demanding the belief of a sceptic upon the mere presentation of its *external* credentials. Besides, there is scarcely any object to be achieved, by this mode of procedure, which is not equally well answered by the method of arguing the truth of scripture from an examination of its own contents. Assuredly the divine authority of the heavenly messengers may be verified as much by what they say, as by any other circumstance whatsoever; and if the real power of conviction lies in their message, it seems but right to try its efficacy.

Upon no correct or reasonable supposition whatever but that the Lord Jesus was the very person he assumed to be, the person whom the Christian Scriptures describes him to be, viz., the Messiah of the Church, and "God manifest in the flesh," can we account for the solitary and awful grandeur[†] of a character "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens," "who did no sin," and "who knew no sin."

The Rev. Charles Bridges, in his excellent Memoirs of Miss M. I. Graham, (and which I take the liberty of strongly recommending to the notice of the young,) who had been considerably tinctured with infidelity, states that the character of Christ, as a proof of the credibility of the Christian Revelation, arrested her peculiar attention. A minute scrutiny of his spotless life was most satisfactory in its result. "The more," said she, "I studied this divine character, the more I grew up, as it were, into its simplicity and holiness, the more my understanding was enabled to shake off those slavish and sinful prejudices which had hindered me from appreciating its excellence. Truly, his words were dearer to me than my necessary food. He was my 'All in All.' I did not want to have any knowledge, goodness, or strength, independently of him. I had rather be 'accepted in the Beloved,' than received (had that been possible) upon the score of my own merits. I had rather walk leaning upon his arm than have a stock of strength given me to perform the journey alone. To learn, as a fool, of Christ, this was better to me than to have the knowledge of an angel to find out things myself.

"From that moment," she adds, "I ceased to stumble at the doctrines of the cross. The doctrines of Scripture, which had before appeared to me an inexplicable mass of confusion and contradictions, were now written on my understanding with the clearness of a sun-beam. Above all, that once abhorred doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was become exceeding precious to me. The external evidences of Christianity, though I now perceived all their force, were no longer necessary to my conviction. From that time," she concludes, "I have continued to 'sit at the feet of Jesus, and to hear his word,' taking him for my teacher and guide in things temporal as well as spiritual. He has found in me a disciple so slow of comprehension, so prone to forget his lessons, and to act in opposition to his commands, that were he not infinitely 'meek and lowly of heart, he would long ago have cast me off in anger; but he still continues to bear with me, and to give me 'line upon line, and precept upon precept;' and I am certain that he 'will never leave me, nor forsake me,' for though I am variable and inconsistent, 'with Him there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'"

Such was the effect produced upon this intelligent lady's mind by an examination of the moral character of the Lord Jesus, and I am satisfied that a similar result will follow in every instance the adoption of the same course. At least we do claim from infidels, if they will still continue to reject the truth, that they furnish us, upon their own principles, with some reasonable account of the source whence sprung the ineffable purity and benevolence of the Son of God. Till they have accounted for his unequalled character they are chargeable with the utmost levity and irrationality in persisting in their unbelief.[*]

2. Contemplate, as another internal evidence of the divine origin of Christianity, *the unrivalled sublimity of its diction.* Compared with the rich treasures of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, all other compositions must retire into the shade. Rousseau must have felt this conviction most powerfully when he made the following reluctant but important concession: "I will confess," said he, "that the majesty of the Scriptures strikes me with admiration, as the purity of the gospel hath its influence upon my heart. Peruse the works of our philosophers with all their pomp of diction; how mean, how contemptible are they, compared with the Scriptures!"

The opinion of Rousseau is confirmed by that of men vastly his superiors in learning and virtue. Sir William Jones, than whom few of the human race have been distinguished by a more laudable thirst after knowledge, has penned the following striking, but just eulogium, on the style and manner of the sacred writers: "The collection of tracts which we call, from their excellence, The Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry, and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist are connected by a chain of compositions which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning. The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts, and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they are genuine predictions, and consequently inspired."

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[*] Works, vol. v. pp. 215—218.

[†] Bishop Sherlock, in contrasting the character of Jesus Christ with that of Mahomet, has, in one of the most beautiful personifications in our language, finely touched the argument for the truth of Christianity here contended for. "Go," says he, "to your Natural Religion; lay before her Mahomet and his disciples arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the spoils of thousands and tens of thousands who fell by his victorious sword; show her the cities which he set in flames, the countries which he ravaged and destroyed, and the miserable distress of all the inhabitants of the earth. When she has viewed him in this scene, carry him into his retirements. Show her the prophet's chamber, his concubines and wives; let her see his adultery, and hear him allege revelation and his divine commission to justify his lust and his oppression.

"When she is tired with this prospect, then show her the blessed Jesus, humble and meek, doing good to all the sons of men, patiently instructing both the ignorant and perverse; let her see him in his most retired privacy; let her follow him to the mountain, and hear his devotions and supplications to God. Carry her to his table to see his poor fare, and hear his heavenly discourse. Let her see him injured, but not provoked; let her attend him to the tribunals, and consider the patience with which he endured the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to his cross, and let her view him in the agony of death, and hear his last prayer for his persecutors—'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'

"When Natural Religion has viewed both, ask—which is the prophet of God? But her answer we have already had when she saw part of this scene through the eyes of the centurion who attended at the cross; by him she spake and said, 'Truly this man was the Son of God.'"—*See Sherlock's Sermons.*

[*] See a very able Discourse on the Character of Christ, as an evidence of the Christian Religion, by the Rev. W. Walford, in a volume lately published by the Independent ministers of London on the Evidences of Christianity. See also the present Bishop of Calcutta's Seventeenth Lecture on the Evidences, &c.

The celebrated Mr. Addison, in discoursing on the same subject, says, "After perusing the book of Psalms, let a judge of the beauties of poetry read a literal translation of Horace or Pindar, and he will find int hese two last such an absurdity and confusion of style, with such a comparative poverty of imagination, as will make him sensible of the vast superiority of Scripture style."

If we examine carefully the pathetic story of Joseph and his brethren; the songs of Moses at the Red Sea, and on the borders of the promised land; the sublime narrative of the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai; the celebrated prophecy of Balaam; the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple; the visions of the Jewish prophets, particularly those of Isaiah; the odes of Jesse's son; the matchless sermon on the Mount; the public appeals of the apostles before heathen tribunals; and the mystic symbols of the Apocalypse, we cannot but be struck and awed with the unrivalled diction, the surpassing imagery, and the lofty conceptions of the inspired writers. Let all the other books of antiquity be produced; let the classic page disclose its richest stores; let the entire mass of apocryphal writings undergo the strictest scrutiny; let Egypt, and Greece, and Arabia bring forth the proudest monuments of their genius; let the most dazzling passages of the Koran be separated from the mass of its absurdities; let all ages and all nations vie with the writers of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and it will be seen, by a judge of the most inferior grade, that no argument can be held for a single moment as to the comparative grandeur of the book commonly called the Bible, that it throws the whole round of other productions into the shade, and that it is written altogether in a style and manner which admits of no successful rival or counterfeit.

Now, what is the force of this particular argument? Why, the Bible was written by the posterity of Abraham; a people proverbial for their destitution of all mental refinement, and who, in their secular history, have displayed a marked inferiority to all the other nations of antiquity. The conclusion then is, if the wonderful volume known by the name of the Bible was verily the production of several Jews, who lived in different ages of the world, they must have written under a direction and an impulse more than human; they must have written under the guidance of that Spirit, to whom they themselves trace their loftiest and humblest inspirations. I feel that this conclusion is sound and rational. Try the Bible by any other Jewish production of any age whatsoever, try it by any work that has ever emanated from the pen or the genius of man, and the feeling must resistlessly take possession of the mind, that the words which God speaks, "They are spirit, and they are life." Unlike every other document that has been handed down from a remote antiquity, the volume of inspiration carries along with it, in the unutterable dignity and sublimity which pervade all its parts, an evidence of the source whence it sprung; an evidence which could not fail to strike the mind even of an untutored savage, who might meet with it accidentally in some vast desert, and who had no living teacher to unfold to him the character or merciful designs of the God whom it reveals. How can men of taste, and genius, and literature, remain blind to this argument! The very poetry, the lofty and well sustained imagery, the unparalleled diction of the sacred volume, will rise up in judgment against them, inasmuch as their dislike to the truths of revelation has led many of them to overlook qualities which would have commanded their profoundest veneration had they been able to discern them in a single uninspired production. It may be added here, that the few infidels who have written in commendation of the style of the inspired writers have totally neglected to account for the commanding and indubitable superiority of the Scriptures to all other compositions. Upon any hypothesis but that of their divine origin the attempt must utterly fail. My only wish is, that intelligent men would make the honest effort to satisfy their own convictions that the Bible might have been written by such persons as the Jewish patriarchs and the Fishermen of Galilee, without any divine afflatus; when such an attempt has been made by them, I am satisfied that, whether they are led to embrace the Holy Scriptures as the word of God or not, they will be compelled to admit the fact that, upon all the canons of literary criticism ever admitted, there is nothing whatever to warrant the idea that the Bible has been furnished to mankind in the same way, and on the same principles as other documents of a remote antiquity. When men are brought thus far there is great reason to hope that they will look with some measure of devoutness and integrity at the whole question of Christian evidence.

3. Let the high standard of *the morality of Christianity* be examined with impartiality, and it cannot fail to arouse attention to its extraordinary claims. For though the uncompromising sanctity of revealed truth is among the chief reasons which induce men to cavil at its evidence, and secretly to reject its authority, it is, nevertheless, one of the most powerful and indubitable proofs of its proceedings from the fountain of infinite purity and benevolence.[*]

On this subject the celebrated John Locke has said, "The morality of the gospel doth so far excel that of all other books, that to give a man full knowledge of true morality, I would send him to no other book than the New Testament." And, verily, if we examine all the writings of the most enlightened and virtuous of the heathen world, and compare or rather contrast them with the writings of inspiration, we shall be fully satisfied of the accuracy of this great man's opinion. That there are fine passages on certain branches of morals, in some of the writings of pagan philosophers and poets, we do not attempt to deny; but the great question is, what were their writings as a whole, and what were the views of morality generally entertained and acted upon among their disciples? Is it not notorious that self-murder,[†] that crimes which admit of no description,[‡] that theft, that sacrilege, that fornication, that adultery,[§] that revenge, that pride, that dissimulation in the worship of the gods,[||] that habitual disregard of the duty of prayer,[¶] and that awful irreverence for the name of the Great Supreme, are taught, with an unblushing effrontery, by some of the chief patrons and guardians of pagan morality? Who does not know that some of the most brilliant passages, both of the Greek and Latin classics, cannot be read by ingenious youth without involving the risk of a total downfal of their morals?[**] We shall find no counterpart, indeed, to the writings of heathen antiquity, unless we turn to the licentious and utterly reckless productions of modern infidelity, in which every thing like disguise is laid aside, and men are taught to do, without restraint, whatever their own vile inclinations may dictate.

How unlike the imperfect and often polluted writings of men is the system of morality laid down and detailed in the several books of the Old and New Testament! Let any man devote a reasonable period to the examination of the spirit and moral precepts of Christianity, and he will be compelled to admit its unsullied purity, its coincidence with all our natural notions of right and wrong, and its indubitable tendency to improve human intercourse, and to constitute mankind a community of brothers. Did all men believe and obey the dictates of Revelation, what a mighty and favourable revolution would be wrought in the entire frame-work of society! What habit of known evil does it not proscribe? What irregular passion does it not forbid? What acknowledged virtue does it not enforce? What kindly or generous affection does it not inculcate? How lofty is its standard of action! Though self-interest is not and cannot be excluded from a system so adapted to the nature of man, yet it is only permitted to occupy a subordinate place in the morality of the gospel. There men are urged to endure and act "as seeing Him who is invisible;" there we are commanded to do no act of beneficence to be seen of men; there the honour of God and the good of others are the objects at which they are called habitually to aim; there the surface morality of the world is treated with scorn, and a right state of the thoughts and affections is imperatively demanded; there meekness, and humility, and condescension, are represented as the true path to greatness; there haughtiness and pride are associated with all that is mean and worthless; there an assuming and lofty air is forbidden even in the ordinary intercourses of social life; there covetousness is branded as idolatry; hatred as murder, and hidden lust as adultery; there every species of resentment is absolutely prohibited; there the refusal to forgive an injury is described as an effectual barrier in the way of the exercise of divine mercy; there all detraction, all backbiting, all evil speaking, all envy, all malice, all circumvention, are shown to be inconsistent with the hope of eternal life, and the state of acceptance through a Redeemer.

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[*] Lord Bolingbroke himself has said, that "The gospel is in all cases one continued lesson of the strictest morality, of justice, of benevolence, and of universal charity." Works, vol. v. p. 138.

[†] Seneca thus pleads for self-murder: "If thy mind be melancholy and in misery, thou mayst put a period to this wretched condition; wherever thou lookest, there is an end to it. See that precipice! there thou mayest have liberty. Seest thou that sea, that river, that well? liberty is at the bottom of it; that little tree? freedom hangs upon it. Thy own neck, thy own throat, may be a refuge to thee from such servitude; yea, every vein of thy body." Deira, lib. iii. cap. 15. p. m. 319. Plutarch, and Cato, and Brutus, and Cassius, and Cicero, all agree to justify the crime of self-destruction. See Plutarch's life of Cato.

[‡] Juvenal, Satyr ii. ver. 10. Diog. Laertus, vol. i. pp. m. 165, 166.

[§] Millar's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 63—65.

[||] Epictetus bids his disciples "temporise and worship the gods after the fashion of their country." Enchiridion, cap. 38. p. m. 56. See A. Fuller's Works, vol. i. p. 37.

[¶] Pythagoras forbids prayer to God, "because," says he, "you know not what is convenient."

[**] Is it not a heavy disgrace that in Christian countries so much of the time of youth should be spent pouring over the vitiated pages of the ancient classics.

There is indeed one grand peculiarity belonging to the morality of Christianity, which distinguishes it from that of every other system, viz:—the *sublime and all-subduing character of its motives.* Many useful virtues were enjoined by the Gentile philosophers, but they had no paramount considerations by which to ensure obedience to their own precepts; they had no moral engine of sufficient power to urge a sinful race onward in the path of obedience. Hence their code of morals was almost a dead letter, little regarded by themselves, and totally overlooked by the mass. But who can glance for a moment at the morality of the Bible without coming into contact with those mighty and heart-stirring considerations which are fitted to rouse all the sensibilities of human nature, and to subdue into willing and grateful obedience the most stubborn and rebellious of the race? Let the following examples of the class of motives referred to suffice: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, *even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.*" "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life." "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another." "Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." "Ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are his." "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them and that rose again."

How mean and poverty-stricken are the motives of all other systems when compared with the religion of Christ Jesus! A book which founds its code of morals upon such considerations can never surely be the production of man. In the wide range of his efforts there is nothing analagous. The fair inference, therefore, is, that a greater than man speaks to us in the living oracles.

It may be safely affirmed, that if Christianity were cordially embraced as the religion of mankind, it would renovate the entire fabric of society. It is impossible for any one to say advisedly, or with truth, that one immoral habit, or one irregular thought or desire, receives a sanction from the writings of Christ and his apostles. The Christian may often have reason, through the infirmity and corruption of his fallen nature, to blush on account of the very imperfect manner in which he acts out his great principles; he may often have occasion to mourn that in him the religion of Jesus has such an unworthy representative; but he can at all times refer with exultation and triumph to the glorious charter of his hopes; and while he sees that "the wickedness of man upon earth is great," he may unhesitatingly assure himself that the total neglect or but partial reception of Christianity is the sole cause of the crime and wretchedness which abound. The enemies of revelation themselves being judges, what can they predicate of its probable tendency on the race but unmixed good? Must they not own that all the moral evil which abounds in the earth is in direct violation of the doctrines and precepts of revealed truth? Must they not, however reluctantly, concede, that the principles of deism are feeble and powerless as a system of moral renovation, compared with the high and holy dictates of the Gospel? Who does not perceive that if a time should ever arrive when all men shall give heed to the words of Christ, that that will be the precise period of the world's deliverance from the cruel vassalage of sin? "Men would then," to use the words of an eminent divine, "universally do justice, speak truth, show mercy, exercise mutual forgiveness, follow after peace, bridle their appetites and passions, and lead sober, righteous, and godly lives. Murders, wars, bitter contentions, cruel oppressions, and unrestrained licentionsness, would no more desolate the world, and fill it with misery; but righteousness, goodness, and truth would bless the earth with a felicity exceeding all our present conceptions. This is, no doubt, the direct tendency of the scriptural doctrines, precepts, motives, and promises: nothing is wanting to remedy the state of the world, and to fit men for the worship and felicity of heaven, but that they should believe and obey the Bible. And if many enormous crimes have been committed under the colour of zeal for Christianity, this only proves the depravity of man's heart; for the Scripture, soberly understood, most expressly forbids such practices; and men do not act thus because they duly regard the Bible, but because they will not believe and obey it."*

Now the argument for the divine origin of Christianity arising from its transcendent morality, may be viewed in various lights. In the first place, how comes it to pass, that of all the religions which have sought to obtain the suffrages of mankind, that of Jesus of Nazareth is incomparably the most pure and benevolent in its tendency? How comes it to pass, moreover, that among a rude people, such as were the Jews, there should have arisen a system of faith and worship, which, for grandeur of conception and sanctity of character, outstrips all the other records of time? Is there not in this very circumstance a presumption of the highest order in favour of the divine origin of Christianity?

But supposing, in the second place, that the apostles of our Lord were chargeable with the crime of dexterously imposing a false religion upon mankind, how happens it that they set themselves with such zeal and ardour to oppose the prejudices and preconceived notions of their countrymen? How happens it that they took the very method the least likely to conciliate their good opinion, and to secure their hearty approval? How happens it that in their system of morality they not only struck a death blow at the pride and hypocrisy of their own nation, but insisted on a purity of heart and life which they knew must expose them to the hatred and derision of all mankind? Upon a mere *human* calculation they adopted a method which could only issue in a perfect failure. Had they flattered the depravity of man; had they introduced a scheme which winked at any of his corruptions; had they imitated the subsequent conduct of the False Prophet; had they promised to their disciples a life of ease and sensual indulgence; had they exhibited in their own history an exemption from poverty, reproach, persecution, and death; in a word, had there been any one thing in the scheme of doctrine they taught to secure the esteem and to call forth the approbation of a corrupt and vitiated state of society, we might then have been left to suspect that they had artfully constructed a system to suit the depraved taste of mankind, and to raise themselves to notoriety by pandering to the vices of human nature. But when the very reverse of this is the case; when the morality of the Gospel is so lofty and unbending as to surrender none of its claims to meet the prejudices either of Jews or Gentiles; when it is so pre-eminent as to stand forth, in solitary grandeur, amidst the religions of all ages and all nations; when it is found to embody every quality which is fitted to diffuse peace, and justice, and benevolence among mankind; when it is impossible to detect in it a single precept which would not elevate the character of man and augment all his personal and relative enjoyments, what ought any thoughtful or considerate mind to conclude respecting it, but that it is the offspring of the Fountain of all Purity, and that it has been vouchsafed by Him in mercy to heal the distempers and redress the miseries of our fallen race?

I conclude this chapter in the words of one who cannot be suspected of any undue partiality to the Christian faith, of one who, unhappily for himself, did not allow the convictions of his judgment to rule his decisions or to form his character:

"The Gospel, that divine book, the only one necessary to a Christian, and the most useful of all to the man who may not be one, only requires reflection upon it to impress the mind with love for its author, and resolution to fulfil his precepts. Virtue never spoke in gentler terms; the profoundest wisdom was never uttered with greater energy or more simplicity. It is impossible to rise from the reading of it without a feeling of moral improvement. Look at the books of the philosophers, with all their pomp; how little they are compared with this! Shall we say that the history of the Gospel is a pure fiction? This is not the style of fiction; and the history of Socrates, which nobody doubts, rests upon less evidence than that of Jesus Christ. After all, this is but shifting the difficulty; not answering it. The supposition, that several persons had united to fabricate this book, is more inconceivable than that one person should have supplied the subject of it. The spirit which it breathes, the morality which it inculcates could never have been the invention of Jewish authors; and the gospel possesses characters of truth so striking, so perfectly inimitable, that the inventor would be a more astonishing object than the hero."[*]

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* See Scott's Essays, vol. ii. of his works, p. 21.

Let attention be devoted—

4. *To the coincidence of Christianity with the character of God, and the actual condition of man*."[†]

There is a marked tendency in the human mind to trace results to some adequate cause. Hence our dissatisfaction in the mere perception of facts which, in our present state of knowledge, we cannot account for; and hence also the restless effort made by us to discover some principle of causation sufficient to produce the phenomena beheld. The revolutions of the heavenly bodies must impress every one endowed with reason that there is some mighty impulse to which they are all obedient; and the feeling we have of the existence of such an impulse has roused that inquiry into the laws of the material universe which has led to all the discoveries of modern science, and which has enabled us to trace, in the one pervading law of gravitation, the reason of certain revolutions and appearances, which without such an application of the human faculties must have been hid in perpetual obscurity.

Nor is the tendency in man to reason from effects to causes the only one discoverable in the examination of what may be called his mental instincts. It is obvious that he is equally prone to reason from causes to effects; so that when he has satisfied himself as to the existence of a particular cause, and has acquired some knowledge of the mode in which it operates, he is prepared to concede that other effects may be attributed to it besides those which he has already discovered, provided they are in no way inconsistent with the facts and relations now perceived.

Now, the tendencies thus described will be found equally to manifest themselves in reference to mental and moral science, as in reference to the phenomena of the material universe. It is to these laws of our nature that we are indebted for many of those inductions by which we are enabled to judge of the characters and actions of men, and to predicate what may or may not be reasonable to anticipate in certain given circumstances.

Apply these general principles to the investigation of the subject in hand. The Bible is a book professing to come from heaven. Is it, then, a communication possessing anything in common with our ordinary associations? or is it a book so entirely new as to furnish us with no means of judging of it by the exercise of that ordinary tendency of our nature which leads us to judge of causes by their effects, and of effects by their causes? The slightest examination of the Christian scheme will convince any impartial mind that the view of the divine character and government which it presents is in strictest harmony with what may be deduced from the survey of nature, the phenomena of divine providence, and the dictates of natural conscience. The particular modifications of divine perfection which are seen displayed in the pages of revelation may be to a great extent new, but the great question is,—Are not these modifications such as to fall in and harmonize with all that the reason of man would suggest to him, as suited to the character of God and the condition of human nature? I am satisfied that the discoveries of the Bible, though so transcendently glorious, are, in their great outline, answerable to all our natural conceptions of the Most High, as the supreme moral governor.

Two things seem necessary to authenticate a religion as coming from God,—*first*, that the facts and representations which it contains should be such as to exhibit all that is lofty in wisdom, mighty in power, awful in purity, and subduing in kindness; and, *second*, that the representation thus afforded of the divine character should, when contemplated and believed by man, be fitted, by the laws of his being, to transform him into the divine image, and to make him a partaker of the divine happiness. The very first showing of Christianity is to this effect. It proposes, by an overwhelming manifestation of the character of God in the great scheme of redemption, to raise man from his present state of sin and rebellion, and to confer on him that elevated species of blessedness which arises from conformity to the will of an infinitely perfect Being.

"When," says an eloquent writer, "we read a history which authoritatively claims to be an exhibition of the character of God in his dealings with men; if we find in it that which fills and overflows our most dilated conceptions of moral worth and loveliness in the Supreme Being, and at the same time feel that it is triumphant in every appeal that it makes to our consciences in its statements of the obliquity and corruption of our own hearts, and if our reason farther discovers a system of powerful moral stimulants, embodied in the facts of this history, which necessarily tend to produce in the mind a resemblance to that higher character which is there portrayed; if we discern that the spirit of this history gives peace to the conscience by the very exhibition which quickens its sensibility; that it dispels the terrors of guilt by the very fact which associates sin with the full loathing of the heart; that it combines in one wondrous and consistent whole our most fearful forebodings, and our most splendid anticipations for futurity, that it inspires a pure and elevated and joyful hope for eternity by those very declarations which attach a deeper and more interesting obligation to the discharge of the minutest part of human duty, if we see that the object of all its tendencies is the perfection of moral happiness, and that these tendencies are naturally connected with the belief of its narration; if we see all this in the gospel, we may then say that our own eyes have seen its truth, and that we need no other testimony. We may then well believe that God has been pleased, in pity to our wretchedness, and in condescension to our feebleness, to clothe the eternal laws which regulate his spiritual government in such form as may be palpable to our conceptions, and adapted to the urgency of our necessities."[*]

Such an interposition has the Eternal Majesty of heaven vouchsafed in the revelation of mercy by Christ Jesus, a revelation which abounds in all that is awful and all that is tender; which describes God as the avenger of sin, and the Saviour of the guilty; which exhibits the loftiest claims of the lawgiver, and the tenderest attributes of compassion; which makes moral impunity infinitely odious and detestable, by the very means whereby it is forgiven; which points to a guilty race reclaimed and saved, while the Glorious Projector of the scheme stands forth before the intelligent universe in the ineffable majesty of spotless and unchangeable purity.

Does reason tell us, that as God has seen fit to create various orders of intelligent creatures, to him they must all be accountable, and over them all he must exercise the right and the control of a moral governor? Revelation comes in with its direct and absolute assurance upon this point, resolving all the doubts which sin had festered in the human mind, and proclaiming God's right to rule, his title to obedience, and his determination to punish every infringement of his righteous government. Had the Bible said less on this head, or spoken a language quite different, it would have been at variance with the simplest dictates of sound reason. If there be one God, the creator and upholder of the universe, the fountain of all being, and of all happiness, it follows by resistless consequence, that he is the governor of the world he has made, and that the laws by which he governs must be in accordance with the dictates of his own pure and benevolent nature. The Scriptures teach us distinctly what those principles are; but in doing so, they do not violate one of all our natural conclusions.

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[*] J. J. Rousseau, vol. xxxvi. of his works, p. 36, Ed. Paris, 1788—1793.

"L'evangile, ce divin livre, le seul necessaire a un chretien, et le plus utile de tous a quiconque ne le serait pas, n'a besoin que d'etre medite pour porter dans l'ame l'amour de son auteur, et la volonte d'accomplir ses precepts. Jamais la vertu n'a parle un si doux langage; jamais la plus profonde sagesse ne s'est exprimee avec tant d'energie et de simplicite. On n'en quitte point la lecture sans se sentir meilleur qu'auparavant. Voyez les livres des philosophes avec toute leur pompe: qu'ils sont petits aupres de celui-la! Dirons nous que l'histoire de le'vangile est inventee a plaisir? Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on invente; et les faits de Socrate, dont personne ne doute, sont moins attestes que ceux de Jesus Christ. Au fond, c'est reculer la difficulte sans la detruire. Il seroit plus inconcevable que plusieurs hommes d'accord eussent fabrique ce livre, qu'il ne l'est qu'un seul en ait fourni le sujet. Jamais les auteurs Juiss n'eussent trouve ni ce ton ni cette morale; et l'evangile a des caracteres de verite si frappans, si parfaitement inimitables, que l'inventeur en seroit plus etonnant que le heros."—See Dr. J. P. Smith's admirable answer to a printed paper entitled "*Manifesto of the Christian Evidence Society.*"

[†] The Author is greatly indebted, in this part of his essay, to a work entitled "*Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion.*" By Thomas Erskine, Esq. Advocate.

[*] Erskine on Internal Evidence, *third edit.*, pp. 18, 19.

Does the reason of man whisper to him, that the Being who made him is the constant inspector of his actions, and that a period may arrive when an account will be required of the manner in which he has passed the few short years of his transitory existence? Revelation does not proffer its aid to repress this natural and almost universal feeling; but to place it upon the sure basis of a divine communication, to impart to it the character of an incontrovertible truth, and to raise it to the potency of an all-pervading and all-subduing motive.

Does a secret monitor disturb man's inward repose, and tell him that he has sinned against his own acknowledged standard of duty, and fill him with awful forebodings of judgment to come, and urge him to many a vain expedient for the settlement of that score of guilt which he knows he has been contracting from the earliest dawnings of reason? Revelation does not lift up its voice to repress the natural testimony of conscience, but to cause it to be heard in yet louder strains of condemnation; to strip man of all vain conceit of excellence which, in his fallen state, he does not possess; to show, by the pure standard of the written law, how far he has departed from his original integrity; to present such an image of his moral defection as shall cause him to loathe and abhor himself in dust and in ashes before God; and to teach him the utter insufficiency of all human aid to extricate him from that state of condemnation and sin into which, by rebellion against the righteous Lawgiver of the universe, he has sunk.

Does the mind of man, conscious of its own evil desert, and no less conscious of the blight which sin has spread over all the sources of human enjoyment, sigh after some hidden well-spring of life, some new manifestation of the character of God, which shall dart a ray of mercy and hope across the gloom of his apostacy; some divine balm that shall heal those wounds which have been inflicted in his lacerated spirit? Yes, my beloved reader, such have been, and such are the wishes and aspirations of the guilty spirit of man. He has departed from "the fountain of living waters," and the entire range of creature enjoyment has proved but a broken cistern to him. He is not, indeed, rightly affected with the true nature of his malady, nor does he properly appreciate the means by which his peace and happiness may be restored; but he is in that precise state in which, if he will open the revelation of God, and prayerfully examine its contents, he will find the very blessings after which he sighs, and in the application of them, will perceive that the Author of his being is also the God of his salvation.

In the promise of a Saviour, divinely accomplished in the fulness of time, and in the propitiatory sacrifice of the cross, we behold a scheme which bears along with it indubitable proofs of its conformity to the character of God, and of its adaptation to the guilt and necessity of man. It is so far, indeed, above all his natural conceptions of a divine interposition, that it may well be styled "the wisdom of God in a mystery;" but it is at the same time so exquisitely adjusted to his moral relations, and to the moral catastrophe in which he is involved, that he has only to open his eyes that he may see, and his heart that he may feel. The problem of his salvation is here solved, while the claims of the moral governor remain unimpaired. His conscience tells him that he is a transgressor; but it suggests no effectual method of escape from merited condemnation. But Christianity points him to "the blood of the Lamb," to the "one offering" of Jesus Christ, "for the sins of the people." He feels that he is at a fearful moral distance from God; but he sees in the method of his reconciliation the means whereby his nature may be reclaimed, and learns that a heart all rebellion may be drawn by the mighty attractions of divine love into the habit of cheerful, unreserved, and filial obedience.

To doubt that such a scheme, so perfect in its conformity to all that we connect with the infinitely pure Spirit, and so admirably adapted to the nature, condition, and prospects of man,—to doubt that such a scheme is from heaven, is to do violence to the surest inductions of enlightened reason, to turn a deaf ear to the voice of conscience, and obstinately to lose sight of a coincidence which distinctly shows that the nature of man and the means of his redemption lay claim to a common origin.

Without the provisions of the Bible, man is a wanderer and an outcast. He beholds, in some measure, his responsibility and his guilt; but he has no well defined prospect of how it may fare with him when his body goes down to the dust. He feels that this world is a wilderness, and all its inhabitants mourners; but he is unable to solace himself in the prospect of a blessed immortality. He finds himself the subject of indefinite forebodings, and discovers nothing in the wide range of created nature that can fill up the desires of a mind distanced from its native element; but how to impart a fixed character to his hopes, and how to satisfy his enlarged desires, he knows not. Let him turn, then, to the well-springs of salvation, let him view the character of God as set forth in the doctrine of the gospel, let him examine for himself the great mystery of godliness, let him yield up his whole soul to the impression of redeeming love, let him implore the spirit of Christ to unfold the infinite grace and loveliness of his character, let him bow down his reason to the verities of the cross; then will his guilt subside, his fears vanish, his prospects brighten; then will his soul glow with ardent love to God, then will the darkness which broods over the scenes of earth be scattered; then will the truth of revelation be felt; then will the self-evidencing power of the gospel be verified; and then will the proud objector be converted into a "little child," and the vain disputer into a meek and humble disciple of the Son of God.

Section II.

The external evidence of Christianity.

By the external evidences of Christianity we are to understand those attestations to its divine origin which have been either directly vouchsafed from heaven, or which may be infallibly traced in its early success and in its great moral results. And if, by an impartial survey of the various topics connected with *internal* evidence, we are compelled to admit the presumptuous boldness of those who can disburden their minds of all apprehension in rejecting a scheme distinguished alike by its grandeur and adaptation; by a careful examination of *external* evidence, we are driven to the conclusion, that the rejector of Revelation is at war with omnipotence, and that he is standing out against a species of proof which demands of every intelligent and accountable creature the most prompt and unhesitating submission. Such is the nature and such the variety of external evidence, that it leaves every man inexcusable who remains in secret or avowed oppositon to the claims of the gospel. In treating of the subject of external evidence I begin—

1. *With Miracles.*

If the Bible be from God, it must be true in itself, irrespective of all miraculous attestation; and if it be not from God, it is equally clear that no miracle can have been vouchsafed on its behalf. *A miracle is an act of Omnipotence, which deviates from, or suspends the ordinary course of nature,** and which is fitted to produce an impression upon rational beings by the very circumstances of its singularity and its unaccountableness. Such an interposition we may assure ourselves would not be granted in support of any messenger not from God, or of any doctrine containing in it the slightest shade of imposture.

The most inveterate enemies of Revelation have been compelled to admit that a miracle wrought by any being professing to act under the authority of God, would be a sufficient evidence of the divinity of his mission. "We know," said a Jewish ruler to Christ, "that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." A principle is here admitted which it is impossible, consistently with sound reason, to deny; it is this: that a teacher working miracles furnishes indubitable evidence that his mission is from God. To test, with utmost severity, the evidence of miraculous interposition in any given instance, must be an imperative duty, but to withhold our assent to any doctrine after the finger of Omnipotence has inscribed over it its celestial origin, is to trample reason in the dust, and to set up in its place the most inveterate and stupid prejudice.

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* Dr. Samuel Clarke has said that "A miracle is a work effected in a manner unusual, or different from the common and regular method of providence, by the interposition of God himself, or of some intelligent agent superior to man, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation of the authority of some particular person." The Rev. Richard Watson, in his Theological Dictionary, observes, that "A miracle, in the popular sense, is a prodigy or an extraordinary event which suprises us by its novelty. In a more accurate and philosophic sense, a miracle is an effect which does not follow from any of the regular laws of nature, or which is inconsistent with some known law of it, or contrary to the settled constitution and course of things. Accordingly, all miracles presuppose an established system of nature, within the limits of which they operate, and with the order of which they disagree."

The question, then, is, did Christ and his apostles perform the miracles attributed to them in the books of the New Testament? and did they appeal to those miracles in confirmation of the message they delivered? In reading the inimitable discourses of Christ, no one can hesitate for a moment as to the nature of the appeal made by Him to miracles. "The works," said He, "which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." "Believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very work's sake." Here miracles are assumed, upon the ordinary principles of reason, to be a sufficient evidence of Christ's mission from the Father to every impartial and unbiassed mind. So unhesitatingly did Jesus of Nazareth use this argument, that when the disciples of John came to him to inquire whether he was indeed the Christ, his only reply was, "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them."* And when the apostles of our Lord allude, at any time, to the power by which they perform their several miracles, they invariably refer to the all-potent charm of "that name which is above every name;" as when the helpless paralytic was healed at the beautiful gate of the Temple—"If we, this day," said Peter, "be examined of the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he is made whole; be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole."

The whole question of miracles, then, must resolve itself into a matter of fact. And the attempt of Hume and others to blink the fact, by assuming the insufficency of any testimony to transmit the knowledge of a miraculous occurrence, is neither more nor less than to affirm, that if God should at any time see fit to perform a miracle, in attestation of some message of mercy to a ruined race, he could not adopt any method by which the certain evidence of its occurrence could be preserved from age to age.† It is not surely, the spirit of sound philosophy in which any man asserts that a miracle is *contrary* to experience. It may not, indeed, come under the head of the ordinary experience of mankind; but that it is contrary to it cannot be shown. According to our ordinary experience, bodily disease, when successfully removed, is subdued by the influence of certain human remedies which God is pleased to bless. According to the wonderful history of the gospel, disease is often rebuked by a word, a look, an exercise of the secret will of the miraculous agent. But what is there, we ask, in these two distinct classes of facts opposed to each other? They may each, indeed, belong to a distinct chain of causation; they may be totally independent events; they may admit and require various kinds of proof; but he who says that they are contrary the one to the other, utters a sentiment opposed to true philosophy, and commits his good sense in his zeal to overturn the evidence of the gospel. "To pronounce a miracle to be false," says a distinguished writer, "because it is different from experience, is only to conclude against its general existence from the very circumstance which constitutes its particular nature; for if it were not different from experience, where would be its singularity? Or what particular proof could be drawn from it if it happened according to the ordinary train of human events, or was included in the operation of the general laws of nature? We grant that it does differ from experience; but we do not presume to make our experience the standard of the divine conduct."‡

We hear much among infidel writers of the immutability of the laws of nature; but whence do they learn that these laws are never to be infringed on by the omnipotent will of the Infinite Mind? It is surely no proof that the Almighty is a changeable being because he either creates a world, or acts according to his own infinite perfections in governing it. There is often a great deal of assumption in the use of the terms "laws of nature," "course of nature," &c., as employed by writers of a sceptical turn. If in the use of such terms it were only intended to assert, that the Most High has subjected the material universe to the government of certain great laws, which act uniformly, except when he is pleased to suspend or to counteract them, there could be no objection whatever to the phraseology employed; but when they are spoken of as a kind of intelligent and independent power; when they are described as something almost distinct from the continued exercise of the divine behest; when they are regarded as an imperative control, binding even the will of Deity itself, they are placed in an imposing light, to which they have no conceivable title. "Our knowledge of the ordinary course of things, though limited, is yet real; and therefore it is essential to a miracle, both that it differs from that course, and be accompanied with peculiar and unequivocal signs of such difference. We have been told, that the course of nature is fixed and unalterable; and therefore it is not consistent with the immutability of God to perform miracles. But, surely, they who reason in this manner beg the point in question. We have no right to assume that the Deity has ordained such general laws as will exclude his interposition; and we cannot suppose that he would forbear to interfere where any important end could be answered. This interposition, though it controls, in particular cases, the energy, does not diminish the utility of those laws. It leaves them to fulfil their own proper purposes, and effects only a distinct purpose, for which they were not calculated. If the course of nature implies the laws of matter and motion, into which the most opposite phenomena may be resolved, it is certain that we do not yet know them in their full extent; and, therefore, that events which are related by judicious and disinterested persons, and at the same time imply no gross contradiction, are possible in themselves, and capable of a certain degree of proof. If the course of nature implies the whole order of events which God has ordained for the government of the world, it includes both his ordinary and extraordinary dispensations, and among them miracles may have their place as a part of the universal plan. It is, indeed, consistent with sound philosophy, and not inconsistent with pure religion, to acknowledge that they might be disposed by the Supreme Being at the same time with the more ordinary effects of his power; that their causes and occasions might be arranged with the same regularity; and that in reference chiefly to their concomitant circumstances of persons and time, to the specific ends for which they were employed, and to our idea of the immediate necessity there is for a divine agent, miracles would differ from common events, in which the hand of God acts as efficaciously, though less visibly. On this consideration of the subject, miracles, instead of contradicting nature, might form a part of it. But what our limited reason and scanty experience may comprehend, should never be represented as a full and exact view of the possible or actual varieties which exist in the works of God."*

It is daring and presumptuous in the extreme to attempt, by reasonings *à priori*, to set aside the physical possibility of a miracle, or to assume that human testimony is inadequate to the task of rendering it available to the conviction of mankind. If the argument *à priori* is at all to be admitted in a question of mere fact, where the senses were originally appealed to, it were easy to show that the miraculous attestations of the gospel are entitled to all the benefits which it can possibly yield. No one can prove that it is contrary to the determined arrangements of Divine Providence that miracles should be wrought; no one can assert, in the spirit of true science, that it may not have been a part of the great scheme of God's moral government thus to step aside from the rule of his ordinary procedure; no one can advisedly say that if an occasion worthy of miraculous interposition should present itself to the divine omniscience, God would fail to grant such interposition; no one can seriously contemplate the professed objects of Christianity, or examine in detail its wondrous provisions, without being constrained to admit, that it furnishes an occasion worthy of some unusual effort of omnipotence; and no one can calmly survey the miraculous facts recorded in the gospel history without feeling that they are admirably adapted to attest as divine the several communications to which they belong. *A priori*, I should say, that nothing is more reasonable than to suppose, *first*, that God would furnish his erring and sorrowful children with a revelation of his merciful designs; and, *second*, that he would so attest that revelation with the finger of omnipotence as to leave all without excuse who did not embrace its inestimable provisions. If any one is bold enough to affirm that testimony is an insufficient medium for the conveyance of a miraculous history, he should be prepared to go the whole length of his extravagant assumption, and to maintain, that no revelation could at any time be imparted by God to his creatures, because human testimony, the only method of transmitting historic facts, was insufficient to the task of conveying to the next and to succeeding generations the evidence of such revelation having been imparted. There is no end to vague conjecture if it is allowed to usurp the province of sound reason, and to dictate, before hand, what may and what may not be proper in the Almighty to do. There is no sure way of knowing what God may do, but by ascertaining what he has done; and this can only be known through the medium of that testimony, the accuracy of which admits of being tested by rules which cannot deceive.

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* The last clause of this appeal is founded on the argument for Christianity which is derived from prophecy, and which will be glanced at in a subsequent part of this treatise. It was a distinct part of Messiah's prophetic character that when he appeared he should "preach glad tidings to the meek"—that is, to the poor.—Isaiah, lxi. 1.

† See "A Dissertation on Miracles," &c., by George Campbell, D.D.

‡ See the Rev. Richard Watson's Theological Dictionary, under the article "Miracles."

* See the Rev. Richard Watson's Theological Dictionary, under the article "Miracles."

I would state the argument, then, on behalf of the miracles of the New Testament in some such way as the following:—The gospel history informs us that both Christ and his apostles wrought miracles; it shows us that those miracles were appealed to as evidences of their divine mission; and it presents every direct and collateral mark of authenticity and truth which can possibly belong to any document of antiquity. It is admitted, on all hands, that Jesus of Nazareth actually lived and died in Judea; that his followers became zealous and successful in the propagation of his cause after his death; and that they were surrounded by many inveterate enemies, both among their own countrymen and the Gentiles. In the midst of danger, and in opposition to all their own worldly interests, they persevered even unto death. The cause they espoused was at all times open to the gaze of subtle and fierce enemies, who would have been more than happy to detect any imposture, and who would have been eagle-eyed to discover any pretension to the exercise of the mighty power of God which was not actually possessed. The persecutors of Jesus of Nazareth had their attention drawn to his miracles, which could no longer be hid in a corner; and, unable to account for them, and anxious to prevent their mighty effect, they attributed them to satanic power. The cause, however, spread with amazing rapidity, and the death of the Master but added fresh energy to the cause of his disciples. For a time, indeed, through the weakness of their faith, they were filled with gloomy forebodings; but, according to his own prediction, their divine Leader rose from the dead; with powers of tongues and gifts of healing they went forth in his name; his resurrection they openly proclaimed in the city of Jerulalem; thousands of impenitent Jews laid down the weapons of their hostility; the miracles of Christ and his apostles were acknowledged by multitudes as indubitable matters of fact; and their fame spread throughout the whole world. Had they been mere impostures, they would have been speedily detected; on the contrary, however, they drew down the peculiar notice of heathen writers, and Celsus himself finds no better method of disposing of them than by absurdly attributing them to a skilful use of the arts of magic on the part of Christ's disciples.*

The following things are clear respecting Christ's miracles: *They were of such a nature as to surpass all efforts of human power or skill.* By them, and without the intervention of second causes, the blind received their sight, the paralytic instantly walked, the lepers were cleansed. By them five loaves and two small fishes were multiplied so as to become food for thousands; by them simple water was converted into wine; by them the stormy tempest was hushed into an immediate calm; by them the spirits of darkness were compelled to depart from those unhappy victims whom they had been suffered to possess; and by them, once and again, the dead were restored to life, and became the resistless witnesses of a supernatural interposition. Now, in all these cases, every human being was an equally sufficient judge; from the very nature of the facts it was impossible that any one could be deceived; the finger of God was so distinctly palpable, that both sense and reason combined to verify the true nature of the events.

Again, *the miracles of Christ were done in public*, at the doors of the Jewish temple, in the places of public resort, when he had been preaching to thousands, and when thousands were the actual subjects of them.

They were, moreover, of such a nature that no collusion, no magical art, no legerdemain, no kind of deception, could have been practised.

They were wrought in the presence of persons full of enmity and cruel hatred, who would not have failed to lay open the entire imposture, had any existed; but so confounded were the Scribes and Pharisees at the sight of them, that they sought relief from their unhappy impressions, by representing Jesus of Nazareth as in league with the great spirit of darkness.

The accounts of these miracles were, soon after their occurrence, published to the world, in the very places where they happened; yet no evidence can be adduced to show that a single contemporary of the Saviour was found bold enough to deny the fact of their occurrence; nor indeed can it be shown that any attempt of this kind was made* till long after Christ had ascended to heaven. "Here, it may be demanded, When could the belief of such transactions have been obtruded on mankind, if they had never happened? Surely not in the age when they were said to have been witnessed by tens of thousands, who were publicly challenged to deny them if they could! Not in any subsequent age; for the origin of Christianity was ascribed to them, and millions must have been persuaded that they had always believed those things of which they had never till that time so much as heard."†

Having offered the preceding remarks on the miracles of Christ, I would just observe, that the miracles recorded in the Old Testament Scriptures belong to the same great system of truth, and are supported by similar evidence. Infidels have spoken of the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations as if altogether distinct from the religion of Christ; but this is a gross mistake, as Christianity is the consummation of all those institutions which are embodied in the Jewish Scriptures. The miraculous fact of a universal deluge is abundantly confirmed by all the researches of geologists, and the organic remains of a former world must leave those inexcusable who reject the data of revelation. And with regard to the miraculous history of the Israelites in Egypt, at the Red Sea, in the Wilderness, and in Canaan, the facts of that history and the national monuments which, from the earliest ages, were fixed on to perpetuate it, combine to relieve the mind from the slightest suspicion as to its genuineness. "Can any man of common sense think that Moses and Aaron could possibly have persuaded the whole nation of Israel that they had witnessed all the plagues of Egypt, passed through the Red Sea with the waters piled on each side of them, gathered the manna every morning, and seen all the wonders recorded in their history, had no such events taken place? If, then, that generation could not be imposed on, when could the belief of these extraordinary transactions be palmed upon the nation? Surely it would have been impossible in the next age to persuade them that their fathers had seen and experienced such wonderful things when they had never before heard a single word about them in all their lives, and when an appeal must have been made to them, that these were things well known among them! What credit could have been obtained to such a forgery at any subsequent period? It would have been absolutely necessary, in making the attempt, to persuade the people that such traditions had always been current among them; that the memory of them had for ages been perpetuated by days and ordinances, observed by all the nation; and that their whole civil and religious establishment had thence originated: and could this possibly have been effected if they all knew that no such memorials and traditions had ever been heard of among them?"‡

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of furnishing my readers with a remarkably clear and beautiful account of the miracles of the Mosaic dispensation furnished by the ingenious author of "Theological Institutes," who has already been referred to.*

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* Justin Martyr, Apol. I., chap. xxxvii., assures us that the early apologists for Christianity insisted more on the argument from prophecy than from miracles, because, when they appealed to miracles, the enemies of the truth retorted upon them, by attributing the entire miraculous phenomena of the gospel to the power of magic. The apologists were wrong, but the fact speaks volumes as to the reality of the miracles recorded by the Evangelists.

* The fable that the disciples stole the body of Jesus will be dealt with in its own proper place; It is evident, however, that no use was made of it by the Jews where it could have been most available; in fact, it was too absurd to be gravely referred to;

† See the Rev. Thomas Scott's Works, vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ See the Rev. Thomas Scott's Works, vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

"Out," says he, "of the numerous miracles wrought by the agency of Moses, we select, in addition to those mentioned in chap. ix., *the plague of* DARKNESS. Two circumstances are to be noted in the relation given of the event. (Exod. x.) It continued three days, and it afflicted the Egyptians only, for "*all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.*" The fact here mentioned was of the most public kind; and had it not taken place, every Egyptian and every Israelite could have contradicted the account. The phenomenon was not produced by any eclipse of the sun, for no eclipse of that luminary can endure so long. Some of the Roman writers mention a darkness by day so great that persons were unable to know each other; but we have no historical account of any other darkness so long continued as this, and so intense that the Egyptians "*rose not up from their places for three days.*" But if any such circumstance had occurred, and a natural cause could have been assigned for it, yet even then the miraculous character of this event would remain unshaken; for to what but to a supernatural cause could the distinction made between the Israelites and the Egyptians be attributed, when they inhabited a portion of the same country, and when their neighbourhoods were immediately adjoining? Here then are the characters of a miracle. The established course of natural causes and effects is interrupted by an operation upon that mighty element, the atmosphere. That it was not a chance irregularity in nature, is made apparent from the effect following the volition of a man acting in the name of the Lord of Nature, and from its being restrained by that to a certain part of the same country; '*Moses stretched out his hand*,' and the darkness prevailed, every where but in the dwellings of his own people. The *fact* has been established by former arguments; and the fact being allowed, *the miracle* follows of necessity.

"The destruction of the FIRST-BORN of the Egyptians may be next considered. Here, too, are several circumstances to be carefully noted. This judgment was threatened in the presence of Pharaoh, *before* any of the other plagues were brought upon him and his people. The Israelites also were forewarned of it. They were directed to slay a lamb, sprinkle the blood upon their door-posts, and prepare for their departure that same night. The stroke was inflicted upon the first-born of the Egyptians only, and not upon any other part of the family; it occurred in the same house; the first-born of the Israelites escaped without exception, and the festival of 'the passover' was from that night instituted in remembrance of the event. Such a festival could not in the nature of the thing be established in any subsequent age, in commemoration of an event which never occurred; and if instituted at the time, the event must have taken place, for by no means could this large body of men have been persuaded that their first-born had been saved, and those of the Egyptians destroyed, if the facts had not been before their eyes. The history, therefore, being established, the *miracle* follows; for the order of nature is sufficiently known to warrant the conclusion, that, if a pestilence were to be assumed as the agent of this calamity, an epidemic disease, however rapid and destructive, comes not upon the threat of a mortal, and makes no such selection as the first-born of every family.

"The miracle of dividing the waters of the RED SEA has already been mentioned, but merits more particular consideration. In this event we observe, as in others, circumstances which exclude all possibility of mistake or collusion. The subject of the miracle; the witness of it the host of Israel, who passed through on foot, and the Egyptian nation, who lost their king and his whole army. The miraculous characters of the event are:—the waters are divided and stand up on each side; the instrument is a strong east wind, which begins its operation upon the water, at the stretching-out of the hand of Moses, and ceases at the same signal, and that at the precise moment when the return of the waters would be the most fatal to the Egyptian pursuing army.

"It has, indeed, been asked whether they were not some ledges of rocks where the water was shallow, so that an army, at particular times, might pass over; and whether the *Etesian* winds, which blow strongly all summer from the north-west, might not blow so violently against the sea as to keep it back 'on a heap.' But if there were any force in these questions, it is plain that such suppositions would leave the destruction of the Egyptians unaccounted for. To show that there is no weight in them at all, let the place where the passage of the Red Sea was effected be first noted. Some fix it near *Suez*, at the head of the gulf; but if there was satisfactory evidence of this, it ought also to be taken into the account that formerly the gulf extended at least twenty-five miles north of *Suez*, the first place where it terminates at present.* But the names of places, as well as tradition, fix the passage about ten hours journey lower down, at *Clysma*, or the valley of *Bedea*. The name given by Moses to the place where the Israelites encamped before the sea was divided was *Piha-hiroth*, which signifies 'the mouth of the ridge,' or of that chain of mountains which line the western coast of the Red Sea; and as there is but one mouth of that chain through which an immense multitude of men, women, and children, could possibly pass when flying from their enemies, there can be no doubt whatever respecting the situation of *Piha-hiroth*; and the modern names of conspicuous places in its neighbourhood prove that those by whom such names were given believed that this was the place at which the Israelites passed the sea in safety, and where Pharaoh was drowned. Thus we have close by *Piha-hiroth*, on the western side of the gulf, a mountain called *Attaka*, which signifies deliverance. On the eastern coast opposite is a head-land called *Ras Musa*, or 'the Cape of Moses;' somewhat lower, *Harnam Faraun*, 'Pharaoh's Springs;' whilst at these places; the general name of the gulf itself is *Bahr-al-Kolsum*, 'the Bay of Submersion,' in which there is a whirlpool called *Birket Faraun*, 'the Pool of Pharaoh.' This, then, was the passage of the Israelites; and the depth of the sea here is stated by Bruce, who may be consulted as to these localities, at about fourteen fathoms, and the breadth at between three and four leagues. But there is no 'ledge of rocks;' and, as to the '*Etesian* wind,' the same traveller observes, 'If the *Etesian*, blowing from the north-west in summer, could keep the sea as a wall, on the right, of fifty feet high, still the difficulty would remain of building the wall to the left, or to the north. If the *Etesian* winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before or since from the same causes.' The wind which actually did blow, according to history, either as an instrument of dividing the waters, or, which is more probable, as the instrument of drying the ground, after the waters were divided by the immediate energy of the Divine power, was not a north wind, but an 'east wind;' and, as Dr. Hales observes, 'seems to be introduced by way of anticipation, to exclude the *natural* agency which might be afterwards resorted to for solving the miracle; for it is remarkable that the *monsoon* in the Red Sea blows the summer-half of the year from the north, and the winter-half from the south, neither of which could produce the miracle in question.'

"The miraculous character of this event is, therefore, most strongly marked. An expanse of water, and that water a sea, of from nine to twelve miles broad, known to be exceedingly subject to agitations, is divided, and a wall of water, is formed on each hand, affording a passage on dry land for the Israelites. The phenomenon occurs, too, just as the Egyptian host are on the point of overtaking the fugitives, and ceases at the moment when the latter reach the opposite shore in safety, and when their enemies are in the midst of the passage, in the only position in which the closing of the wall of waters on each side could ensure the entire destruction of so large a force!

"The falling of the MANNA in the wilderness for forty years, is another unquestionable miracle, and one in which there could be neither mistake on the part of those who were sustained by it, nor fraud on the part of Moses. That this event was not produced by the ordinary course of nature, is rendered certain by the fact, that the same wilderness has been travelled by individuals, and by large bodies of men, from the earliest ages to the present, but no such supply of food was ever met with, except on this occasion; and its miraculous character is further marked by the following circumstances: 1. That it fell but six days in the week. 2. That it fell in such prodigious quantities as sustained three millions of souls. 3. That there fell a double quantity every Friday, to serve the Israelites for the next day, which was their Sabbath. 4. That what was gathered on the first five days of the week stank and bred worms if kept above one day; but that which was gathered on Friday kept sweet for two days; and 5. That it continued falling while the Israelites remained in the wilderness, but ceased as soon as they came out of it, and got corn to eat in the land of Canaan. 6. Let these very extraordinary particulars be considered, and they at once confirm the fact, whilst they unequivocally establish the miracle. No people could be deceived in these circumstances; no person could persuade them of their truth if they had not occurred; and the whole was so clearly out of the regular course of nature, as to mark unequivocally the interposition of God. To the majority of the numerous miracles recorded in the Old Testament, the same remarks apply, and upon them the same miraculous characters are as indubitably impressed."

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* Theological Institutes, vol. i. pp. 157—161.

* Lord Valentin's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 344.

To these remarks I may just add, that the fact of the antiquity, genuineness, and uncorrupted transmission of the books both of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, is sustained by an uninterrupted chain of evidence, which could be adduced in favour of no other document of a remote antiquity, and which ought to have shamed and for ever silenced the opponents of revelation. Even enemies themselves have unwittingly served the cause of truth by adding to this testimony. The Jews are to this day, and have been through every past age, the effective and unanswerable defenders of their own canon; and the enemies of Christianity who arose in the second century and downwards, were valuable coadjutors of the Christian apologists, in alluding to the alleged facts of Christianity, though with a view to refute them. It would be easy to show, not only that the Christian fathers, notwithstanding their many errors and absurdities, served the cause of revelation, by proving the antiquity, genuineness, and uncorrupted character of the sacred text; but that Clesus, and Porphyry, and Julian, to say nothing of the Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius, did an immense service, though they intended it not, in endeavouring to refute facts which, if they had never existed, could not have obtained currency in the world.

It is unreasonable, then, in the extreme to refuse credit to the facts of Christianity, standing as they do upon such an irrefragable basis. God has spread over them the shield of omnipotence, and he who will not be convinced by a well-authenticated testimony of miracles would not be persuaded though one actually rose from the dead.

As the resurrection of Christ is a fact of such vital moment in the argument connected with miracles, I shall devote to it the notice of a distinct discussion, hoping thereby to condense into very narrow limits the amount of proof arising to Christianity from the survey of its miraculous character.

2. *The argument derived from the Resurrection of Christ.*

It must have been remarked by every careful observer, that there are two distinct classes of miracles recorded in the gospel history, those which the facts of Christianity themselves involve, and those which were wrought by our Lord and his apostles in confirmation of the message they delivered. The necessity, perhaps, of the latter class of miracles chiefly originates in the first. A revelation of facts and doctrines altogether supernatural seemed to demand an attestation corresponding to its own nature. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive of the idea of an express and direct revelation from the Infinite Mind without instantly associating it with what is miraculous, and without feeling a sort of intuitive conviction that it will be supported with a species of evidence answering to the wondrous facts which it professes to disclose. Most of the doctrines of revelation far transcend the puny conceptions of finite minds, and some of them are of such a sublime nature that they are to be regarded rather as subjects of humble belief than as topics of querulous dispute.

The resurrection of Christ, in common with his incarnation, his temptation, his transfiguration, and his ascension to the right hand of power, is a fact of a distinctly miraculous character. It is, moreover, a fact which was divinely attested on the day of Pentecost, and, subsequently by indubitable marks of a supernatural interposition.

For a person to rise from the dead is an indisputable manifestation of the mighty power of God; and if it can be shown that Christ actually rose from the dead, according to his own predictions, it must of necessity follow that both the prescience and the omnipotence of Deity were associated with the wondrous event. Many sceptics have been ready to admit, that if the resurrection of Christ could be fully established their opposition to Christianity must cease. It was impossible for them to concede less than this; and the zealous efforts they have made to repudiate the evidence of our Lord's resurrection sufficiently proves their anxiety to get rid of a fact which, if properly established, must, as by some mighty convulsion, shiver infidelity to atoms.

As the doctrine contended for is of such vast importance to the full development of the truth of Christianity, it is a peculiarly happy circumstance that the evidence upon which it stands is of such a diversified and powerful kind; bearing, as it were, an exact proportion to the commanding position which it occupies in the Christian scheme. With the fact of Christ's resurrection from the dead, the whole system of Christianity must stand or fall; to bear witness to this fact the office of apostles was mainly established; upon its reception our salvation vitally depends; and by its all-powerful influence believers are inspired by the animating hope of eternal life.

By this event, also, Christ was "declared to be the Son of God with power;" by it the perfection of his atonement was fully announced; and by it the evidence, pattern, and earnest of the resurrection of all his followers were strikingly displayed. How momentous, then, upon the showing of Christianity itself, is the doctrine of Christ's resurrection! How firm ought our faith to be in the evidence by which it is supported! And how cautious and thoughtful ought *he* to be who ventures to treat it as an imposture of human device!

In briefly surveying the evidence upon which the doctrine of Christ's resurrection rests, we are naturally led to inquire whether his *death* actually took place? Here no conceivable difficulty can arise. The fact is admitted both by friends and enemies; and as the Jews procured his crucifixion and thirsted for his blood, there can be no reason to doubt that they would carry the infamous sentence of the law into complete execution. Fully aware of his own predictions that he would rise again, they did not suffer his body to be removed from the cross till every symptom of life was extinct; and so decisive were the marks of dissolution, that the soldiers, perceiving that he was already dead, did not break his legs, according to ordinary custom, when they wished to hasten the death of a particular culprit; but one of their number "pierced his side with a spear, and forthwith came thereout blood and water." Nor did Pilate deliver up his body to be buried till he received direct assurance from the officers in command that the victim of Calvary had actually expired.

Nor was the place of Christ's burial less manifest than the fact of his death. No secrecy was attempted to be practised in this matter by Joseph of Arimathea, or any of the rest of Christ's disciples. The request, indeed, that they might be put in possession of the body of Jesus was complied with; but all their movements were watched with nicest scrutiny, and a Roman watch of *sixty* soldiers was instantly set over the place of sepulture.

That Christ died, then, and was buried, no one can doubt. Jews and heathens confirm the facts. Yet in a period short of three full days, notwithstanding the strict watch of a Roman guard, the body of Christ, by the admission of the disciples and Pharisees, is removed from the tomb. A rumour of the fact instantly spreads, and enemies and friends have each their particular mode of accounting for it. Which account, then, bears upon it the signature of truth; the disciples or the Jews? They cannot be both true, for they are contradictory. The disciples say that two women, Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of James and Salome, had repaired to the sepulchre for the purpose of perfuming the body of Christ with Eastern spices, and that an angel appeared to them, rolling away the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and inviting them, in the language of condescension, to look into the now empty tomb, where their Lord had been placed on the evening of the crucifixion, but from whence he had now risen in the exercise of an omnipotent power; it is moreover stated by the disciples, that the women received commission from the angel to announce the fact of Christ's resurrection to the rest of his followers. From the same source we learn, that others subsequently repaired to the tomb and found the body of Christ removed, and only the linen in which it was wrapped left behind; that the fact of an actual resurrection was demonstrated by the appearance of Christ to several of his disciples, both alone and in full assembly; that the eye saw him, that the hand touched him, that the mind entered into fellowship with him, that some enjoyed the benefit of his conversation, partook of food with him, listened to his instructions, received his commands, and for the space of more than five weeks, had more or less intercourse with him; when, at the end of this period, and after he had given commission to his apostles, he finally conducted his disciples to a mountain in Galilee, and rose to his native heavens in their admiring presence.

Such is the account of Christ's resurrection as furnished by his friends. And what is there in the opposite scale? Nothing whatever. It is, said, indeed, by the Sanhedrim, that the disciples stole the body of Jesus while the watch slept! This is verily all, in the shape of fact, that the Jews ever attempted to oppose to the combined testimony of the disciples;

and it is so utterly absurd, that nothing but the consternation occasioned by the astounding fact of the resurrection could have tempted them to induce the watch, by an act of bribery, to make such a statement. Either the watch were asleep or awake: if awake, how could an armed body of sixty men have allowed the disciples to rob the tomb of its sacred inhabitant? and if asleep, how could they bear testimony to the fact of the disciples' theft? This wild and extravagant fabrication, however, was speedily abandoned. Not once is it adverted to on those trials of the apostles which soon took place at Jerusalem, on account of their bold and open proclamation of their Master's resurrection. Though the apostles were cited before that very body who had given currency to the report of the disciples' theft, they are not even once taxed with the crime; not a whisper escapes the lips of the Sanhedrim on the subject; not one of all the watch is brought forward to confront the apostles, and to shame them out of their adherence to the imposture of the resurrection; on the contrary, an influential member of the Jewish council advises forbearance to the witnesses of the resurrection, and intimates even the possibility of the event itself. If the Sanhedrim had had the slightest belief of the wicked story invented, would they have adopted such a course? Undoubtedly not. Now was the time to muster all their strong evidence against the facts of the resurrection, and to prevent its further currency among the people; but nothing whatever of this kind is resorted to; persecution and threats are the only weapons employed to check the rising doctrine; and a whole assembly of men, deeply involved in the consequences of the resurrection, not only succumb to the counsel of an individual, but apparently acquiesce in the hypothetical admission that the entire doctrine of the apostles may yet prove itself to be of God.

There is not, then, an atom of contradictory testimony to the fact of the resurrection as stated by the apostles. If we reject their account, we are left in a state of the wildest conjecture as to what became of the body of Jesus. Look, then, at their testimony, and see if it bears along with it the credentials of truth. Upon a review of the gospel history itself, was there any thing improbable in the occurrence of Christ's resurrection? Did he not again and again, in the presence of friends and enemies, predict the event, and point to it as the great seal of his mission? and did he not furnish examples of the same mighty power in the resurrection of Lazarus, and of the widow's son, as well as in many other demonstrations of his eternal power and godhead? Before any one can show that the event of Christ's resurrection was one by no means to be anticipated, he must disprove the entire facts of our Lord's history, and thereby subvert the testimony of Heathens, Jews and Christians. The question is, were the apostles deceived, or did they attempt to deceive others? The former of these could not have been the case; for they had every opportunity of identifying their Lord's person which could possibly be furnished, or which could ever be regarded, by the most scrupulous, as necessary. The very doubts of their own minds contributed to add strength to the conviction which they acquired of their Lord's identity; and for the space of full forty days, they were enabled, in a succession of interviews, to correct any sudden or erroneous impression, and to settle themselves in the triumphant belief that Christ was risen indeed.

Nor was there one sign of an impostor or deceiver attaching to these simple-hearted witnesses of the resurrection. There is no attempt to furnish one uniform record of the transaction. On the contrary, we have four different accounts of the resurrection, so distinct as to show that each writer aimed at truth, and was under no apprehension of discrepancy in his statements; and yet so entirely harmonious that the apparent contradictions only tend to establish the validity and perfect consistency of the history.*

It may be asked, moreover, when and where did the apostles of our Lord begin to proclaim the fact of the resurrection? Why, at the very period of its alleged occurrence, and in the very city of the crucifixion. When they were once convinced of the glorious event themselves, they were bold as lions in its defence, and were not afraid to give utterance to their convictions in the presence of those who must have possessed the best means of detecting the imposture, if any such had been practised. The most subtle and disputatious of the Jewish nation heard their testimony; malice, and wit, and power, were all enlisted against them; but the new doctrine prevailed, and fresh instances of miraculous power, in the gift of tongues, and in the ability to heal all manner of diseases, accredited the apostles as the commissioned servants of the Most High.

"In all other things," observes the late Mr. Scott, "they appeared simple, upright, holy men; but if in this they deceived, the world never yet produced a company of such artful and wicked impostors, whose schemes were so deeply laid, so admirably conducted, and so extensively and permanently successful. For they spent all the rest of their lives in promoting the religion of Jesus, renouncing every earthly interest, facing all kinds of opposition and persecution, bearing contempt and ignominy, prepared habitually to seal their testimony with their blood, and most of them actually dying martyrs in the cause, recommending it with their latest breath as worthy of universal acceptation. It is likewise observable, that, when they went forth to preach Christ as risen from the dead, they were manifestly changed, in almost every respect, from what they before had been; their timidity gave place to the most undaunted courage; their carnal prejudices vanished; their ambitious contests ceased; their narrow views were immensely expanded; and zeal for the honour of the Lord, with love to the souls of men, seem to have engrossed and elevated all the powers of their minds. A more complete human testimony to any event cannot be imagined; for if our Lord had shown himself 'openly to all the people' of the Jews, and their rulers had still persisted in rejecting him, it would have rather weakened than confirmed the evidence; and, if they had unanimously received him as Messiah, it might have excited in others a suspicion that it was a plan concerted for aggrandizing the nation."*

3. *The argument derived from Prophecy.*

This is a branch of Christian evidence possessing extraordinary power, and capable of very extensive application. The proper idea of prophecy is *the foretelling of such future events as no human skill or sagacity could anticipate, and as nothing but the prescience of the Eternal could either know or reveal.* This is the test applied of old to the false gods of the heathen; "Show us," said Jehovah to their votaries, "what shall happen; declare us things for to come; show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods." If it can be shown that the leading facts recorded in Scripture were foretold by omniscience long ere they occurred, it will follow of necessity that a revelation thus accredited is from God. Prophecy is, indeed, a species of miraculous attestation, challenging the investigation of men in every age, and accumulating new materials of proof as the revolutions of Divine Providence disclose and illustrate the events embodied in the prophetic testimony.

The great object and end of the prophetic dispensation was evidently to testify "before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow," and to this object and end all the predictions of Scripture might be shown more or less to contribute.

I shall begin, therefore, with those prophecies which relate more immediately to the Messiah; and if it should appear, from a survey of facts, that there were many prophecies uttered concerning Him which no human skill or forethought could have ventured to announce, and which have realized a minute and circumstantial accomplishment, it will then follow, that they furnish a convincing testimony to his character as the Son of God, and to his mission as the Saviour of the world. We shall first make the induction of the prophetic testimony, and then inquire how far it is probable that the prophecies of the Jewish Scriptures could have induced the followers of Jesus of Nazareth to endeavour, by their own means, to bring about the events predicted; in other words, to produce a coincidence in the life of Jesus to the anticipations of the prophets.

The minuteness both of the predictions and the fulfilments will, perhaps, surprise those who have not closely examined this most interesting topic. In the text referred to in the notes, the prophecy and its accomplishment will be placed in immediate contact, so that those who wish to examine this subject for themselves may see how utterly impossible it was for any thing like chance or human imposture to have furnished such an exquisite harmony.†

When we look at the very first page of man's apostacy, we find the Great Deliverer promised, as that seed of the woman who was to bruise the head of the serpent.(*a*) This mysterious personage was to be of the seed of Abraham.(*b*) He was to belong to the tribe of Judah.(*c*) He was to be a member of the royal house of David.(*d*) He was to be born at Bethlehem Judah, the city of David.(*e*) He was to be miraculously conceived and born of a virgin.(*f*) He was to be carried into Egypt and called out of it.(*g*) He was to have Elias, or John the Baptist as his forerunner.(*h*) He was to confirm his mission and doctrine by miracles. (*i*) He was to make a public though lowly entrance into Jerusalem, riding upon a colt, the foal of an ass.(*j*) He was to be rejected of his own countrymen the Jews.(*k*) He was to be betrayed by one of his disciples.(*l*) He was to be sold for thirty pieces of silver.(*m*) He was to be scourged, mocked, and spit upon.(*n*) He was to be nailed to the cross, by his hands and his feet.(*o*) He was to be numbered with the transgressors.(*p*) He was to be mocked and reviled while on the cross.(*q*) He was to have gall and vinegar to drink.(*r*) His garments were to be parted, and upon his vesture lots were to be cast.(*s*) He was to be cut off from the land of the living by a violent death.(*t*) He was to be pierced, but not a bone of him to be broken.(*u*) He was to make his grave with the rich.(*v*) He was not to see corruption.(*w*) He was to rise from the dead.(*x*) He was to ascend into heaven, sit at the right hand of God, and pour out the Holy Spirit in his various gifts upon men.(*y*)

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* See a discourse by Dr. J. P. Smith "On the Evidence of the Divine Origin of Christianity from the Resurrection of Jesus," in a volume of Lectures delivered at the monthly meetings.

* See the Rev. Thomas Scott's Works, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

† See a very able Discourse on "the Object and End of the Prophetic Dispensation," by the late Archibald M'Lean. Works, vol. iv. 12mo. p. 283.

His divine dignity was also distinctly marked in the prophetic testimony. According to the flesh, he was to be of the seed of David; but beyond this there was a view of his character which exhibited him in all the glory of essential and uncreated Godhead. He was to be called Immanuel.(*z*) He was described as the mighty God.(*aa*) He was spoken of as Jehovah our righteousness.(*bb*) He was portrayed as the Son of God.(*cc*) He was declared to be David's Lord.(*dd*)

Nor were the offices which Messiah was to sustain overlooked by the omniscient spirit of the prophetic dispensation. He was to be a prophet like unto Moses.(*ee*) He was to be a priest forever, after the order of Melchisedec.(*ff*) He was to be an anointed King, on Zion's holy hill,—that is, the Messiah and Sovereign of his church.(*gg*)

In like manner the spiritual empire of the Son of God is portrayed in the prophetic page. Its nature, its extent, its duration, its blessedness, its happy subjects, are all described.(*hh*) And though many of the predictions which relate to that empire are not yet fulfilled, and though some of them will not realize their accomplishment till the consummation of all things; yet enough has been fulfilled to show that Christ and his kingdom are the distinct objects of reference, and that what is yet unaccomplished shall ere long have the light of Divine Providence shed upon it.

When I look at the number, minuteness, and singular character of the prophetic testimonies of the Jewish Scriptures to Messiah, and compare them with their exact and circumstantial accomplishment in the person, office, and empire of Jesus of Nazareth, I am equally astounded at the unbelief of Jews and Infidels. How can they resist such a flood of light? Upon any conceivable scheme of adjustment, how can they, in their present state of mind, account for the predictions and their fulfilment! Let it be remembered that Christians did not construct the prophecies; they formed part of a document in the hands of their bitterest enemies; and let it be equally remembered, that the principal facts in the history of the Son of God which verify the prophecies, were realities which the most inveterate infidels have been compelled to admit. Let the wondrous coincidence, then, be accounted for on any other principle but the admission of a great scheme of prophecy originating in the divine prescience, and intended to vindicate the claims of a revelation which has been vouchsafed by God to his bewildered and erring children.

I know of no method of evading the force of the argument derived from prophecy, but by the supposition, that the apostles of our Lord, finding in the Jewish Scriptures a vast number of predictive statements, concerning an illustrious personage who was to rise up in the nation of Israel, accommodated themselves, with their leader, to the scheme thus perceived by them. But the entire character and conduct of the men, their benevolence, their contempt for every thing like human ambition and applause, the purity and integrity of their manners, their fearless exposure of themselves to persecution and death, the total absence of any thing like inferior motive to sustain them, forbids us, upon all the ordinary calculations of human nature, to conceive of them as heartless deceivers and villains. If they were so, it may be safely affirmed that they acted a part the very opposite of all the other impostors that ever lived.

But supposing they were deceivers, and that they made themselves agents to the fulfilment of the Jewish prophecies; let us see how this can be borne out by the facts of the case. This inquiry is so well met by the present Bishop of Chester, that I cannot do a greater service to my readers than to quote his own words on the subject.

"It may be thought," says he, "that a design like that attributed to the followers of Jesus would be greatly assisted by the prophecies recorded in their national Scriptures, and pointing to some remarkable personage who was expected to appear.

"1. For example: the time of this appearance was fixed by the prophet Daniel at about four hundred and ninety years from his own days; which so closely corresponded with the birth of Jesus, that such an event was looked for, by 'devout persons,' at the very period when it occurred. This would be, as was before observed, a circumstance greatly in their favour.

"2. The next thing to be considered by the framer of this deceit, would be the place of their leader's birth. Jesus was born at Bethlehem. Upon consulting their Scriptures, they would find this passage respecting Bethlehem: 'Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, for everlasting.' This would prove, beyond what could be anticipated, an assistance of their design.

"3. It seemed to be intimated in the prophecies, that the deliverer who was to come should be preceded by a forerunner, who might awaken the attention of the people to him. For it was written, 'The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' And again, 'Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple.' Now it was notorious that a singular character, John, called 'the Baptist,' had appeared a short time before Jesus began his ministry, pretending to be this messenger, and nothing more, and directing his followers to one who was to 'come after him.' This was another coincidence equally wonderful and favourable.

"4 Further, as to the most important parts: the way in which Jesus had lived, and had been received, and died. His

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(*a*) Compare Gen. iii. 15, with Luke i. 29—36, and Gal. iv. 4.

(*b*) Com. Gen. xxii. 18, with Gal. iii. 16, 17, and Heb. ii. 16.

(*c*) Com. Gen. xlix. 10, with Heb. vii. 14.

(*d*) Com. 1 Sam. vii. 12—17. Isa. xi. 1—6. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6, with Luke i. 32, 69. Rom. i. 3.

(*e*) Com. Micah v. 2, with Matt. ii. 1, 5, 6, and Luke ii. 4, 11.

(*f*) Com. Isa. vii. 14, with Matt. i. 20—24.

(*g*) Com. Hos. xi. 1, with Matt. ii. 13—16.

(*h*) Com. Isa. xl. 3, 4. Mal. iii. 1, and iv. 5, with Matt. iii. 1—4. xvii. 10—14. Luke i. 17, vii. 27.

(*i*) Com. Isa. xxxv. 5, 6, with Matt. xi. 3, 7. John v. 36, and Acts ii. 22.

(*j*) Com. Zech. ix. 9, and Psalms cxviii. 25, 26, with Matt. xxi. 2—12, and John xii. 12, 19.

(*k*) Com. Isa. viii. 14, 15. xviii. 16, liii. 3, and Psa. cxviii. 22, with Matt. xxi. 42—45. John i. 10, 11, xii. 37—40, and xv. 22—26.

(*l*) Com. Psa. xli. 9, with John xiii. 18.

(*m*) Com. Zech. xi. 12, with Matt. xxv. 14, 15, and xxvii. 3—11.

(*n*) Com. Isa. 1, 6, with Matt. xxvi. 67, 68, and xxvii. 26, 32.

(*o*) Com. Psa. xxii. 16, with Luke xxiii. 33, and John xix. 17, 18.

(*p*) Com. Isa. liii. 12, with Luke xxii. 37, and xxiii. 33.

(*q*) Com. Psa. xxii. 7, 8, with Matt. xxvii. 34, 35.

(*r*) Com. Psa. lxix. 21, with Matt. xxvii. 34, 48.

(*s*) Com. Psa. xxii. 18, with Matt. xxvii. 35, and John xix. 23, 24.

(*t*) Com. Isa. liii. Dan. ix. 26, with John xix. 30. Acts ii. 23.

(*u*) Com. Zech. xii. 10, Exod. xii. 46, Psa. xxxiv. 20, with John xix. 33—38.

(*v*) Com. Isa. liii. 9, with Matt. xxvii. 57—61.

(*w*) Com. Psa. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 25—32, xiii. 34, 38.

(*x*) Com. Psa. ii. 7, xvi. 11, and Isa. liii. 8, with Acts ii. 30, 31, xiii. 33, 34.

(*y*) Com. Psa. lxviii. 18, and cx. 1. Joel ii. 28, with Eph. iv. 8—13, Mark xvi. 19. Acts ii. 33.

(*z*) Com. Isa. vii. 14, with Mark i. 23.

(*aa*) Com. Isa. ix. 6, with Tit. ii. 13.

(*bb*) Com. Jer. xxxiii. 5, 6, with 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

(*cc*) Com. 2 Sam. vii. 14. Psa. ii. 7, 12, with Rom. i. 3, 4. Heb. i. 5.

(*dd*) Com. Psa. cx. 1, with Matt. xxii. 42, 46.

(*ee*) Com. Deut. xviii. 18, with Acts iii. 22, 24.

(*ff*) Com. Psa. cx. 4, with Heb. v. 5, 6, vii. viii. ix. x.

(*gg*) Com. Psa. ii. 6. Psa. ii. 2. Dan. ix. 26, with John xx. 30, 31. Acts ii. 36.

(*hh*) Com. Psa. xlv. 6, 7. Isa. ix. 6—8, xi. 1—11. xlix. 6, with Gal. iii. 8. Heb. i. 8, 9. Luke i. 30—34. Rom. xiv. 12. Acts xiii. 47.

character, as represented in the Gospels, had been peculiar in every respect; but especially remarkable for the union of meekness and constancy which it displayed.

"Of unknown origin and humble parentage, he had attracted considerable notice, and many followers; yet he had not been generally acknowledged among his countrymen, and those who adhered to him were not the great and powerful. His life, upon the whole, was one of trial and hardship, not one of triumph and exaltation. In the end, he was sentenced to death with the notoriously wicked; and suffered a punishment, which even his judge confessed that his conduct had not deserved. Yet, though dying with malefactors, he was laid in a rich and honourable tomb.

"A character answering this description was portrayed by that prophet who had always been considered as most particular in what respected the future Messiah.

"It cannot be denied that the existence of these ancient prophecies would be very advantageous to men setting out with the purpose in question. But it is time to ask in our turn, how they came to find these prophecies ready to their hand? prophecies of such a nature, that no man could have contrived a scheme dependent upon them, because they could not command the fact by which they were to be fulfilled. With respect to the birth-place, for example: in order that it might happen to be Bethlehem, it was requisite that a general census should be held, convening all the inhabitants of the country to their chief town; by which means alone the mother of Jesus was called away from her usual residence, and her infant born at Bethlehem, instead of Nazareth. The preparatory ministry of the Baptist was equally beyond the control of the disciples. So were the minute details of incidents, which agree in a wonderful manner with the circumstantial narrative. The entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem, at once humble and triumphant.(*a*) The manner of his death, and his own countrymen the cause. The peculiar indignities which he underwent: the very words of mockery used against him.(*b*) The price which Judas received for his treachery. The purpose to which that money was applied.(*c*)

"Passages of this nature could not have been introduced by the apostles into the existing scriptures, because, as their countrymen were generally hostile to the design, such an attempt must have proved fatal to their pretensions. And further, because the books among which these scattered sentences are found, had now been extensively diffused during a period of three hundred years in a foreign language, defying the imposture of the whole nation, if the whole nation had concurred in the design.

"We are reduced, then, to the necessity of supposing that the followers of Jesus, desiring to deify their teacher, selected from their national Scriptures these pointed allusions to circumstances like his, which happened to be written there, and brought them forward to confirm his pretensions.

"But surely to ascribe coincidences like these to chance, to allege that all these passages were thrown out at random in the Jewish Scriptures, and that the circumstances of the birth, and life, and character, and death of Jesus, turned out so as to agree with them, is to attribute to chance what never did or could take place by chance; and in itself far more improbable than the event which such a solution is intended to disprove. For, allow to Jesus the authotity which he claims, and every difficulty vanishes. We should then expect to find prophetic intimations of his great purpose, and of the way in which it was to be effected. We should expect to find them, too, just what they are; not united and brought together in a way of formal description, which could only be a provision for imposture; but such scattered hints and allusions as, after the event has occurred, serve to show that it was predicted, by a comparison of the event and the prophecy.

"It ought to be observed, in addition, that if the disciples of Jesus had framed their story and their representation of facts, with a view of obtaining this collateral support, they would have been more diligent and ostentatious in pointing out the circumstances of resemblance. They would have anticipated the labours of those writers who have made it their business to show the completion of prophecy in the events related in the gospels. But, on the contrary, they bring these things forward in an historical rather than an argumentative way, and commonly leave the deductions which may be drawn from them to the discernment of after times."*

I must be allowed to remark, before dismissing this branch of evidence, that though the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments chiefly relate to the Messiah, and are all so constructed as, in their accomplishment, to add strength to the evidence which confirms the Christian revelation, they are by no means confined to the delineation of his character and claims. They occupy a range most extensive, and carry the mind over the eventful history of the Jewish nation, and of almost all the nations of heathen antiquity. Let it never be forgotten, that Nineveh's predicted ruin has come upon it; that Babylon, in all its boasted splendour, has been "swept with the besom of *threatened* destruction;" that Tyre, the great port of the ancient world, has become, according to the warnings of Ezekiel, a place only for the drying of fishermen's nets; that Egypt, the mother of arts, has become "the basest of kingdoms," and has never since been able "to exalt herself among the nations," as if to show that all the events of futurity are naked and open to that omniscient Spirit who foretold her doom, and predicted her permanent humiliation.

Nor, in contemplating the great scheme of prophecy, and the support which it yields to the truth of Revelation, must we lose sight of the destines of the Jewish nation.* In the fearful destruction of Jurusalem by the Roman army; in the dispersion and long-continued peculiarity of the seed of Abraham; in the contempt, persecution, and infamy which they have so long endured; in the promulgation of the gospel among Gentile tribes; in the many and hateful corruptions of the religion of Jesus which have been introduced through the medium of Anti-Christian powers; and in the preservation and growing triumphs of the Christian faith, we have such indubitable fulfilments of the prophetic record, that he who refuses to embrace, as divine, the wondrous volume

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(*a*) Com. Matt. xxi. 1, &c. with Zech. ix. 9.

(*b*) Com. Isa. i. 6. Ps. xxii., lxix. 20. with Matt. xxvii.

(*c*) Com. Zech. xi. 12. with Matt. xxvi. 15. xxvii. 3, &c.

* "The Evidence of Christianity derived from its Nature and Reception." By John Bird Sumner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester. *Fourth Edition.* 12mo. pp. 124—133.

* "'The great lawgiver of the Jews,' observes Mr. Horne, (in his Introduction, vol. i. p. 327), foretold that they should be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth,—*scattered among all people from one end of the earth, even unto the other,—find no ease or rest,—be oppressed and crushed always,—be left few in number among the heathen,—pine away in their iniquity in their enemies' land,—and become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word unto all nations.* These predictions were literally fulfilled during their subjection to the Chaldeans and Romans; and, in later times, in all the nations where they have been dispersed. Moses foretold that their enemies would besiege and take their cities; and this prophecy was fulfilled by Shishak, King of Egypt; Shalmaneser, King of Assyria; Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Epiphanes, Sosius, and Herod; and finally by Titus. Moses foretold that such grievous famines should prevail during those sieges, that they should eat the flesh of their sons and daughters. This prediction was fulfilled about six hundred years after the time of Moses, when Samaria was besieged by the King of Syria; also, about nine hundred years after that time, among the Jews, during the siege of Jerusalem, before the Babylonish captivity; and finally, fifteen hundred years after, at the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans. Though the Hebrews were to be as the stars of heaven for multitude, Moses predicted that they should be few in number, and his prophecy was fulfilled: for, in the last siege of Jerusalem, Josephus tells us that an infinite multitude perished by famine; and he computes the total number who perished by it, and by the war in Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea, at *one million two hundred and forty thousand four hundred and ninety,* besides *ninety-nine thousand two hundred* who were made prisoners, *and sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen;* and after their last overthrow by Hadrian, many thousands of them were sold; and those for whom purchasers could not be found (Moses foretold that *no man would buy them*) were transported into Egypt, where they perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, they have been scattered among all nations; *among whom they have found no ease, nor have the soles of their feet had rest;* they have been *oppressed and spoiled evermore,* especially in the East, where the tyranny exercised over them is so severe, as to afford a literal fulfilment of the prediction of Moses,—*Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have no assurance of thy life.* Yet, notwithstanding all their oppressions, they have still continued a separate people, without incorporating with the nations; *and they have become an astonishment and a bye-word among all the nations* whither they have been carried since their punishment has been inflicted. The very name of a Jew has been used as a term of peculiar reproach and infamy. Finally, it was foretold, that *their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance.* And have not their plagues continued more than seventeen hundred years? In comparison of them, their former captivities were very short; during their captivity in Chaldea, Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied; but now they have no true prophet to foretell the end of their calamities. What nation has suffered so much, and yet endured so long? What nation has subsisted as a distinct people in their own country so long as the Jews have done in their dispersion into all countries? And what a STANDING MIRACLE is thus exhibited to the world in the fulfilment, at this very time, of prophecies delivered considerably more than three thousand years ago! What a permanent attestation is it to the divine legation of Moses!"

of which it forms such a distinguished part, sins against all the laws of moral evidence, and, at the same time, risks his eternal salvation by rejecting the council of God against himself.

4. *The evidence of Christianity derived from a correct estimate of its early success.*

It would be most inconclusive to infer the supernatural origin of Christianity from the mere fact of its success; inasmuch as some of the greatest impostures the world ever knew have obtained, for many ages, a most powerful and extensive dominion over the human mind. The early prevalence of the gospel is, in itself, no decisive proof of its divine origin. Ere it can be regarded as such, a number of circumstances must combine with the fact of its success, which admit of no just or rational solution but the admission of the finger of God. The question then is, did such circumstances evince themselves in the early triumphs of Christianity? And, if they did, wherein did they consist? and how do they admit of being exhibited in the shape of a conclusive argument for the truth and divinity of the gospel?

It is then a fact that Jesus of Nazareth was put to death in the reign of Tiberius, by the order of Pontius Pilate, his Procurator.* It is a fact that as early as the time of Claudius, who died within twenty years of the crucifixion, the religious assemblies of the Christians were proscribed under open pretext that they were withdrawing men from the worship of the gods.† It is a fact, that in the reign of Nero, the followers of Christ endured persecutions of the most fearful kind, and that this wicked despot endeavoured to fix upon them the stigma of burning Rome, though it was justly and loudly charged on himself.‡ It is a fact that Pliny the younger, a Proconsul under the Emperor Trajan, who was contemporary with Ignatius, and who flourished about seventy-five years after the death of Christ, describes the Christian assemblies in Bithynia and Pontus as consisting of "a vast multitude"§ of all ages and sexes, and speaks of Christianity as an inveterate superstition which had spread itself, not only through cities, but over villages and the whole country.* It is a fact, that Christian churches were established in every province of the Roman empire within a very brief period of the death of Christ,† and that thousands and tens of thousands of new converts maintained, with unshaken confidence, their adherence to the facts and promises of the gospel amidst the heaviest persecutions and calamities that ever befel mortals in this vale of tears. It is a fact that the first propagators of Christianity were only fishermen of Galilee, and that they sought and obtained no aid from human power in the prosecution of their extraordinary undertaking. It is a fact, that the experiment of Christianity was made in one of the most enlightened and refined periods in the history of the world, and on a theatre which laid it open to the scrutiny and detection of all Greece and Rome. It is a fact, that the first messengers of the cross entered into no compromise with the vices and corruptions of mankind, but that they denounced every system of evil, and sought only to win men's applause by bringing them to perceive and acknowledge the exquisite loveliness of truth, and by teaching them to submit to a course of religious and moral discipline, which made them kind and forgiving, peaceful and holy. It is a fact, that the doctrine taught by the Apostles of Jesus of Nazareth was, in many respects, new; that it proclaimed facts of a strictly miraculous nature; that it sternly opposed every existing system of religion; that it rebuked and condemned those vices and depraved habits which universally prevailed; that, nevertheless, it rapidly spread, and that in less than three centuries it subverted the religion of pagan Rome, and established itself on the throne of the Cæsars.

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* See Tacitus, Anal. xv. 44. † See Suetonius in Claud. 25.

‡ See Tacitus, as above. I give Paley's translation. "But neither these exertions, nor his largesses to the people, nor his offerings to the gods, did away the infamous imputation under which Nero lay, of having ordered the city to be set on fire. To put an end therefore to this report, he laid the guilt and inflicted the most cruel punishments upon a set of people who were held in abhorrence for their crimes, and called by the vulgar, Christians. The founder of that name was Christ, who suffered death in the reign of Tiberius, under his Procurator, Pontius Pilate. The pernicious superstition, thus checked for a while, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, where the evil originated, but through Rome also, whither every thing bad upon earth finds its way, and is practised. Some who confessed their sect were first seized; and afterwards, by their information, a vast multitude were apprehended, who were convicted, not so much of the crime of burning Rome, as of hatred to mankind. Their sufferings and their execution were aggravated by insult and mockery, for some were disguised in the skins of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs, some were crucified, and others were wrapt in pitched shirts and set on fire when the days closed, that they might serve as lights to illuminate the night. Nero lent his own gardens for these executions; and exhibited at the same time a mock Circensian entertainment, being a spectator of the whole in the dress of a charioteer, sometimes mingling with the crowd on foot, and sometimes viewing the spectacle from his car. This conduct made the sufferers pitied; and though they were criminals, and deserving the severest punishments, yet they were considered as sacrificed, not so much out of regard to the public good, as to gratify the cruelty of one man."

§ "Ingens multitudo," a vast multitude, is the historian's expression. I insert the whole letter according to Milner's translation, though he has not preserved the full force of the original in his rendering of this expression.

"*C. Pliny to Trajan, Emperor.*

"Health.—It is my usual custom, Sir, to refer all things of which I harbour any doubts to you. For who can better direct my judgment in its hesitation, or instruct my understanding in its ignorance? I never had the fortune to be present at any examination of Christians before I came into this province. I am, therefore, at a loss to determine what is the usual object either of inquiry or of punishment, and to what length either of them is to be carried. It has also been with me a question very problematical, whether any distinction should be made between the young and the old, the tender and the robust;—whether any room should be given for repentance, or the guilt of Christianity once incurred is not to be expiated by the most unequivocal retraction;—whether the name itself, abstracted from any flagitiousness of conduct, or the crimes connected with the name, be the object of punishment. In the mean time, this has been my method, with respect to those who were brought before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians: if they pleaded guilty, I interrogated them twice afresh, with a menace of capital punishment. In case of obstinate perseverance, I ordered them to be executed. For of this I had no doubt, whatever was the nature of their religion, that a sullen and obstinate inflexibility called for the vengeance of the magistrate. Some where infected with the same madness whom, on account of their privilege of citizenship, I reserved to be sent to Rome to be referred to your tribunal. In the course of this business, informations pouring in, as is usual when they are encouraged, more cases occurred. An anonymous libel was exhibited with a catalogue of names of persons, who yet declared that they were not Christians then, or ever had been; and they repeated after me an invocation of the gods and of your image, which, for this purpose, I had ordered to be brought with the images of the deities;—they performed sacred rites with wine and frankincense, and execrated Christ; none of which things, I am told, a real Christian can ever be compelled to do. On this account I dismissed them. Others, named by an informer, first affirmed, and then denied the charge of Christianity; declaring that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so; some three years ago, others still longer, some even twenty years ago. All of them worshipped your image and the statues of the gods, and also execrated Christ. And this was the account which they gave of the nature of the religion they once had professed, whether it deserves the name of crime or error;—namely, that they were accustomed, on a stated day, to meet before day-light, and to repeat among themselves an hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath, with an obligation of not commiting any wickedness, but, on the contrary, of abstaining from thefts, robberies, and adulteries;—also of not violating their promise, or denying a pledge;—after which, it was their custom to separate, and meet again at a promiscuous harmless meal, from which last practice they however desisted after the publication of my edict, in which, agreeably to your orders, I forbade any societies of that sort; on which account, I judged it the more necessary to inquire, BY TORTURE, from two females, who were said to be deaconesses, what is the real truth. But nothing could I collect, except a depraved and excessive superstition. Deferring, therefore, any further investigation, I determined to consult you; for the number of culprits is so great, as to call for serious consultation. Many persons are informed against, of every age, and both sexes; and more still will be in the same situation. The contagion of the superstition hath spread, not only through cities, but even villages and the country. Not that I think it impossible to check and to correct it. The success of my endeavours hitherto forbids such desponding thoughts; for the temples, once almost desolate, begin to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities, which had long been intermitted, are now attended afresh; and the sacrificial victims are now sold everywhere, which once could scarce find a purchaser. Whence I conclude, that many might be reclaimed were the hope of impunity, on repentance, absolutely confirmed."

The Emperor Trajan's reply to Pliny.

"You have done perfectly right, my dear Pliny, in the inquiry which you have made concerning Christians. For truly no one general rule can be laid down which will apply itself to all cases. These people must not be sought after: if they are brought before you and convicted, let them be capitally punished, yet with this restriction, that if any renounce Christianity, and evidence his sincerity by supplicating our gods, however suspected he may be for the past, he shall obtain pardon for the future, on his repentance. But anonymous libels in no case ought to be attended to; for the precedent would be of the worst sort, and perfectly incongruous to the maxims of my government."

* See Plin. Epist. Lib. x. Ep. 91.

† "The rapidity and extent of the propagation of the gospel were such as to prove its divine origin. On the very first day of its promulgation, three thousand were converted; these soon increased to five thousand. Multitudes, both of men and women, were afterwards daily added to the new religion. Before the end of thirty years, the gospel had spread through Judea, Galilee, Samaria, almost all the numerous districts of Lesser Asia; through Greece, and the Islands of the Ægean Sea, and the sea-coast of Africa, and had passed on to the capital of Italy. Great multitudes believed at Antioch in Syria, at Joppa, Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, Beræa, Iconium, Derbe, Antioch in Pisidia, at Lydda and Saron. Converts also, are mentioned at Tyre, Cæsarea, Troas, Athens, Philippi, Lystra, Damascus. Thus far the sacred narrative conducts us. The religion being thus widely diffused, the New Testament carries us no further. But all ecclesiastical and profane history concurs in describing the rapid progress of the new doctrine. Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, Pliny, Martial, Marcus Aurelius, sufficiently testify the propagation of Christianity."—See Bishop Wilson's Evidences, vol. i. p. 260, 12mo.

Had Christianity been adapted to the depraved inclinations of the human heart; had it flattered men's pride, ambition, and vain-glory; had it promised or secured worldly honour and prosperity; had it been hailed by the great and noble of mankind; had it been supported by human power, and defended by the swords and shields of the earth; had conquering armies been its heralds, and the spoils of enemies its rewards; its success would then have been no mystery, and its triumphs would then have afforded no proof of supernatural interference. But if the reverse of all this was the case; if Christianity had nothing in it to pamper human corruption; nothing to administer to the pride of the human heart; nothing to present to its disciples in the shape of worldly allurement; nothing to draw around it men of high renown; nothing of power to terrify or subdue; nothing to support the courage of its professors but the testimony of a good conscience and the hopes of a better life; what shall be said if after all it triumphed? Yes, if while it opposes itself to all the world it prevail, what shall be said? if in the absence of all the ordinary causes and weapons of success it prevail, what shall be said? Let us look at the facts of this case, and impartially determine if there was any thing merely human in the original agencies of Christianity to account for the results which followed their employment. The *results* are these: the whole Roman empire, in a few short years, was pervaded by the gospel; multitudes of Jews and Pagans were won over to the sincere belief of the facts of Christianity; the very aspects and institutions of society were completely changed and re-modelled by the new doctrine;—the flames of persecution were borne with exemplary fortitude, patience, and forgiveness; the cause triumphed by means of its very disasters; and the power which attempted to crush it at last yielded to its mysterious influence.

Such are the results; and what are the apparent agencies by which they were effected? The doctrine of ONE who was crucified at Jerusalem between two thieves, the preaching of a few illiterate fishermen of Galilee, and the exemplary zeal and consistency of those who ranked themselves as the disciples of the cross.

If, then, the agencies of Christianity were merely human, or if they were nothing more than a system of deliberately adjusted imposture, how comes it to pass that there was so little in the apparent process to account for the effect produced? If all was of man, how did it happen that he constructed a scheme in the very teeth of human prejudice? and, more than this, how did it happen that a scheme so constructed obtained a footing among mankind? Was it so easy a thing to subvert Jewish prejudice, in the very city of Jerusalem, and to silence the oracles of heathenism where they had ruled with despotic sway, that twelve fishermen, just quitting their nets, and determining to become the founders of a new religion, should be deemed equal to the task? Let such a case be imagined to take place in our own age and nation. For if Christianity be not from heaven, nothing forbids the success of such another experiment on the credulity of mankind now any more than formerly. But does any one in his sober senses believe that it would succeed, or that it would produce even any considerable impression? We have had, it is true, occasional excitement produced by certain extravagant persons, but their partial success has mainly depended upon their appeal to the general data of Christianity, and upon their professed adherence to its cardinal doctrines. We might challenge all the philosophers who ever lived to invent or to propagate any imposture answering to the character of Christianity. The thing is impossible. Its facts and its success are solitary examples in the history of our world. Paganism and the religion of the False Prophet have nothing in common with them.* The former accumulated its materials by a progressive departure from all right notions of the moral character of God, and by its marked coincidence with every thing base and polluted in human nature; and the latter was propagated at the edge of the sword, and amidst all those promises of sensual indulgence which are so grateful to a nature prone to the love of sin.—But Christianity stood forth in the spotless purity of its divine Author, and refused to own any as its true disciples who remained under the dominion of their crimes. It assailed men with none of the weapons of human power, but made its triumphant appeal to the understanding and the heart. It boasted of no earthly patronage; but went forth in a secret and hidden power, which was "mighty to the pulling down of strong holds." All weakness in its exterior agencies, it became "the wisdom of God, and the power of God to the salvation" of thousands and tens of thousands who embraced its merciful provisions. It changed the very face of society, and effected revolutions in the manners, customs, and laws of mankind, which all other systems had failed to achieve. It is unphilosophical in the highest degree to trace its early prevalence to the mere influence of ordinary and secondary causes. There is no problem of the world's history bearing the least resemblance to it. The experience of mankind supplies no illustration of any thing like the successes of Christianity springing from mere human instrumentality, whether well or ill directed. Must men then acknowledge a miracle in their zeal to get rid of a miraculous history? This is indeed very preposterous; but it is nevertheless the condition to which those reduce themselves who would attempt to account for the mighty revolution produced by Christianity upon mere natural principles. They discard the doctrine of miracles, they repudiate the testimony by which the miraculous facts of the Gospel are handed down to mankind; but they call upon their disciples to believe, without a title of evidence, that the fishermen of Galilee could have done all that they did, and that Christianity could have gained all its conquests, without the slightest aid from heaven, nay, though imposture and deception were written on the entire undertaking. We demand of them an illustrative example, and we are sure that they cannot produce it. In the absence, then, of all experience to guide our course, and in opposition to all enlightened calculations of what human agency can effect, in certain given instances, we are called upon by infidels to believe that the early successes of Christianity might be traced to the operation of secondary causes.* To the mind of any unprejudiced person, this will present all the startling difficulty of a miracle, without any of that credible testimony by which alone a miracle can be shown to have taken place.

It is nothing short of an insult offered to my understanding, first to point me to the great moral and intellectual revolution which was produced by Christianity, within a very short period of the death of its founder, and then to assign as its sole cause, the zeal, energy, and talent of the fishermen of Galilee; and the credulity, love of novelty, and versatility which obtain among mankind.

Upon every sceptical theory, the early triumphs of the gospel are not only unaccounted for, but totally unaccountable. Such a change was never wrought by mere human means.

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* "No religion, purely as a religion," observes Dr. Wilson, the present Bishop of Calcutta, "was ever propagated but the Christian. Heathenism was never a matter of dissemination or conversion. It had no creed, no origin distinct from the corrupt traces of a remote fabulous antiquity. It was a creature of human mould, contrived for the sake of human legislation. The Greeks and Romans imposed it not on their subject nations. Mahomedanism was the triumph of the sword. Conquest, not religious faith, was its manifest object; rapine, violence, and bloodshed were its credentials.

"No religion was ever attempted to be spread through the world by the means of instruction and persuasion, with an authority of its own, but Christianity. The idea never came into the mind of man to propagate a religion having for its set design and exclusive object the enlightening of mankind with a doctrine professedly divine, till Christianity said to her disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." See "the Evidences of Christianity stated, &c. &c," in two vols. 12mo. Second edition, pp. 259, 260.

* The reader will perceive that the author has not taken any distinct notice of Gibbon's attempt to trace the success of Christianity to the influence of second causes. The reason is simply this, that he deemed it better to pursue the argument without encumbering it by any specific reference to the special pleadings and inconclusive reasonings of that great but unhappy day. The objections, however, have been met, though they have not been alluded to; and, indeed, it is a matter of just surprise that arguments so weak and futile should have ever been raised to the notoriety of a grave refutation. Those who wish to see this sceptical philosopher exhibited in his proper light, are recommended to read the Rev. A. Reed's discourse on "The Evidence of Revelation derived from the success of the Gospel." See Note, p. 182.

The entire experience of the race, and all the great facts of history, combine to show the utter irrationality of supposing that a few obscure fishermen and mechanics could have baffled all the wisdom of the wise, brought to nothing the counsel of the prudent, and levelled in the dust the mightiest fabrics of superstition and vice.

But when we admit the doctrine of a supernatural influence, according to the distinct announcements of Christianity itself, we are reminded of a cause adequate to produce the effects witnessed. Then we wonder not that the weakest instruments should prevail, that disaster should lead to triumph, and that the blood of the martyrs should be the seed of the church. If the mighty power of God was with the apostles, no wonder that thousands and tens of thousands should become obedient to their message. If the quickening energy of the living Spirit was seen, on the one hand, in external signs and wonders, rendering all gainsayers inexcusable; and, on the other, in inward, powerful, and all-subduing movements of the heart and conscience, what wonder was it if the congregated multitudes of Pentecoste trembled, repented, and turned to God; and if the Pagan world responded to the mighty and gracious impulse? By the nature of the facts to be accounted for, then, no less than by the actual data of Christianity, are we driven to the conclusion, that there was an interior and hidden but all controlling power, which accompanied and rendered effectual the first propagation of Christianity, which has watched over it from age to age, and which occasions all its success and all its blessed influence in the day in which we live. I conclude this branch of evidence in the language of an eloquent living author:—"Here is a religious system, denominated Christian, which enters the world at a most inauspicious period, supposing it to be an imposture. It has not one principle in common with the religions which then prevailed. It is attempted to be propagated by a few persons who are signally disqualified for the undertaking, and are hated of all nations. It is opposed, from the very first, by Jew and Gentile, and chiefly by those who had most power and influence in their hands. Moreover, this religion is hostile to human opinion, human prejudice, human interest, human nature; and this is apparent from the admitted nature of man and the avowed principles of the gospel, as well as from the facts, that when men have been induced to adopt the Christian name, they have remained at enmity to the Christian faith, and that there has been, in every age, a predominant disposition to misunderstand and misrepresent, to pervert and degrade it. Yet has this religion been propagated over the earth with a facility altogether unparalleled by any art or science. Yet has it found a place for itself in many a mind and country, to which the simplest mathematical demonstrations are at this moment unsolved problems.

"What is the conclusion? It is—it must be this—that the religion of Christ could not have been propagated by any *earthly power*—that it could not have been propagated by any *mere external agency* of Providence—that it could have been propagated *only* by a *spiritual* and *supernatural* influence addressed to the perceptions and affections of men,—and therefore that the religion of Christ is DIVINE, and its propagation through all ages is a DISTINCT, INDEPENDENT, and SPEAKING EVIDENCE of its DIVINITY."*

5. *The Evidence derived from a survey of the moral and social benefits conferred on mankind by Christianity.*

This branch of evidence may be treated, like the preceding one, as a question simply of fact. For if it can be shown that Christianity has done more than all other causes combined to augment the resources of man's present enjoyment; if it can be shown that it has heightened, to an almost inconceivable degree, all the social virtues; if it can be shown that human nature has risen to an unheard-of elevation under its benign auspices, it will follow, as by resistless consequence, after all the fruitless experiments of Greece and Rome, that it owes its origin to the Fountain of all wisdom and benevolence.

It is a fact, then, that "the world by wisdom" never reformed itself. For the space of four thousand years effort after effort was made, but without avail, to reduce mankind to some standard of obedience, and to rescue them from the dominion of selfishness and crime. This process of renovation was attempted in the fairest portions of the globe, and amidst all the advantages of the highest intellectual cultivation. It was tried in the heart of Europe and Asia, when philosophy and arts had reached their greatest eminence, and when the human mind had been nurtured in the schools to prodigious greatness. In a thousand forms the task of bettering man's moral condition had been tried, but without even the shadow of success. Many of the precepts, indeed, of the heathen philosophers were good; but the motives urged by them were sometimes absurd, often vicious, and always powerless upon the great mass of the people. Their own standard of morals, in not a few instances, was glaringly defective; and as it respected the community at large, the theories of the schools did not so much as reach even the outward ear.

In all their pomp and magnificence, when poetry, and painting, and statuary, and arms, and empire had reached the very zenith of their glory, Greece and Rome were as little purged from crime and moral degradation as were the savage hoards of the north, who, in wild fury, broke in upon the empress of the world's destiny. The extreme of refinement, and the extreme of moral turpitude, met on the same theatre, and in the same actors. A base and monstrous idolatry every where prevailed, and every where associated itself with crimes which are reserved in Christian countries for the worst of men, and for the most hidden recesses of the basest and most degraded of mankind. "It is a shame even to speak of those things which were done of them in secret." The very temples of the gods were the dwelling-places of sin. There virgin innocence was sacrificed at the shrine of the most scandalous lusts; there human victims were immolated upon the blood-stained altars of a vile and unmeaning idolatry; and there every species of impurity and heartless cruelty received the sanction of a priesthood whose hands reeked with blood, and whose hearts were steeped in impenitence and covetous desire.

It is a fact, too, that all other nations have shown the same propensities, and have been distinguished by the same moral habits as Greece and Rome. It might have been supposed, indeed, that they would have been much more vicious; and that in proportion as they receded from the schools of philosophy, and from the sphere of the arts, they would put on a hue of pollution far deeper and more hideous. This, however, is by no means the case. The crimes of classic antiquity have never been exceeded in the African hoard, or in the Polynesian wild. Idolatry, human sacrifice, polygamy, female degradation, have every where abounded in heathen lands; while there stands not upon the record of this world's history one solitary instance of a nation rising, by its own energy, from the worship of false gods, or from the moral debasement and crimes which it uniformly involves.

It is a fact, too, that Christianity did operate, and still continues to operate, a wondrous change upon the state of society. This change it produced, at first, by means the most unlikely. By preaching salvation through the cross of Christ, the first heralds of Messiah's kingdom, though individuals comparatively obscure, brought about a revolution of public opinion and of outward manners such as had never been the result of any preceding attempt to enlighten and to purify mankind. In all the heathen provinces of the Roman empire, and in the very capital itself, idolatry was every where laid aside or proscribed. The oracles of paganism were silenced by the living oracles of God; and the horrid practices of the temples and the groves were exchanged for the decent solemnities of Christian worship, and for the sober and virtuous habits of Christian citizens. At Athens, and Corinth, and Ephesus, and, indeed, all the chief cities of heathen antiquity, the doctrine of Christ was the instrument of changing and remodelling the whole frame-work of society. Wherever it reached, it meliorated human life; and wherever it was actually embraced, it ennobled and purified individual character. The limits of Christianity have been, from its first propagation to the present moment, the boundary wall beyond which idolatry has not dared, in its direct forms, to pass. It has raised the standard of public morals above the most favoured models of pagan antiquity, not excepting those even of the far-famed kingdoms of Sparta and Syracuse. Where Christianity has waved her triumphant banner, she has given birth to a state of things altogether new. The worship of dumb idols* in every palpable shape, she has utterly abolished; the cruel and bloody rites which were practised for ages and generations under the auspices of the gods of heathenism, have been laid aside at her enlightened and benevolent call; the shameless, and even murderous, sports of the Colisseum she has frowned into total annihilation; the destruction of slaves and of female children finds no sanction where her voice of mercy is distinctly heard; the depreciation of the rights which belong to woman is no where countenanced beneath the mild sway of the gospel; the abominations of polygamy and capricious divorce are but little felt in any Christian state; the vassalage of domestic slavery has ceased to foster tyranny on the one hand, and ignoble baseness on the other;[*] the direful practice of private assassination,[†] by the dagger or by the poisoned bowl, finds no advocates in countries upon which the religion of Christ has exerted its beneficial tendency; the horrors of war, great as they must ever be, are mitigated in a tenfold degree under the generous dictation of the gospel; the poor, the aged and the afflicted are treated with a degree of consideration in Christian countries altogether unknown in pagan lands; and all the rights of property and of personal safety are guaranteed, with a degree of precision, in nations blessed with the light of revealed truth, to which Rome, in all the glory of empire, never attained.

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* See a Discourse by the Rev. A. Reed, on "The Evidences of Revelation derived from the success of the Gospel," in a Volume entitled "Lectures on some of the Principal Evidences of Revelation, delivered at the Monthly Meetings, &c." pp. 225, 226.

* The idolatry of the Church of Rome, though practised under the Christian name, is of common origin with that of the Pantheon, and can be no less hateful in the sight of God.

All this is matter of fact, which no one who wishes his understanding to be respected will venture for a moment to deny. So palpably, indeed, is it such, that the traveller, blind-folded, may be able to tell when he passes from Christian territories into pagan lands. The heathen world was one vast theatre of crime, relieved, indeed, by here and there some heroic example of virtuous conduct, but sunk as a whole into the abyss of moral putridity and vice. But when Christianity arose in the East, like some bright and glorious luminary, it dispelled the darkness of the pagan world, and, in little more than two centuries from the time of its first publication, it shivered to atoms the whole system of idol worship, reconstructed the entire fabric of society, introduced new maxims of government and of personal conduct, changed the manners and habits of mankind, drove vice from its ancient lurking places, shut the temples of the gods, abolished the sacrifices of an idolatrous priesthood, and made the hopes and fears of immortality the governing principles of thousands and tens of thousands of the human race.

Whence, then, sprung the power of a triumph so great, so speedy, and so benignant?—a triumph which proclaimed peace on earth, and good will to men; a triumph bloodless and serene; a triumph which delivered such a large portion of the human race from the vassalage of the most cruel and abominable idolatries; a triumph which issued in a melioration in all the social relations of man which the wisdom of this world could never produce? Whence, I ask, sprung the power of such a triumph? Not from man assuredly; for it was unlike all the other manifestations of his mental character; and it was followed by such benign and holy results that it stood solitary and alone upon the page of this world's history. Nor was there any thing whatever in its origin to indicate the wisdom of man. Had man constructed a scheme of moral renovation, it would have been introduced to the notice of his fellow-creatures in a way very different from that in which Christianity began its auspicious career. Let two considerations then fully possess the mind, and it will be impossible to resist the conclusion, that Christianity is from heaven. In the *first place*, recollect that of all agencies that could be contemplated, the first heralds of the cross were the least likely to succeed in the proposed undertaking of converting the world; and, in the *second place*, bear in mind, as a matter of fact, that in spite of prejudice, in spite of a huge system of idolatry, in spite of all interest and power and terror, they did succeed in such manner as never before had been known; and in doing so changed the whole face of society, purified all the springs of human action, established the reign of peace and happiness, drove idolatry from the high places of the earth, and to the full extent of their triumph, paved the way for the realization of another paradise.

The power which scattered so much darkness, and which spread so much light; which wrought a change on mankind so pure and beneficial; which diffused such a mass of happiness, and checked such a mighty current of misery; which, like an electric shock, blasted and withered all the ancient fabrics of idolatry, and on their ruins erected a system of doctrine and a form of worship which promised and yielded peace and joy and happiness to all the dwellers upon earth, such a power as this could only have emanated from that throne from which issued originally the high behests of creation.

And, O! if a triumph which can yet only be regarded as partial, affords such intimation of the benevolent interposition of the Infinite Mind, what an evidence of the divine origin of Christianity will be supplied to mankind when its moral transformations are complete, when all nations are subjected to its righteous sway, when its disciples shall drink more deeply into its pure and benignant spirit, when that blessed influence which is now partial shall be universal, and when the church of the living God, vocal with his praise, shall reflect with sweetest lustre the radiance of his moral image.

Great as were the first triumphs of the gospel, there can be no doubt but that greater triumphs yet await its peaceful heralds. In the morning of its strength it subdued the Roman empire, and stood confessed the prevailing religion of the civilized world; but the time is fast approaching when it shall be proclaimed the religion of the whole earth, and when the mighty changes it shall work in the opinions, manners, and hopes of mankind, shall compel the most thoughtless of a rebellious race to exclaim, "this is the finger of God!" Then when "the people shall be all righteous," and when the Spirit of God shall be "poured out upon all flesh," shall it be seen that Christianity is the balm of bleeding hearts, the parent of peace and good will, and the angel of God's mercy to heal all the miseries and vices of an apostate race.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Transmission of the Sacred Books.

Though Christianity be a divine religion, it may be possible, in the lapse of ages, that the record which discloses its leading doctrines and facts has undergone some serious mutilation. Is this or is it not the case? This is an important inquiry, and it admits of an easy and satisfactory reply; a reply which must carry conviction to every candid mind as to the genuineness, authenticity, and incorruptness of the Sacred Books.

That they were written by the men whose names they bear is a thing quite as well established as that the Æneid was composed by Virgil, the Iliad by Homer, and the Cyropædia by Xenophon. The very *literary* character of the Old and New Testament Scriptures would go far to prove that they are genuine productions. They exhibit a diversity of style, which shows that they were written by various authors, and they display an idiomatic peculiarity corresponding to the ages and circumstances in which they were written. Thus, in the Pantateuch we meet with a slight mixture of Egyptian words, as might be expected if Moses was the writer; while in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, there is a considerable infusion of Chaldee and Persian, connecting them beyond all reasonable doubt with a period in Jewish history subsequent to the Babylonish captivity. If, moreover, we turn to the New Testament, we find its several parts written in a species of Greek partaking largely of Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Latin words and phrases, a circumstance exactly answering to all that might have been anticipated upon the supposition that men in the precise condition of the Evangelists and Apostles had furnished their contents.

Nor is it within the range of probability to imagine for a moment that the sacred books are forgeries. If they are, then they must have been palmed upon the world by persons whose imposture could not be detected. But how could this occur in the matter of giving currency to the records of a public faith? Take, for instance, the Books of the Old Testament Scriptures. If they are not genuine productions, I ask who were the parties concerned in the iniquitous forgery? It could not be the men of heathen antiquity, for they w perfectly acquainted with the national peculiarities and rites of the Hebrews; and were not likely, moreover, to stamp the seal of their approbation upon records which accredited the posterity of Abraham as God's peculiar people, and condemned the whole Gentile world as sunk in a state of idolatry and crime. It could not be the followers of Christ, for it is matter of undoubted historical certainty that the Scriptures of the Jews existed many centuries before the Christian name was ever heard of. It could not be the Jews themselves, for never was there a more uncompromising exposure of the crimes, idolatries, and righteous chastisements of a rebellious and guilty nation than that which they contain.

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[*] In ancient Attica there were 450,000 inhabitants, out of which population only 40,000 are said to have been free. It is a dreadful blot upon the character of this country, that still she permits *eight hundred thousand* British subjects to be bought and sold, in the colonies, at the will of their masters. Christians should combine, as such, and seek the immediate removal from the land of this crying sin. Alas! that any of the American states should be found, to this day, engaged in the slave traffic! Surely the word *liberty* must freeze upon the tongues of such Americans, and surely Christianity itself can be known among them only as a name!

[†] It was no uncommon thing for a Roman prætor to convict, in one short season, in Italy, *three or four thousand* individuals for the crime of private assassination; and among these, husbands were often condemned for the secret murder of their wives in order to obtain their dowry; and wives for the murder of their husbands in order to secure a union to the miscreants who had seduced them from the paths of virtue.

If we look at the New Testament, it is equally unreasonable to suppose that it is not a genuine production, and that it was not actually written by the men to whom it is attributed. Unbelieving Jews and Gentiles were happily, in this instance, the guardians of revelation; for as they were equally opposed to the doctrine of Him whom they had combined to crucify, and as they were both zealous in persecuting all who ranked themselves as his humble and devoted followers, it stands to reason, that if the records of the Christian faith had not been genuine narratives of facts, furnished by the very men who assume to be the writers, the dishonest effort would have been detected and exposed, and the whole world, and all succeeding generations, would have been warned against the iniquitous attempt to originate a history not founded in fact.

The genuineness of the Books of Scripture was never called in question by friends or enemies. From the earliest periods of the Jewish history downwards, the Hebrews regarded their sacred Books as their peculiar treasure, and associated them all with their several authors and ages; and, in like manner, the Christians, from the apostolic age to the present moment, have had a regular succession of writers, who have quoted and authenticated, in various ways, the Books which compose the New Testament canon. It is an interesting fact that Celsus, and Porphyry, and Julian, and an endless race of heretics, combine with the apostolic and Christian fathers, Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius, in accrediting the Books of Scripture as genuine productions. The most inveterate opponents of revelation have been compelled to admit the fact that the Bible is no forgery.

Nor is there the slightest reason to suspect that the Scriptures have undergone any material alteration, or that they are not now in the same condition in which they were when they came from Moses and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles. To say that the original Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of the Bible, or that the ancient versions and translations, had not been deviated from in a single particular, would be to assume a position too lofty. In the process of transcribing some thousands of copies, before the art of printing was discovered, letters and syllables, and even words, without the intervention of a miracle, must have been left out. But that there has been any serious or fraudulent omission or interpolation, or that any one doctrine has been added or subtracted, cannot be shown by any enemy of revelation, and need not be apprehended by any humble-minded or unlettered Christian.

As it respects the Old Testament Scriptures, it is a well-established fact that the Jews were their faithful guardians. They were often employed, indeed, in the act of transcribing them, but so strict were they in comparing the copies with the originals, that they numbered both the words and letters. That the Jews never altered their sacred Books is triumphantly proved by the fact that neither their own prophets nor Jesus Christ, though they laid many a heavy charge at their door, ever once intimated that they were guilty of such mutilation. The Great Teacher, indeed, told them, with the utmost fidelity, that they had made void "The commandment of God by their traditions," but he never insinuates that they had corrupted the Sacred Books. "It is one of the wonders of providence, that God, for the preservation of these books, should make use of that scrupulous, and I might say, almost superstitious, care that was among those Jews whose office it was to keep the Books of the Old Testament."* Among the *one thousand one hundred and fifty* manuscripts and versions of the Old Testament which are still extant, there is an essential agreement, an agreement most wonderful and striking, showing, beyond all conjecture or doubt, the uncorrupted preservation of these precious records.

Nor is the protection less manifest which has been spread over the books of the New Testament. The early multiplication of copies, together with the several translations into foreign tongues, rendered any serious deviation from the original manuscripts utterly impossible. Besides, in the course of one century from the period of Christ's resurrection, the gospel was spread over the greater part of the Lesser Asia, and over many portions of Africa and Europe; so that if any of the early Christians, in any particular district of the world, had attempted to alter or mutilate the sacred books, it would have been impossible that they should have escaped detection among the many disciples of Christ spread over other sections of the globe.

The early heresis, too, which sprung up among the professed followers of Jesus, rendered the corruption of the sacred books next to an impossibility. "That passage of the apostle," observes the immortal Howe, "is not greatly enough pondered according to the weightiness of the expression, that *there must be heresies*. This great use that hath been of the divisions in Christian churches, is not, it may be, considered as it should be by many. But nothing can carry a clearer evidence and demonstration with it than that, because of those divisions, any depravation of the said records (that is, any material, general, successful, continued depravation) is altogether impossible; because the one party would be continually declaiming and crying out against the other; and then how would it be espied?"*

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* See John Howe's Lectures on the oracles of God. Works, one vol. imperial octavo, *just published*, p. 1075. The whole passage referred to is as follows: "It was known they used to count all the letters of the Old Testament, that they might be sure never to miss a letter. Again, in transcribing copies, (which was frequent,) every copy was always examined by an appointed number of their wise men, as they termed them. Further, if any copy should have been [illegible]pon examination, to have four or five faults in it, in one copy [illegible]e Old Testament, that book was presently adjudged to be buried in the grave of one or other of their wise men. And, lastly, for those books that, upon examination, were found to be punctually true, it was very plain from the history of those times, that there was the greatest reverence paid to them imaginable. They never used to touch those perfect copies (taking them into their hands) without kissing them solemnly, nor to lay them down again without solemn kissing of them. They were never used to sit upon the place where one of those books were wont to be laid. If one of them by casualty fell to the ground, they appointed a solemn fast to be kept for it, as an ill-boding thing, that such a thing should happen. So that it is most plain that these keepers of the Books of the Old Testament could never have it in design to corrupt any of them; but it was that which they did abhor above all things. And it was a principle (as Philo tells us, and Josephus much to the same purpose) instilled into the youth of that nation, and even those of the best quality, that they should run the utmost hazard, and incur a thousand deaths, rather than they should suffer any alteration or diminution of those books, or that any of them should be lost in any other way. And then, besides all this scrupulous care of the keepers of the books of the Old Testament (with which a design of corrupting would no way consist), we may add, that the thing itself was afterwards impossible. If they would before, when it was in their own hands, they could; but afterwards, if they would, they could not; because that in Christ and his apostles' days, a great number of them were converted to the Christian faith, who knew all the Books of the Old Testament as well as themselves. Therefore, it was impossible now for the Infidel Jews, those that were not converted, to make any alteration but it must be presently spied and exclaimed against; therefore it was a vain thing for any to attempt it, after so many were converted to the Christian religion. And thereupon we may further add, that the testimonies that were contained in these books against themselves, and with which contained in them they are transmitted to us, do show that they never went about to corrupt them. The many testimonies against idolatry contained in these books, whereby their forefathers from age to age, for many ages, were witnessed against, would have induced them to expunge all things that were therein contained against idolatry (so tender were they of their reputation), if there had not been a great awe upon their minds never to attempt the corrupting or the alteration of any thing in those books. The wickedness of their forefathers was, in these books, so highly remonstrated against, in respect of the testimonies they so often gave against their idolatry, and yet these books we find in their own hands, with these testimonies in them, against the Jews and their forefathers, for many foregoing ages, through sundry times and divers intervals, though we do not find after the second temple that people relapsed into that crime. And then there is the fullest testimony against their infidelity in these books that can be. Who would not wonder that these books should come out of the hands of the Jews, with these testimonies, in the great controversy between the Christians and them? that is, of Christ being the Messiah, in which you have so punctual assertions against them that nothing can be more. Those many testimonies that do concern the Messiah, particularly that famous prophecy, that the sceptre should not depart from Judah till Shilo should come, and those numerous presages in many of the latter prophets, (Isaiah especially, and sundry others,) make it one of the greatest wonders of Providence that such a book should come, with these things in it, out of men's hands, against whom they are a continual remonstrance. But, however, this proves that they did never design any alteration; either they saw it impossible for one while, and before that, they had no inclination or inducement that would be prevailing with them to go about it, that is, that there should be an alteration with design."

Indeed, it may be safely affirmed, that the Christians were never charged by their bitterest enemies with the crime of mutilating their Scriptures, and that these sacred records have suffered less from transcribers, copyists, and translators, than any other documents of a remote antiquity.

"It is true, that in translations, persons have laboured to serve their own purposes, by translating this way and that, as they thought fit. But for alteration of copies, that is what never entered into the mind of any body to attempt; which is a thing so easily spied out, that nothing is more so; and so must needs blast and dissever the cause and interest of that party it was designed to serve, and therefore could never be. And the impossibility of any such alteration it is easy for any man that useth his understanding to apprehend from a similar instance. And thus, do but take any one people that are under the same government, and that have their laws, by which they are governed, digested into some system or other; as, for instance, our statute book; why, suppose very ill-minded men in the nation should have a design to corrupt and alter the statute-book, every one would see it to be impossible. Which way would they go to work to impose a false statute book upon a nation, wherein every man's right and property is concerned? And if any such should have such a design, they would soon give it up, as finding it impossible, and a thing not to be done, and therefore a vain thing to attempt. But the difficulty is a thousand times greater of making designed alteration of those sacred books and records that are spread so unspeakably further than a nation, and wherein the concernments of all that have them in their hands are recorded, not temporal only, but eternal. Here is their all for eternity, another world! So that it must be altogether impossible that there could have been such a thing effected; and therefore it is the most unlikely thing that such a matter should ever be attempted. And then, I say, if there be that plain evidence, that for that reason these books must be the same, that they cannot have been altered with design, and consequently not materially, then it were the most unreasonable thing in all the world to expect that God could confirm it to us otherwise than he hath done, or that the nature of the thing doth admit of it; because, otherwise there must have been miracles wrought for every one to see and take notice of, nay, that would altogether loose the usefulness and significancy of miracles themselves, because it would make miracles so common in such a case. If every man must have a miracle to prove to him this is God's word, it would take off that particular thing for which they are only significant with men, that is, because they are rare and extraordinary things, and then they would cease to be so. It might as well be expected that every man should have a Bible reached him down by an invisible hand from heaven, as that there should be a miracle wrought to prove to him that this was the same book that was so and so confirmed and sealed in our Saviour's and his apostles' time.—And therefore I reckon that, upon the grounds that have been laid, it is very plain both that these books that were extant under the name of Scriptures in our Saviour's and his apostles' time, were of divine authority, and that the books that we now have in our hands, are the same with those books, and therefore are of divine authority."†

It is, then, a most animating consideration, that, by a variety of striking providences, it hath pleased Almighty God to preserve to us unmutilated and uncorrupted the very records which the first Christians held to be divine, and upon the doctrines and principles of which they were ready, in the midst, of the greatest dangers, to repose their eternal all. It is highly consolatory to those who have but little time and few advantages for research to be informed, upon the most indubitable evidence, that in their English Bibles they have the same precious document which was read in the first assemblies of the Christian church; and that, in the multiplication of manuscripts and translations, no serious or important alteration has been obtruded into the sacred text. For this fact let the humble and devout Christian bless God; and, in the contemplation of it, let the rejecter of Revelation pause and tremble, lest peradventure he should be found fighting against God.

Let this chapter be fairly weighed in connexion with what has been previously advanced on the subject of the evidences of our holy faith, and let him who still doubts say within himself—"Wherefore do I doubt?" To such a solemn interrogatory, conscience may perhaps supply the ready and faithful response,—"How can you but doubt, while sin is blinding your perceptions and hardening your heart?"

CHAPTER V.

On the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

Having glanced at the evidence which supports the conclusion that the Bible is a Revelation from God, and having, moreover, ascertained that the books of Scripture have been transmitted to us in a pure and unadulterated form, it may now be proper to inquire into the true nature of inspiration, and to endeavour to determine to what extent the sacred volume is entitled to the high and distinctive appellation of—"THE WORD OF GOD."

The importance of this question is very great, for upon its answer must depend the degree of deference which is due to the Scriptures as an authoritative communication from Heaven. It is a question which cannot be decided, I presume, by any arguments *a priori*, but by a direct appeal to the testimony of the infallible word. The real nature of inspiration, as belonging to the writers of Scripture, is a doctrine purely of Revelation; and the only duty of a sincere inquirer in reference to it must be simply this, to ascertain for himself what is predicated or announced concerning it in the word of God.

With this conviction on my mind, I shall not trouble my readers with any lengthened details of what others have advanced on the subject of inspiration, but shall come almost immediately to the point in hand, viz., *the doctrine of Scripture, as to the manner in which it was imparted.*

I must just be allowed, however, to premise, that writers of the Socinian creed have so relaxed their notions of inspiration as to talk even of the inconclusive reasonings of apostles; and that others, not of this pernicious creed, have spoken and written about *degrees* and *kinds* of inspiration until they have inadvertently weakened, on their own minds, and on the minds of others, the authority of God in the Scriptures. I would have all such writers remember, that these modified views of inspiration are of modern date, and that for full sixteen hundred years they were unknown in the church of Christ. "Many considerable writers on the evidences of Christianity, of late, have satisfied themselves with proving its divine authority generally, but have tacitly, and most inconsistently, given up or denied the infallibility of the books in which it is recorded. They speak of authenticity, veracity, credibility; but not inspiration. Some have limited the assistance of the Spirit to the prophetical parts. Others have extended it to the doctrinal, but excluded the historical. Whilst many have lowered the whole notion of inspiration to a mere aid occasionally afforded to the sacred penmen. Thus the impression left on the minds of their readers has been, that the Bible is authentic indeed, and credible, and contains a revelation from God; but that it was indited by good and pious men only, with little more of accuracy than would belong to them as faithful historians. An intermixture of human infirmity and error is thus by no means excluded; and the scriptures are considered as the work of fallible writers, doing their best, and entitled in all their main statements to full belief, but not under that immediate and plenary influence of the Holy Spirit, which renders all they say concerning religion, the unerring word of God."*

Most ruinous to the souls of men must be such views of the blessed word of God, and most derogatory are they to that Spirit, who has not given so much as a shadow of countenance, in the sacred books, to such vague and sceptical notions. We ought to be jealous, not only of such latitudinarian views of inspiration, but also of every approach to them. For my own part, after much deliberation, and I trust careful and unprejudiced examination of the arguments of opponents, I have come to the conclusion, not only that the ideas contained in scripture were conveyed by the Spirit to the minds of inspired men, but that they were supernaturally guided in their diction and in their writings. I shall not, however, bring this theory to the word of God, to seek countenance for it there; but shall rather call the attention of my readers to the word of God itself, that they may thence gather the true notion of inspiration.

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* Howe's Works, in one vol., p. 1076.

† Ibid.

* See Bishop Wilson's Lectures on "The Evidences," &c. 12mo, vol. i. p. 314.

I begin, then, with that part of scripture which was included in the Jewish canon, and which is known by the name of the Old Testament. And if it can be shown that the infallible Teacher, whose divine mission has already been clearly established, fully accredits the divine authority, and the infallible character of that document, considered as a whole, and without a single recognised exception, an important step will have been gained towards ascertaining the perfection of the Jewish canon, and also the real nature and extent of inspiration.

At an early stage in his public ministry, the Messiah announced, to an immense assembly of his countrymen, his views and determinations respecting their ancient Scriptures: "Think not," said he, "that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Every attentive reader of the New Testament must have discovered that the phrase "the law and the prophets" denotes the sacred books of the Jews; and every unprejudiced reader must perceive that the Saviour in this declaration recognises them as an infallible standard, by which he was willing that his own pretensions should be rigidly tried.

On another occasion he charges those who reject him with not having the word of God abiding in them, because they believed not in him whom God the Father had sent to them; and then he immediately adds—"Search the Scriptures; for in them ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me." "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me." Here are several things to be noticed. In the first place, the Scriptures of the Jews, which did not abide in them through their unbelief, are distinctly recognised as *the word of God.* In the second place, they are appealed to as a testimony from God concerning Christ, rendering all those Jews inexcusable who rejected him. And, in the third place, they are spoken of emphatically as *the writings*, evidently including them all, and leaving no room to dispute the divine origin of their diction any more than the doctrines they contained.

On many occasions, Jesus spake of the sacred books of the Jews as divinely authoritative writings. "He that believeth on me, as the *Scripture* hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." "If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the *Scripture* cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God." "Jesus saith unto them, did ye never read in the *Scriptures*, the stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?" "Jesus answered and said unto them, ye do err, not knowing *the Scriptures.*" "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall *the Scriptures* be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" "I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and ye took me not: but *the Scriptures* must be fulfilled." Now what are we to gather from this species of reference? Why, two things—*first*, that there is not the shadow of a doubt upon the inspiration of any part of a document to which the infallible Teacher made such implicit and authoritative allusion; and, *second*, that simply considered *as writings*, the books thus referred to are the product of God's immediate inspiration. Where is there any thing like a surmise that there is not as much authority in the *writings* as in the *thoughts* and *ideas* which they convey?

To the testimony of our Lord may be added that of his Apostles, who bore his commission, and who wrought stupendous miracles in his name. "All Scripture," said Paul to Timothy, "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, &c." Now, granting that the rendering of Grotius, "*all divinely inspired Scripture is even profitable, &c.*" is the correct one, it is perfectly clear that the context mainly, if not exclusively, restricts the Apostle's declaration to the Old Testament Scriptures,—those sacred writings which Timothy had known from his infancy. The whole Scripture, in the knowledge of which this young evangelist had been trained, is here said to be given by inspiration of God; that is, breathed by him into the minds of those holy men who were divinely and infallibly gifted to hand it forth to the church.

The Apostle Peter, when speaking of the office and end of prophecy, as "a light that shineth in a dark place," asserts, that "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." I cannot help thinking that an unprejudiced expositor would regard this as a distinct affirmation of the inspiration of the prophecies, both as it respects their matter and manner. As to their matter, they were not the result of any private *impulse;*[*] and as to their manner, "holy men *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The prophets are also represented, by the same Apostle, as "searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." From this passage it is plain that the prophets did not always, nor even frequently, understand the import of their own predictions; from which it may be inferred, with indubitable certainty, that the words in which they were couched, no less than the thoughts which they contained, were imparted by the Spirit of God; for surely they could not have been trusted with the diction and verbiage of a communication which confessedly they did not understand.

It is upon this same principle that we find the Old Testament Scriptures styled "the Oracles of God," and "the lively oracles;" to indicate, doubtless, that they were given forth by God himself. Hence the following expressions—"Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was *spoken of the Lord*, by the prophet." "How then doth David, *in spirit*, call him Lord?" "For David himself saith *by the Holy Ghost.*" "As he *spake* by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began." "Which the *Holy Ghost spake* by the mouth of David." "*He saith* (that is God) *also* in another Psalm, thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." "Well *spake the Holy Ghost*, by Esaias the prophet, unto our fathers." "Wherefore, as *the Holy Ghost saith*, to-day if you will hear his voice."

Now all this corresponds with what we find in the Old Testament Scriptures themselves. Take the case of Moses, the great prophet and lawgiver of Israel, and the inspired author of the Pentateuch. When he was commanded to go to Pharaoh, and to lead forth the people of Israel, he entreated that he might be excused from the performance of a task for which he deemed himself so utterly unqualified. His sense of weakness was, in a high degree, proper; but his refusal to go, when God had assured him that he would be "with him," evinced great want of faith. God reproved him for his sinful timidity, and said to him, "Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the Lord? Now, therefore, go, *and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.*" The leader of Israel again repeats his difficulty, and again receives a similar reply. At last his scruples are overcome by the feeling of supernatural aid, and ever after his addresses to the chosen tribes are couched in terms indicative of their immediate divine origin—"Thus saith the Lord,"—"These are the words which the Lord hath commanded, that ye should do them." Had he not been conscious that the inspiration under which he wrote extended to his words as well as thoughts, would he have adopted the phraseology attributed to him in the following passages?—"Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep these commandments of the Lord your God which I command you." "And these words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." "Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in you soul, and bind them for a sign upon your head that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them to your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates."

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[*] Dr. Doddridge's paraphrase is as follows:—"*Knowing this first*, as a matter of chief importance, *that no prophecy of Scripture is of private impulse,*" or original: "*For prophecy was not brought of old* to the minds of those that uttered it *by the will of man;* they could not work themselves up to the attainment of this extraordinary gift, nor divinely foretell what they themselves desired, and whenever they pleased; *but holy men of God*, whom he honoured with that important work, *spake* [*as they were*] *borne on by the Holy Spirit;* and they were only his organs in declaring to the people what he was disposed to suggest to them."

In like manner all the prophets represent their entire communications as from God; they all address themselves to the people, "Thus saith the Lord," and some of them, as in the case of Elijah to Ahab, personate the Diety, and utter his threatenings as if they were their own: "Behold I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity;" this was the voice, indeed, of Elijah, but the speaker was God. Hence the word of the Lord is said again and again to come to the prophets, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel says, "The spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue."

It may, indeed, be said that, though in the prophetical and doctrinal parts of the Old Testament Scriptures the sacred writers were under the influence of a full and verbal inspiration, this could not be necessary in furnishing the historical parts of the word of God. Now, this is a distinction which is never once made, to the best of my recollection, in the inspired volume itself; and when the vast importance of the chronological and historical details of Scripture is taken into account, in the relations which they bear to the transcendent scheme of human redemption, I think it will be regarded as futile and dangerous. Upon the whole, I am satisfied that there is no solid foundation for any theory of the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures which does not consider all their several parts as written under the immediate teaching of the Holy Ghost, both as to sentiment and diction.

Nor is the complete inspiration of the apostles and writers of the New Testament less satisfactorily demonstrated than is that of Moses and the prophets. Such full inspiration they eminently needed, in order to the faithful execution of their responsible task. They were to be employed in raising up disciples to their risen Lord, and as the historians of his life and death; and as the authoritative counsellors of his church in all ages, they needed "an unction from the Holy One." We find accordingly that such unction and such infallible guidance as were necessary were distinctly promised to them. Twelve men were selected as the heralds of his kingdom, who enjoyed his familiar intercourse, and were in every way qualified for bearing witness to his doctrine, miracles, sufferings, death, and resurrection. "Go ye," said Christ to his chosen band, "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, *lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*" When, during his own personal ministry, he sent them forth to visit the cities of Israel, he gave them this miraculous assurance,—"But when they deliver you up take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." And when our blessed Lord was about to ascend up on high and to leave his apostles and disciples, he delivered to them the following animating promises:—"And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him. But ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come." "Here," observes an eminent writer, "are all the degrees of inspiration which we have seen to be necessary for the apostles; the Spirit was to bring to their remembrance what they had heard; to guide them into the truth, which they were not then able to bear; and to show them things to come; and all this they were to derive, not from occasional illapses, but from the perpetual inhabitation of the Spirit."[*]

Hence we find that the apostles laid claim to that inspiration which their divine Master had so distinctly promised. "We shall not find," as the above writer well observes, "that claim formally advanced in the gospels. This omission has sometimes been regarded by those superficial critics, whose prejudices seem to account for their haste, as an objection against the existence of inspiration. But if you attend to the reason of the omission, you will perceive that it is only an instance of that delicate propriety which pervades all the New Testament The gospels are the record of the great facts which vouch the truth of Christianity. These facts are to be received upon the testimony of men who had been eye-witnesses of them. The foundation of the Christian faith being laid in an assent to these facts, it would have been preposterous to have introduced in support of them that influence of the Spirit which preserved the minds of the apostles from error. For there can be no proof of the inspiration of the apostles unless the truth of the facts be previously admitted. The apostles, therefore, bring forward the evidence of Christianity in its natural order when they speak in the gospels as the companions and eye-witnesses of Jesus, claiming that credit which is due to honest men who had the best opportunities of knowing what they declared. This is the language of St. John; "Many other signs did Jesus in the presence of his disciples. But these are written that ye may believe; and this is the disciple which testifieth these things."[*]

When the following circumstances, then, are taken into account, the absence of any formal announcement of inspiration in the gospels is no barrier in the way of admitting their full claim to this high distinction. In the *first place*, there was an assistance promised by our Lord, ere he left his disciples, which, from its very form, must have been partly at least intended to qualify his disciples for the task of recording the history of his earthly sojourn. By that assistance they were to have "all things whatsoever the Lord said to them brought to their remembrance;" they were to be conducted "into all truth;" they were to be shown the "things to come;" and Christ was to be with them always.

In the *second place*, we find that no distinction whatever is made, by Christ, between the authority of those whom he accredited and his own. "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me." This is the language which equally accredits the gospels[†] and the epistles, and which renders it a high affront to the Son of God to cavil at any thing contained in the one or the other.

In the *third place*, we find the apostles placing their own communications on a level with those of prophets and inspired men of old. "That ye may be mindful," said the apostle Peter, "of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandments of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour." Hence the language of the great apostle of the Gentiles: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will" or "commandment of God:" "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead. I neither received the gospel of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before, but I went into Arabia."[‡]

In the most unequivocal forms that can be adopted, the apostles assert their inspiration in their epistolary correspondence. "Now," said Paul, "we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things which are freely given us of God, which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord." "For this cause, also, thank we God without ceasing, because when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God." "We are of God," said the apostle John; "he that knoweth God, heareth us: he that is not of God, heareth not us." And, speaking of the New Testament Church, Paul declares that it is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." Such a form of expression must have been blasphemous in the extreme, if the writings and the authority of the apostles did not stand upon an equal footing with the writings and the authority of the prophets. In all the passages which demonstrate the inspiration of the word of God, there is not one, as far as I remember, that limits the divine afflatus to the sentiments conveyed; and, on the other hand, there are several texts which extend it, beyond all reasonable doubt, to the words which the speakers employ:[*] the conclusion I draw from this is, that the distinction between *mental* and *verbal* inspiration is altogether of man's devising, and that the only safe way of receiving the entire Scriptures is to regard both their sentiment and their language as "THE WORD OF GOD."

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[*] See the Rev. Richard Watson's Theological Dictionary, under the article "Inspiration."

[*] See Watson's Theological Dictionary, on the article "Inspiration."

[†] It may be said, indeed, that Mark and Luke were not apostles, and that, therefore, the infallible assistance promised to such distinguished servants of the church did not belong to them. In reply to this, it may be stated, that early general tradition places Mark among those seventy disciples whom Christ sent out through the land of Israel with miraculous endowments and a promise of supernatural aid; and awards to his gospel a place among the canonical books of the New Testament; and that Luke, who appears to have written his gospel first, (though several uninspired accounts of the history of Christ obtained before, Luke i. 1.) was the contemporary and intimate companion of Paul, (Col. iv. 14.) who, it is universally conceded, examined and approved his gospel, stamping it with apostolic authority, and thereby ushering it into the church of Christ with the full credentials of canonical and inspired scripture.

[‡] Gal. i. 1, 12, 15—17, compared with Acts xxvi. 12—18.

There may be difficulties to some minds in this view. But what view of truth is without difficulty? If we believe nothing till we get rid of all difficulty, we shall verily soon be in the condition of believing nothing.

Some have said, if inspiration be *plenary* and *verbal*, how can the difference of style among the several writers of Scripture be accounted for? My reply is, that the Spirit of God was as capable of influencing the mind of a prophet or an apostle in coincidence with his own taste, predilections, and education, as in opposition to them. If the inspiration is admitted at all, there need, therefore, be no doubt or perplexity here. I may just add, however, and though there is a striking variety in the diction of the inspired writers, there is, at the same time, an inexpressible peculiarity attaching to the books of Scripture at large, which distinguishes them from all apocryphal and uninspired productions in the several ages to which they belong. The *individuality* of the writers is indeed preserved; but the *individuality* of the divine agency is not less conspicuous. "Is it not evident," observes an eminent divine, "that God may exercise a perfect superintendency over inspired writers as to the language they shall use, and yet that each one of them shall write in his own style, and in all respects according to his own taste? May not God give such aid to his servants, that, while using their own style, they will certainly be secured against all mistakes, and exhibit the truth with perfect propriety? It is unquestionable that Isaiah, and St. Paul, and St. John might be under the entire direction of the Holy Spirit, even as to language; and, at the same time, that each one of them might write in his own manner; and that the peculiar manner of each might be adapted to answer an important end; and that the variety of style thus introduced into the sacred volume might be suited to excite a livelier interest in the minds of men, and to secure to them a far greater amount of good than could ever have been derived from any one mode of writing.

"If we should admit that the divine superintendence and guidance afforded to the inspired writers had had no relation at all to the manner in which they exhibited either doctrines or facts, how easily might we be disturbed with doubts in regard to the propriety of some of their representations? We should most certainly consider them as liable to all the inadvertencies and mistakes to which uninspired men are commonly liable; and we should think ourselves perfectly justified in undertaking to charge them with real errors and faults as to style, and to show how their language might have been improved; and, in short, to treat their writings just as we treat the writings of Shakspeare and Addison. 'Here,' we might say, 'Paul was unfortunate in the choice of words; and here his language does not express the ideas which he must have intended to convey.' 'Here the style of St. John was inadvertent; and here it was faulty; and here it would have been more agreeable to the nature of the subject, and would have more accurately expressed the truth, had it been altered thus.' If the language of the sacred writers did not in any way come under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and if they were left, just as other writers are, to their own unaided faculties in regard to every thing which pertained to the manner of writing, then, evidently, we might use the same freedom in animadverting upon their style as upon the style of other writers. But who could treat the volume of inspiration in this manner without impiety and profaneness? And rather than make any approach to this, who would not choose to go to an excess, if there could be an excess, in reverence for the word of God."[*]

To these excellent remarks I would add, that he who objects to the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration on account of the *variety of style* which obtains among the sacred writers, might, on the same principle, object to *mental* inspiration on account of the *variety of thought* by which they are equally distinguished.

It is in receiving "all Scripture as given by inspiration of God" that the mind finds repose from those endless suspicions which must assail those who regard the Bible as the word of God as to *doctrine*, but the word of man as to the *channel* of conveyance.

CHAPTER VI.

Some popular objections to the full inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.[†]

1. It has been objected, that if the inspiration of the Scriptures be *plenary* and *verbal*, it will then follow, that the improper and wicked sayings of bad men, and even devils, which are introduced in Scripture, must lay claim to an immediate inspiration. The answer to this very flimsy difficulty is simply this,—that though, in such cases, the Holy Spirit dictated to inspired men the very words which were uttered by the sinful agents referred to, he dictated them not as *his*, but *theirs*.

2. It has been objected, that, as the inspired writers were thoroughly acquainted with many things of which they wrote, they could not in such matters require any immediate afflatus from the Holy Spirit, and that therefore such a redundant influence would not have been vouchsafed by that infinitely wise Being who never lavishes his supernatural bestowments. To this I reply, that the authority of a messenger must cease when he acts merely in his own name, and gives forth that only which comes within the range of his own personal knowledge, without reference to the express dictation of the power by which he is delegated. On this principle, a writer of Scripture recording that which was simply the result of his own knowledge, is a contradiction in terms; inasmuch as he must cease to be the medium of an infallible record the moment that he is thrown, in a single instance, on his own unaided resources:—that is not Holy Scripture which is not given by inspiration of God.

3. To the full view of inspiration here contended for, it has been objected, that some things are introduced by the inspired writers of too trifling a nature to be the subject of a direct communication from God. As, for instance, when Paul says to his son Timothy—"Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities;" or as elsewhere, when the same apostle says—"The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments." It is assumed, by objectors to the full inspiration of such texts, that they are below the standard of a divine communication, and that therefore they were the simple unaided dictates of the apostle's own mind. Could we see no design couched in them worthy of God, this would be a most irreverent way of dealing with any part of a book which gives no countenance to the idea of one part being more inspired than another. "The question is not at all whether the Apostle Paul needed inspiration to enable him to give such directions, but whether it was without inspiration that these doctrines form a part of a book, *all* of which comes to us as the word of God, and inspired by him. There are many parts of Scripture that might have been written without inspiration; but the question is, were the sacred writers left without inspiration to select what they would put into this book, and what they would keep out of it? If so, then the book is theirs, not God's. Besides, if it be thought absurd to suppose that there is any in-

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[*] Take all those parts of the Prophets and the Pentateuch which begin with, "Thus saith the Lord;" and also such parts of the prophetic announcements as were unintelligible to the prophets themselves. Dan. xii. 7—9. In the New Testament, see also John xiv. 16, 17, 26. xiv. 12, 13. Luke xxi. 15. Matt. x. 19, 20. 1 Cor. ii. 13. 2 Pet. i. 21.

[*] Dr. Woods, on Inspiration.

[†] I cannot but strongly recommend to my readers a work which I have found of great use to myself on this subject, by Robert Haldane, Esq., entitled, "The Books of the Old and New Testaments proved to be canonical, and their verbal inspiration maintained and established, &c." 12mo.

spiration in the direction which the apostle gave about his cloak and his books, it may very naturally be thought that as little inspiration was necessary to tell us how often he had received forty stripes save one; that he had fought with wild beasts at Ephesus; that he had undergone an endless variety of perils; that he had been let down over the wall of Damascus in a basket, and put into the stocks at Philippi. Of all these, and many other similar instances, it may be said, that these are cases in which, as it would be absurd to suppose any inspiration, so it was unnecessary to disavow it. We shall thus get quit of the whole account of the sufferings of the apostles. The apostle says, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable," &c. If there be many passages, or any passages, in which it would be absurd to suppose any inspiration, or which is not profitable, then he is guilty of stating what is not true."*

Besides this general defence of the full inspiration of the passages in question, they admit of a more specific support. Take the first of them, viz:—Paul's counsel to Timothy respecting the use of wine. Does not the exhortation in question stand in the midst of a group of precepts, the most solemn and weighty that can be conceived of? Who, then, can prove to me, that the apostle was under inspiration in delivering *them*, if not in delivering *it?* And was it altogether unworthy of the Holy Spirit to dictate to Paul such an injunction for the use of Timothy, when the preservation of his health, and his continued labours and usefulness in the church might depend upon it? Besides, does not the very permission to Timothy of a "little wine" inculcate the doctrine of temperance, especially upon all the ministers of Jesus Christ?

As to the second passage, we may fairly assume, with Grotius and Erasmus, the poverty of Paul, but not surely the absence of inspiration. "See," said Grotius, "the poverty of so great an apostle, who considered so small a matter, left at such a distance, to be a loss to him!" "Behold," said Erasmus, "the apostle's household furniture, a cloak to defend him from the rain, and a few books!" With regard to the "books or parchments," unless we knew what they were, it would be the height of presumption to affirm that the request which relates to them was uninspired.

4. I shall only notice one supposition more, viz., that the writers of Scripture sometimes intimate themselves that they are not speaking by inspiration of God. Now, before referring to the instances in question, I would here take leave to observe, that should it even appear, in certain given cases, that inspired men do disavow the immediate dictation of the Holy Spirit, all that can be fairly gathered from this fact will be, that on all other occasions, not thus limited, they spake under his immediate guidance. In reference to certain delicacies belonging to the marriage compact, the apostle thus expresses himself in his first Epistle to the Corinthians:—"I speak this by permission, and not of command." Now who permitted Paul to lay down the rules referred to? Why, unquestionably, the Spirit of God. What is meant, then? That Paul spake by inspiration, but that there was no express command from the Lord on the subject. As at the 10th verse of the same chapter:—"Unto the married," said Paul, "I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband." The meaning is, that upon this particular Christ had issued his own mandate; nevertheless Paul gave command by the Spirit of Christ. "To the rest," said he, "speak I, not the Lord." That is, the remaining counsels of the apostle were such as the great master had left no express injunction about, but which were nevertheless entrusted to him by the Spirit. At the 25th verse of the same chapter the apostle has the following expression: "Now, concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful." The thought is the same here as in the former instances. Though no express command had been given by Christ, on the subject treated of, yet the apostle, as one of his inspired servants, had received that grace which qualified him for a full development of the divine will, in all those things to which the personal ministry of Christ had not been directed.

In the last verse of the chapter the apostle adds—"And I think, also, that I have the mind of Christ;" an expression which some of the most eminent critics have shown not to indicate an uncertain opinion, but full conviction and unhesitating knowledge, as in John v. 39.

But supposing all the above passages, and some others which might be quoted, to be instances in which the apostle spake without the immediate guidance of inspiration,—a thing which I cannot admit for a moment,—it is clear that he must have acted under inspiration in apprising the church that the Spirit did not influence him in such communications; so that nothing can be derived from the objection against the immediate and full inspiration of other parts of the word of God; but on the contrary, it would rather go to the conclusion, that nothing short of an apostolic denial of such inspiration can justify any man in hesitating about the immediate divine authority of a single portion of the word of God.

CONCLUSION.

From the whole of the preceding remarks, we may infer the paramount duty of entire and unreserved submission to the authority of God in the written word. Our reason, our conscience, our affections, are all called to surrender themselves to the heavenly vision. In this inestimable volume God speaks to us upon subjects of the highest interest; and, refusing to listen to his voice, we seal our own unhappy doom. "Hear ye the word of the Lord," is the message addressed to all who possess the sacred boon; and he who by prejudice or sin excludes himself from the benefits of this message, which reveals the only method of salvation, is chargeable with a degree of rashness and folly which eternity itself will but fully disclose. Let the prayer of each one who reads this little treatise be—"Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wonderful things contained in thy law!"

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* Mr. Carew, as quoted by Mr. Haldane.

A MEMOIR

OF

MISS MARY JANE GRAHAM,

LATE OF STOKE FLEMING, DEVON.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES BRIDGES, M. A.

VICAR OF OLD NEWTON, SUFFOLK.

CHAPTER I.

Her Early Life.

"The works of the Lord are great; *sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.*" Elevated, indeed, is the Christian's pleasure in "seeking out the great works" of creation. But it is the work of "Redemption," which mainly attracts his delighted contemplation; as the mirror in which the glory of his God and Saviour is most fully unveiled before him. The "new creation" on the heart of man is one grand division of this perfect work of God; and often does its display of "the beauties of holiness" constrain the world to a reluctant acknowledgment, and excite the Church to joyful adoration—"What hath God wrought!" For not only will the Redeemer's glory be manifested in his saints at the blissful era of his coming; not only will they then be seen as the "jewels" of his everlasting crown; but even now are they "the glory of his inheritance," set forth for the conviction of the world, "that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and that the Holy One of Israel has created it." It is the object of the following sketch to bring forth to view one of these striking manifestations of Divine power and grace, and to illustrate, in connexion with this memorial, some of those edifying and instructive lessons which it will be seen to present before us.

Mary Jane Graham was born in London, April 11, 1803. Her father was engaged in a respectable business, from which he retired a few years before his daughter's death (and chiefly from regard to her delicate health,) to the village of Stoke Fleming, near Dartmouth, Devon. She appears to have been the subject of early religious convictions. At the age of seven she had acquired those habits of secret prayer, which may be considered a favourable mark of Divine influence upon her soul. But we will give the history of this era of her life in her own words. To a friend, who had evinced some incredulity of the genuineness or permanency of early impressions of religion, she thus writes:

March 20, 1827.

'You appear, my dear friend, to think very early piety too wonderful a thing to be true. It is wonderful, so wonderful that, when David was contemplating the starry firmament, he was drawn for a moment from his meditation on the wonders he there beheld, by the still greater wonder of "God's ordaining strength out of the mouths of babes and sucklings." But David's wonder and yours were of a very different nature; he wondered and adored. Jesus, too, that "man of sorrows," once "rejoiced in spirit," because God "had hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father; for it seemed good in thy sight." 'Even so, Lord Jesus; in thy rejoicing will I too rejoice; let the world think me a fool or an enthusiast, or beside myself, as they thought Thee.' The story of 'Little Henry and his Bearer,' to which I believe you allude, I have been assured by Miss ——, is every word of it true. Do not then bring upon yourself the dreadful sin of limiting the power of the Holy One of Israel. Jesus has said, "Suffer little children to come;" and they will come, if He calls them. As facts are the strongest of all proofs, bear with me a little longer, while I tell you briefly the history of a child, for the truth of which I can vouch. I knew a little girl, about sixteen years and a half ago. She was much like other children, as full of sin and vanity as ever she could hold; and her parents had not as yet taken much pains to talk to her about religion. So she went on in the way of her own evil heart, and thought herself a very good little girl, because she said her prayers every night and morning, and was not more passionate, wilful, and perverse, than most of her young companions. The God of love did not think this sinful child too young to learn of Jesus. He so ordered it about the time I am speaking of, when she was just seven years old, that she was led by a pious servant into some almshouses belonging to Rowland Hill, who had just been preaching at them. The servant and an aged woman entered into a long conversation together, to which the little girl listened, and wondered what could make them like to talk about such things. But at the close of it, the old woman took the child affectionately by the hand, and said to her, 'My dear child, make the Lord Jesus your friend now that you are so young; and when you come to be as old as I am, He'll never leave you nor forsake you.' God the Spirit sent these simple words to the poor sinful child's heart. She walked home in silence by her nurse's side, thinking how she could get Jesus to be her friend. Then she remembered how often she had slighted this dear Saviour; how she had read of Him in the Bible, and been wearied of the subject: how she had heard the minister preach Jesus, and wished the long dry sermon over; how she had said prayers to Him without minding what she said; how she had passed days, weeks, and months, without thinking of Him; how she had loved her play, her books, and her toys, and her play-fellows—all, all better than Jesus. Then the Holy Spirit convinced her of sin. She saw that no one good thing dwelt in her, and that she deserved to be cast away from God for ever. Would Jesus love her now? Would he ever forgive her? She feared not; but she would try. She would make herself very good, and then, perhaps, Jesus would be her friend. But the more this little girl tried to be good, the more her naughty heart got the better of her; for she was trying in her own strength. She was led to give up trying in that way; and many long nights did she spend in praying "with strong crying and tears" to Jesus, that He would teach her how to get her sins pardoned, and make her fit to have Him for her friend. Let me mention it for the encouragement of those who seek Jesus, that He did not disdain to listen to the prayers of this little child. He put it into her heart to read the Bible, of which, though she understood not all, yet she gathered enough to give her some comfort. One day her attention was fixed on these words, "The Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." Now something that could take away sin was just what this little girl wanted; and she asked her father to tell her who this Lamb of God was. He explained the precious verse. But who can describe the raptures which filled the bosom of this little child, when made to comprehend that the "blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin." Now she fled to Jesus indeed. Now she knew that He had loved her, and given himself for her; now the Spirit of God, who often "chooseth the weak and foolish things of the world, to confound the wise and mighty," "shed abroad the love of God in the heart" of a weak and foolish child, and "filled her with peace and joy in believing." She had no one to whom she could talk to of these things. But she held sweet converse with her reconciled God and Father; and gladly would she have quitted this life to go and dwell with Jesus. Since then she has spent nearly seventeen years of mingled happiness and pain. But she has had Jesus for her friend; and He never has, and never will, forsake her. She has forsaken Him more than once for a season, and turned to follow the vain things of the world. But her Shepherd's eye has been over her in her wanderings, and He has never suffered her *quite* to depart from Him. To this day her vain and treacherous heart is continually leading her to provoke her heavenly Friend. He "visits her transgressions with the rod, and her iniquity with stripes;" but He has sworn never to "take His loving-kindness from her, nor to suffer His faithfulness to fail." She is constrained to acknowledge, that during all this time she has never done one thing that could merit God's favour. Free-grace, free-mercy, are all her song: "It is of the Lord's mercy she has not long ago been consumed." She is quite sure she could never have changed her own heart. No; God has begun the good work in her, and he must carry it on; and from first to last, let glory be ascribed to Him, and let her take shame and confusion to herself. At this moment she desires to live, if she may be made the means of converting one sinner to Jesus; but if not, she would rather "depart and be with Christ, which is far better." She is far from despising earthly blessings. Every morsel she puts into her mouth, the very air she breathes, is made sweet and refreshing by the loving hand that sends it. Once there was a curse on all her earthly blessings. But now "Christ hath redeemed her from the curse of the law, being made a curse for her." She would give it as her living experience, and leave it when she goes hence as her dying testimony, that there is nothing worth living for except to know Him, and see others come to Him, and wash their guilty souls in the blood of the Lamb. God has given her the blessing of seeing a happy change take place in some of the dear companions of her childhood and youth. She waits upon Him for the salvation of the rest; and there is no one whom she longs after more ardently in the Lord, than that dear and valued friend of her earliest days, to whom this letter is addressed; and to whom she wishes every spiritual blessing, that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, can bestow now and for evermore! Amen and Amen!'

Some apparent discrepancy may be observed between this exquisitely beautiful and natural letter, and her published account of this important crisis.* Her apprehensions of Divine truth, as expressed in her letter, were indeed clear and enlivening far beyond the average spiritual capacity of children. Yet her 'view of many of the doctrines of Christianity,' which she afterwards so fully developed and so richly enjoyed, were at this time 'very indistinct.' Doubtless also much of natural feeling and excitement was mingled with these early impressions of religion; while what was of a spiritual character, as she afterwards discovered, was not sufficiently grounded upon that sense of universal guilt and helplessness which prostrates the sinner at the foot of the cross, simply dependant upon a free salvation. This superficial cast of impression, *without invalidating the reality of a Divine change*, will account for the instability which marked her early course in the ways of God. From her own history we learn that she 'was enabled to walk with God in sincerity and without any considerable declension during the greater part of her childhood, and the commencement of a riper age.' After this period, however, 'more than once,' as her letter informs us, she 'forsook' her Heavenly Friend, 'turned to follow the vain things of the world,' and "went on frowardly in the way of her own heart"—"leaning to her own understanding," and led captive in her own folly.

Of this period future notice will be given. Meanwhile we revert to her early years as spent under the roof of her parents or at school. Her parents considered her virtues as those *of every day*, and not merely called forth on particular occasions. She was a most amiable, affectionate, and dutiful child, seldom needing correction, tender-hearted when told of her faults, and by her general kindness of disposition attaching all the members of the household to herself. She was remarkably free from selfishness; always ready to yield to her companions, even to deprive herself of what she valued. Her little pocket money was generally reserved for some object of distress, or for some token of affection to a friend.

Her quickness of mind was a subject of early observation. Her reading was chiefly obtained by attending to the lessons which were given to her brother, then preparing for school. She was seldom seen without a book in hand, and seemed never so happy as when employing herself in the improvement of her mind. Yet this thoughtful cast of character was by no means tinged with unnatural gloom. In all the harmless games of childhood none of her companions excelled her in playful activity;* while in the midst of her cheerful temperament, it was abundantly evident that the main concern of religion was uppermost in her mind. 'I recollect,' her cousin writes, 'that when we were quite little children, she made some attempt to talk to me about religion; once especially, when we were sitting behind the curtain in the drawing-room at ——. I did not like the subject, and therefore walked away and joined my more worldly-minded companions.'

Her school career commenced soon after she was seven years old. She was however shortly removed, from ill health, and again, about the age of ten, sent to a school of a different kind. Many of her companions who survived her will probably long preserve the remembrance of her peculiar kindness and gentleness of spirit, combined with her superior powers. One of them remarks her great carefulness to screen, as far as it was lawful to do so, the faults of her fellows, and her anxiety to plead for them when in disgrace: and so powerful was her advocacy, that her preceptress was constrained to remove out of her way, when her judgment compelled her to persevere in her discipline. In all the school difficulties, she was the constant resource, ever ready and willing to assist, without any assumption upon the ground of her acknowledged superiority. One trait of peculiar loveliness was here exhibited, (the spirit of which was marked on various occasions in after life,) in her consideration of any of her companions who from any unfavourable causes might appear to be neglected. Those were the objects of her particular notice, and with them she shared all her little indulgences.

Her religious impressions appear to have been cherished by the familiar exhortations of the husband of her perceptress, and by devotional exercises with those of her companions who were living under the practical influence of their Christian instructions. To one of them she proposed to learn every day a portion of Scripture in private, and to repeat it to each other when they retired to rest. At this time she committed to memory the whole of the Prophecy of Isaiah, besides other portions of the sacred Volume.

At the age of twelve her delicate health again occasioned her removal from school. Her illness lasted for about two months, during which time, when confined upon the sofa, she committed to memory the whole Book of Psalms. Indeed her powers of memory were of an extraordinary order. She was much delighted with Milton's Paradise Lost, and had learnt the greater part, if not the whole, of that magnificent poem. For many successive mornings she repeated to her father most correctly upwards of three hundred lines each morning. Upon her recovery from illness she passed several months with a careful servant by the seaside. So instinctive were her habits of active usefulness, that she employed herself, though only in her thirteenth year, in collecting a few children for the purpose of instruction, and in distributing tracts. In returning home to her parents, she enjoyed with them the rich and responsible privilege of the ministry of the late Rev. Samuel Crowther, Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate Street; an eminent "watchman of Ephraim, now with his God." Under his faithful and affectionate instruction she was brought to the ordinance of Confirmation about the age of sixteen, and publicly "joined herself to the Lord in a perpetual covenant never to be forgotten."

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* Test of Truth. By Mary Jane Graham. This very valuable work has just been republished by J. Whetham, Philadelphia.—*Ed.*

* One of her early friends however remarks, that her games and manner of amusing partook more of imagination and of talent than those of the generality of children.

These interesting materials of Miss Graham's early life may suggest a few profitable remarks.

Let Christian parents be excited to an immediate and persevering discharge of their anxious responsibilities. Early impressions are of the highest moment in reference to the future course of their children. Let them be prayed for, expected, cherished. They cannot be too early or too urgent in presenting (after the example of the believing parents of old) the petition of the Angel of the covenant; "How shall we order the child, and how shall we do unto him?" They can scarcely fix the precious seed too soon into the fresh soil. The pure simplicity of the rudiments of the Gospel is specially suited to the dawn of infant intelligence; and well would it be, if our children should never be able to recur in after life to the time when these vital truths were first presented to their minds. The child's intellect opens faster than is commonly considered. The first impressions often retain a firm and permanent grasp through life. And abundantly has the experience of the Church testified, that early piety is eminent piety.[*]

It may appear suspicious, that so little shade is discoverable upon the records of Miss Graham's childhood. But defects cannot be noticed, where they were not observed. Probably our own sphere of observation, if not our immediate circle, is not wholly unfurnished with similar cases, sufficient to preclude an unwarranted incredulity. And indeed these instances often afford the most striking illustrations of the total depravity of the fall. For while Miss Graham was in the estimation of her parents all that their fond hearts could wish, what was she in the sight of God? Self-knowledge under Divine teaching soon discovered to her, that under this attractive garb was hid the mighty principle of alienation of heart from God. There was no natural preparation for heavenly influence. It was only a more lovely appearance of the death that reigned within. Her subsequent expressions therefore of self-abhorrence were not the ebullitions of a false humility, or of misguided fanaticism, but the genuine conviction of the Spirit of God upon her heart.

The subject of our history suggests also the importance of an early excitement of the principles of active usefulness. No doubt Miss Graham's habits of early activity had an important influence in maturing her character for the high privilege of devoting herself to the interests of her fellow creatures. It was Cotton Mather's practice to endeavour to enlarge the minds of his children, by engaging them daily in some 'Essay to do good.' He encouraged and commended them, when he saw them take pleasure in it, and never failed to show them that a backwardness would subject them to his displeasure. This example cannot be too strongly inculcated. To give to children an object beyond themselves, would tend much to counteract the natural principle of selfishness, so baneful to their personal happiness, and to their intellectual, moral and spiritual improvement.

CHAPTER II.

Her Relapse into Infidelity.

About the age of seventeen, Miss Graham's mind underwent a most extraordinary revolution. She fell, for a few months, from the heavenly atmosphere of communion with God, into the dark and dreary regions of infidelity. Allusion has already been made to this afflicting circumstance, in her letter. But for a most interesting and graphic detail, the reader must be referred to her own published account; some digest of which will here be given, in order to connect the thread of her history, and to exhibit a clear view of one of the most important eras in her life.

Miss Graham's mind opened in a metaphysical form, unfavourable to a simple reception of truth. And this, connected with a defective apprehension of her lost estate, induced a spirit of self-dependence, one of the most subtle and successful hindrances to the Christian life.[*] Thus was the way opened to a secret habit of backsliding from God. The foolish vanities of the world for a while captivated her heart; and her manners were remarked to be like any other thoughtless girls of her own age. From frivolity she sought refuge in her more solid intellectual pursuits. All sources of self-gratification within her power were resorted to with the fruitless attempt of obtaining peace in a course of departure from God. Wearied at length with disappointment, this prodigal child "began to be in want;" and many a wishful eye did she cast towards the rich provision of her father's forsaken house. In turning, however, to religion for comfort, she found, to use her own words; 'Alas! I had no religion: I had refused to give glory to the Lord my God; now my feet were left to stumble upon the dark mountains.'

The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ had often been to her (as to many other minds cast in the same mould), an occasion of perplexity. Now it was "a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence." Though repeated examination had fully satisfied her that it was *the truth of the Bible*, yet so repulsive was it to her proud heart, that she was led from thence *to question the truth of the Bible itself*. 'I suspected,' said she, 'that a system of religion, which involved such apparent absurdities, could not possibly come from God. Determined to sift the matter to the utmost, I eagerly acquainted myself with the arguments for and against Christianity. My understanding was convinced that the Scriptures were divine. But my heart refused to receive the conviction. The more my reason was compelled to assent to their truth, the more I secretly disliked the doctrines of the Bible.'

Continued resistance to convictions was the natural and melancholy result of this inquiry. She determined to lay the subject aside for a while, still 'persuading herself that there must be flaws in the evidence of so strange a history,' which only her want of maturity of judgment, prevented her from discovering. Those early religious impressions, that usually form a bulwark against infidelity, in her case proved a stumbling-block to her faith. Ignorant of the native bias of her heart against the Gospel, she considered them as the effect of prejudice, before her mind had been intelligibly informed or exercised. She now, therefore, determined to burst her chains, and to think and examine for herself.

Hitherto she had confined her perplexities within her own bosom; partly dreading the influence of external bias, and partly fearing to infuse into another's mind doubts concerning a book, which, she could not conceal from herself, might after all be true. She endeavoured now to strengthen her mind by pursuing a course of intellectual study, with the direct design of preserving herself from becoming a dupe to "cunningly devised fables." And here she did not fail subsequently to acknowledge the special forbearance and wisdom of her heavenly Father. Justly might he have deprived her of that reason, which she had so presumptuously set up in his own place. Yet was he pleased to overrule this waywardness of his child as an ultimate means of her restoration, in applying her course of mental discipline to the effectual discovery of the fallacies with which she was now deluded.

The immediate effect however of these studies was decidedly injurious. Their absorbing interest diverted her mind from the main subject of inquiry; while they proved also a temporary refuge against the uneasy disturbance of her conscience. Even her intervals of reflection were too easily soothed by the indefinite postponement of the great concern to "a more convenient season." Occasional convictions were indeed felt, but without any permanent or practical influence.

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[*] 'Barker's Parent's Monitor' gives an useful digest of information, well calculated to guide the instructor, and to encourage the diligence and patient perseverance of parental faith. The principles of Christian Education are brought out with much simplicity and practical detail in the valuable and well-known works of Mrs. Hoare and Mr. Babington, which cannot be too highly recommended. Perhaps the most full and interesting illustration of these principles will be found in the Biographies of the Henry Family, (Life of P. & M. Henry, and Mrs. Savage) by Mr. Williams, of Shrewsbury.

[*] She alludes to an injury, which her own mind, in common (as she conceives) with many others, had received from adopting Doddridge's form of covenanting with God. (Rise and Progress, chapter xvii.) This was in her thirteenth year. Let it however be remembered, that, though this mode of dedication may have frequently ministered to a legal spirit, yet it by no means necessarily partakes of an unevangelical character. This "subscribing of the hand unto the Lord," has been found by many eminent Christians, (as, for example, in Philip Henry's family) to be a cord of love, not a yoke of bondage. Allusion is probably made to it as an acceptable ordinance in the service of the Gospel.—*Isaiah* xliv. 3—5.

Through the Divine mercy this state of infatuation did not prove of long duration. After a few months' captivity, she was brought, though not without severe conflict of mind, to the full light and liberty of scriptural truth.[*] The conviction of the being of a God, in her darkest moments had never wholly forsaken her. A few hours' contemplation of the starry heavens darted into her mind a piercing reflection upon her stupidity and ingratitude, in what she justly called an 'unnatural and parricidal attempt to banish God from his own creation, to depose him from his natural supremacy over her heart.' Her whole life now appeared to her (what indeed the Scriptures declare it to be) one continued act of sin and folly. Her convictions however of sin, being wholly unconnected with any discovery of the way of forgiveness, naturally tended to despondency. Every fresh sense of the corruption of her heart and of the unsullied purity of the Divine character, brought with it a corresponding sense of guilt. She could expect therefore nothing but punishment proportioned to the infinite sinfulness of her offence. She could not conceive the consistency of her forgiveness with the claim of Divine justice; and the alternative of her eternal punishment seemed even less dreadful than the supposition of any inconsistency in Him, who, in her view, was the Perfection of Holiness. 'I had acquired,' she remarked, 'such a perception of the beauty of holiness, that the thought of an unholy God was worse than hell to me. I felt that I had rather God should pour out on me all the vials of his wrath, than that, carried away by an unworthy softness and weakness, he should forgive, and thereby encourage sin. To undergo eternal punishment was horrible. To acknowledge an unholy God was more horrible.'

As her last expedient, her despised Bible was brought to mind. And 'how different'—she observes—'was the temper of mind, in which I now addressed myself to its perusal, from that in which I had read it in the commencement of my disbelief of Christianity! I was no longer a proud sophist, triumphing in the strength and penetration of human reason, and in the comprehensiveness of human knowledge. The contemplation of my own ignorance, weakness, and wickedness, had laid my pride in the dust. My eyes were opened to view myself as I really was—depraved and blinded in my reason, judgment, and understanding. And this is the process, which must take place in the soul of every man, before he can pursue the search after truth in a right spirit.

Her interest was early directed to the promises of Divine teaching to the sincere inquirer after truth. Their suitableness fixed her attention. Their freeness encouraged her heart. "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find. He giveth his Holy Spirit to them that ask him"—especially arrested her. She determined to make trial of them, conceiving that their fulfilment in her own case would be a '*Test of the Truth*' *of the book*, which held them forth for her acceptance. Though hindered at first by a sense of unworthiness, she ventured to apply; justly considering, that whatever might be her apprehensions of her own demerit, yet a state of submission and desire could not be so displeasing to God, as one of carelessness and rebellion. But the description of this anxious crisis must be given in her own striking words. 'Impelled by these reflections—fearful and uncertain, but with uncontrolable, unutterable longings, I directed my applications '*To the unknown God.*' O my Redeemer! the first breathings of my soul were not uttered in thy name! I rushed into the presence of my Judge without a mediator. But doubtless even then Thy comeliness was thrown over the deformity of my soul; and the eye of my Father beheld me with pity, for thy dear name's sake. My prayer ascended up to heaven, fragrant with the incense of thy merits; though the poor wretch who offered it thought to please God by leaving thee out of it.

In this prostration of soul, she continued "watching daily at her Lord's gates, waiting at the posts of his doors." It need scarcely be added, she did not seek in vain. The Divine character now appeared before her, not, as before, in its consuming holiness; but in the combined glory of holiness and love. Her apprehensions of sin, of Christ, and of the whole system of Christian truth, were now irradiated with heavenly light; and with simplicity, and godly sincerity" of "heart," she was enabled to "believe unto righteousness." The character of Christ, as a proof of the credibility of the Christian revelation, arrested her particular attention. A minute scrutiny of His spotless life was most satisfactory in its result.[*] 'The more,' said she, 'I studied this Divine character, the more I grew up as it were into its simplicity and holiness, the more my understanding was enabled to shake off those slavish and sinful prejudices, which had hindered me from appreciating its excellence. Truly his words were dearer to me "than my necessary food." He was my "All in all." I did not want to have any knowledge, goodness, or strength, independently of him. I had rather be "accepted in the Beloved," than received (had that been possible) upon the score my own merits. I had rather walk, leaning upon his arm, than have a stock of strength given me to perform the journey alone. To learn, as a fool, of Christ; this was better to me than to have the knowledge of an angel to find out things for myself.'

After her recovery from this fearful snare of Satan, she was mercifully preserved from "turning again to folly," and led forth in "the path of the just," with increasing light, strength, and establishment. 'From that moment,' she adds, 'I ceased to stumble at the doctrines of the cross. The doctrines of Scripture, which had before appeared to me an inexplicable mass of confusion and contradictions, were now written on my understanding with the clearness of a sunbeam. Above all, that once abhorred doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was becoming exceeding precious to me. The external evidences of Christianity, though I now perceived all their force, were no longer necessary to my conviction. From that time,' she concludes, 'I have continued to "sit at the feet of Jesus, and to hear his word;" taking him for my Teacher and Guide in things temporal as well as spiritual. He has found in me a disciple so slow of comprehension, so prone to forget his lessons and to act in opposition to his commands, that were he not infinitely "meek and lowly in heart," he would long ago have cast me off in anger. But he still continues to bear with me, and to give me "line upon line, and precept upon precept." And I am certain, that he "will never leave me, nor forsake me;" for, though I am variable and inconstant, "with him there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."'[†]

The Writer cannot but hope, that at this awful crisis, when a moral pestilence (far more dreadful than the late providential visitation) is stalking through the land, the preceding narrative may suggest seasonable caution, conviction, and encouragement to some, especially of his young readers. Let them mark the connexion of the first principles of infidelity, *with the exercise of the understanding*, *and with the state of the heart*.

Pride of intellect in Miss Graham's case, was evidently one main cause of her departure from God. When her mind left the strong-hold of faith, her scriptural light, which could only be apprehended through spiritual optics, became obscured, until she was gradually left to the Egyptian darkness of her own understanding. And this we apprehend to be a very usual commencement of an infidel course, upon principles equally opposed to reason and to revelation. Man, in his prurient desire to pass the bounds of revelation, forgets that while "the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children," the "secret things" are no less the property of God. As he has, therefore, reserved them for himself, this

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[*] It may be remarked, that severe providential afflictions about this period concurred with the exercises of her own mind, to awaken her mind to this self-abasing recollection of her fearful departure from God.

[*] This is not a solitary instance of impression from the contemplation of the character of Christ. Even Mr. Chubb must have felt some conviction, when he describes his life 'as a beautiful picture of human nature in its native purity and simplicity; and showing at once what excellent creatures men would be, when under the influence and power of that gospel which he preached unto them.' (True Gospel, p. 56.) Rousseau's exquisite contrast between Socrates and Christ is well known, concluding with the remarkable acknowledgment respecting the latter:—'The inventor of such a personage would be a more astonishing character than the hero.' Yet could this man's heart resist the clear conviction of his judgment—'*I cannot*'—he subjoins—'*believe the Gospel.*' His Confessions, however, clearly trace his unbelief to its proper cause—*the love of sin.* See John iii. 19, 20,—a text which throws more light upon the secret springs of infidelity, than whole volumes that have been written upon the subject.

[†] Test of Truth, pp. 112—117. The extracts given from this interesting little work, will be sufficient to commend it to the reader's attention, as the production of an author of no common power, and deeply imbued with the glowing principles of the Gospel. It will remind the reader of some of Mr. Scott's painful exercises of mind described in his 'Force of Truth' and of the argument so successfully handled by Bishop Burnet in his disputations with Lord Rochester.

"intrusion into the things which we have not seen," and cannot see, is the unhallowed indulgence of a "fleshly mind." The extent and precise boundaries of revelation are determined by infinite wisdom; and could we discern them with a single eye, they would be found equally illustrative of a high regard to the happiness of man. A more expanded view under present circumstances would only increase instead of clearing up our difficulties. The eye would wander over the field of infinite space with a disproportioned power of perception. The objects, therefore, would be less distinctly apprehended; and the result would leave us more restless and dissatisfied, while the happy influence of humility, simplicity, and faith had been wholly disregarded. If we have not the whole view before us, let it suffice, that we have all that is needful for our happiness and present duty. The attempt to supply what we conceive to be wanting by the conjectural effort of reason, would be to subject "vain man" to his Maker's merited rebuke—"Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" Every step of advance beyond the Divine record is fraught with danger and uncertainty. "In God's light" alone "can we see light." The intellectual "light that is in us," when applied by the pride of man to the contents of revelation—"is darkness; and how great is that darkness!" Simple faith, therefore, however mistaken or despised, may justly be deemed the highest act of reason; while rational religion, 'falsely so called,' may easily be proved to be of all schemes the most irrational.*

We would add a few words upon *the connexion of infidelity with the state of the heart.* We are not exclusively intellectual beings. The affections so materially influence the judgment, as often to incapacitate it for the accurate discernment of truth. The natural bias of the heart is to sin, and *consequently to infidelity*, the excuse and covering for sin. The point at issue is, whether men shall remain the servants of sin, or become the servants of God; whether they shall be degraded as sensual beings, or raised to the elevation of intelligent or spiritual existence. Now, as the Gospel stands in the way of natural indulgence, it must be removed. So that if a course of infidel reading, or intercourse with scoffers, has not furnished the necessary arguments, they must be invented from the man's own heart. The danger of infidelity is not, therefore, confined to the ungodly and profane. Every unconverted man must secretly wish the Bible to be untrue; and under this bias he will (except restrained by an Almighty power) endeavour to prove it untrue. A wrong state of heart, as with Miss Graham, gives the power and advantage to this active and malignant principle. In her early state of child-like simplicity she would have been safe. But the "fulfilment of the desires of the mind," probably more than of "the flesh," combined with ignorance "of Satan's devices," brought her into his snare; and she was "taken captive by him at his will." Depending upon the teaching of the Spirit of God, our "path" in Divine knowledge will be "as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." And 'whenever' (as an original and powerful writer remarks) 'he opens the Scriptures, that same light that discovers the meaning, will not fail to affect and make our hearts burn within us with the sense of Divine light, authority, and power. Of this the experience of the people of God, as they grow in knowledge, furnishes them daily with new instances; and therefore they do not stumble at the want of the present sense of that light, but are quickened to diligence, excited to frequent cries for opening of their eyes, that they may understand the wonders, that by the knowledge of other parts of the Word, they are induced to believe couched in those parts, which yet they knew not.'

One further remark suggests itself from this interesting record to avoid unnecessary distress and misconception. Let not Miss Graham's vivid portraiture of her own feelings and views be considered as a general standard, as if the same intensity of mental exercise, and clearness of spiritual perception were the exclusive evidences of a sound conversion of heart to God. Self-renunciation, diligent investigation of Divine truth, and a conscientious improvement of the light vouchsafed, are indeed indispensable marks of Christian sincerity. Yet while the enjoyment of our high privileges will vary in proportion to the energy of these holy principles, *the measure of their influence* is almost indefinitely diversified within the precincts of the true church of God. It may also be important to observe, that many of Miss Graham's most painful trials (such as her intellectual pride) arose out of the peculiar form of her natural character. No sympathy therefore can be expected or need be desired in minds cast in a different mould; and any effort to excite or encourage it, for the purpose of establishing an ideal connexion with this object of attraction, (which would probably be unaccompanied with a desire to imitate the spiritual excellences of the proposed model) can only originate in deceit, and tend to self-delusion.

CHAPTER III.

General sketch of Miss Graham's life; her views of study; extensive attainments; and active devotedness to God.

Miss Graham continued to reside in London for some time after her deliverance from that awful delusion, into which she had been permitted to fall. The remembrance, however, of this temporary apostacy was "ever before her" with all that holy shame and self-abasement, which attaches to the "purified" conscience of the pardoned sinner; humbling her in the dust, while yet faith, hope, love, peace, and joy, were the dominant principles in her soul. Deeply also did she feel the constraint of the command given by anticipation to a backsliding apostle; "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." It was the great object of her 'Test of Truth,' to set forth her own case as a beacon of warning, an example of encouragement, and a monument of Divine grace, for the special use of those who might be brought into the same seductive atmosphere of temptation. There is reason to believe, that her work in its original form produced its measure of conviction upon her principal correspondent; and we may confidently expect, that, in a wider circulation, an answer to her prayers for a Divine blessing upon it will be abundantly manifested. During her residence in London, the ministry of the Rev. Watts Wilkinson, and a deep study of the sacred volume, were the ordained means of advancing her knowledge and experience of Scriptural truth. Her intellectual habits were a source of much gratification to her; and mainly contributed, under the blessing of God, to form her character into a mould of solid and permanent usefulness. It is however delightful to observe her Christian simplicity and watchfulness, to subordinate these valuable enjoyments to the primary object of the glory of God. Of this the following prayer, found among her papers, will furnish an interesting and edifying illustration.

'Before study of any kind, remember that it is but lost labour, except the Lord bless it.

Summary of things to be sought of God before study.

'I desire to thank Thee, my God and Father in Christ Jesus, for this and every other opportunity of improvement Thou hast given me. May the opportunity Thou hast given me be blest of Thee! Enable me to receive it with thanksgiving, and sanctify it to me by the Word of God and prayer. O let me know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and other things *just so far* as may be for my good and thy glory, *and no further*. I would mourn before Thee the base ingratitude with which I have hitherto abused my time and talents, by loving thy gifts more than Thee, and seeking myself, not Thee, in them. Now I bring all my things to Thee; for they are *not mine, but thine own*. Take that *accursed thing, self, out of them all*, and condescend to use them for thy glory. I thank Thee, that the meanest employment is acceptable in thy sight, when done in the name of the Lord Jesus. May I set about this, in *His name, and in His strength, and to His glory!* May I not *once seek my own things in it, but the things that are Jesus Christ's!* Let me no longer lean to my own understanding; but may I so acknowledge Thee in all my ways, that Thou mayest establish my thoughts, and direct my paths! Suffer me not to be wise in my own conceit, nor vainly puffed up in my fleshly mind. Make me to lean from mine own wisdom. Be Thou my wisdom. Holy Lord God the Spirit! who dividest unto every man severally as Thou wilt, *bless such of my studies, and in such a degree as* may be most to thy glory. If it be thy will, prepare me by them for the work to which I desire thou wouldst call and separate me.[*] I commit this work, to which I would devote myself, into thy hands. Prosper it or not as Thou seest good. Thy will be done respecting it, only take *all self-seeking out of it;* get thyself glory, Lord, in all that I do; and keep me from ever wishing to rob Thee of thy glory. Lord, if thou wilt bless me abundantly, grant that in whatever Thou givest me, I may remember I have received it, and not glory as if I had not received it. I set myself to this employment in the name of Jesus: may I have fellowship with Him in it! Let it not become a snare to me; but may the Lord who is my confidence, preserve my foot from being taken in this net, which has so often entangled me!

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* The writer cannot forbear to add some admirable remarks from an unpublished manuscript of Miss Graham's shortly to be noticed. 'It is true that faith compels our assent to many things beyond the reach of reason, even of the renewed reason. But this implicit credence is itself the highest and noblest exercise of the understanding. It is a reasonable assent to the testimony of One, in whom we repose unlimited confidence, because we have reasonable grounds for concluding Him to be infinitely wiser than ourselves. An exercise of the reason is presupposed, whereby we are assured that the Bible is God's testimony; and an act of the Understanding, whereby, having obtained this assurance, we infer, that every word of the Bible must be true. The Divine philosophy of faith, then, sets out upon these two propositions. The first—an assurance, founded in reason, that the Bible is the revelation of God. The second—an inference, equally founded in reason, that every word of the Bible is true; and must therefore be taken in preference to all the deductions of our own reason, which *may or may not be true.* Neither of these propositions is shaken by the fact, that the Bible contains many things which we do not understand; or in other words, that God may know many things which we do not know; that many things may appear to his infinitely holy and unclouded understanding, in a very different light, from that in which they are viewed by our narrow and prejudiced minds. When the first proposition is once proved to the entire satisfaction of the mind, the second must follow of course. Then faith, an implicit, childlike faith, becomes the only *rational* mode of proceeding. Every departure from this faith is a departure from reason; an insult to the understanding; a violation of common sense. And that we do make such departures, only tends to prove, that while the renewed understanding "consents to the law of God that it is holy, just, and good;" "the law of sin," which is yet working "in our members," occasionally beclouds and perverts it.

'O Thou Glorifier of Jesus! take of the things that are His, and show them unto me, and unto all Thy people, with such light and power, that our wills, desires, and affections may be quite swallowed up in His love. Let us have no will but Thy most holy will. Convince us that all things else are mere dross and dung, in comparison with *that* most excellent knowledge of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which do thou give us every day more abundantly, making us to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Even so, Holy Spirit, for the sake of thy great mercies in Christ Jesus, to whom with Thee and the Father, be all the honour, all the praise, and all the glory, now and for ever. Amen.'

In the same spirit, an extract from a letter to a young friend engaged in the work of tuition, gives the following sensible advice, with a modest reference to her own case.

March 22, 1827.

'You ask me whether I think study is wrong. I think, on the contrary, if we study with a view to the glory of God, it becomes a duty to do so. If we study merely to please ourselves, I think *it is wrong*. Your situation seems to render study necessary; and when we reflect, how few of those who are engaged in teaching are truly pious, it ought to stir us up to the best improvement of our time and talents. The love of study and mental amusements has been my great snare, and has so very often led me astray, that I have been tempted to give it up altogether. I feel thankful to God, that whenever I have begun to make some progress in my favourite study, he has thwarted my attempt to excel by some seasonable interruption, a fit of illness or some domestic trial. But when I think how very useful a moderate degree of mental cultivation may make me, and particularly that it seems the way of usefulness most suitable to me, if I should recover my strength, I mean to resume it as soon as I can; and I hope in Christ, through whose goodness every opportunity of improvement is given, that he will not suffer these opportunities to become hindrances to my advancement in the knowledge of him. Let us pray to be taught to feel, that all earthly knowledge is mere dross and dung, in comparison with the most excellent knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and then I trust we may pursue, without abusing it, only taking care never to neglect any present duty, or any spiritual duty for it.'

But we will here give some large extracts from an unpublished Treatise 'On the Intellectual, Moral, and Religious uses of Mathematical Science,' as conveying her full and matured views upon this important subject.[*]

Speaking of study generally, she marks with accurate discrimination the different principles of the worldly and the Christian student.

'Many and varied are the motives by which the worldly student is actuated. But his views all centre in some way or other in his own person. Self-gratification, self-advancement, self-interest, are mingled with them all. The Christian student is also variously influenced. But he has learned to transfer all his actions to another centre. The glory of his reconciled God is the point on which they all turn, the compass by which they are all directed. The outward conduct of the two characters may present many points of similarity. Their inward intentions are totally and irreconcilably different. The intrinsic excellence of science, its ennobling influence upon the mind, the delights that are to be enjoyed in the pursuit of it, and the benefits that are to be reaped in its attainment;—these are objects common to the man of the world, and to the religious man. But mark wherein the difference consists. With the former they are primary objects of consideration; the latter beholds them only in a secondary point of view. The Christian student is far from despising the advantages of study. He has felt what it is to thirst after knowledge, and possesses a keen relish for the pleasures of intellect. But he puts all these considerations away from him, till he has answered a question of higher importance. His first inquiry is—'How shall I study for God? How shall I render my acquirements subservient to his glory?' If he cannot answer the question to his complete satisfaction, the uneasy recurrence of it will prove a continual drawback to the spirited and successful prosecution of his studies.'

Upon a very prevalent misconception upon this subject, she gives the following just remarks,—

'It has been too much the practice with a well-meaning but injudicious portion of the religious world, to decry human learning, as if it were a thing absolutely unchristian and pernicious. They attack it in the gross, and apply to it all that the Scripture has said concerning "the wisdom of this world." They appear to forget that these censures apply not to the use, but to the abuse, of human learning. Those who "lean to their own understanding," who are "wise in their own conceits," who set human wisdom in the place of the Holy Ghost's teaching—these are the wise and learned, of whom the Scripture affirms, that the things of the kingdom are hid from their eyes. But the description was never meant for the discouragement of those who pursue human study in a simple, child-like dependence upon God. It sometimes happens, that the young convert, full of religious zeal, and possessed with some vague and ill-defined notions of the worthless ensnaring nature of human learning, is led by a mistaken sense of duty either entirely to abandon it, or greatly to slacken his efforts in the attainment of it, and so to shut himself out from a wide field of future usefulness.'

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[*] This was a plan, which lay very near her heart, for the gratuitous instruction of the children of Missionaries, and of Christians in reduced circumstances, with a view to qualify them for the situation of teachers.

[*] We subjoin an analysis of this manuscript, which will give some view of the extent, general accuracy, and spiritual character of Miss Graham's mind. Introduction. Chapter I. The Usefulness of Mathematics in learning to Reason; Groundwork of Mathematical Sciences; Art of Stating a Question; Modes of Demonstration; Analysis; Connexion; Art of Simplifying Processes; Intermediate Principles. Chapter II. The Beneficial influence of Mathematics upon some parts of the Intellectual and Moral Character; Attention; Abstraction; Penetrativeness and Invention; Arrangement; Moral Habits of Mind. Chapter III. The Disadvantages of Mathematical Studies; Engrossing attention of the Pursuit; Contempt or Mistrust of other Evidence; Effect on the Imaginative Faculties. Chapter IV. The Advantages of Mathematical Science, and of the Cultivation of Reason in general, considered in a religious point of view. Chapter V. A review of the Disadvantages and Temptations to which the Religious Student is Exposed. In the Introduction she specifies the persons for whom she primarily wrote—'those who, in the ardour of their pursuit after human learning, are not unmindful of its immeasurable inferiority to "the wisdom which is from above." To them,' she remarks, 'study of every kind presents considerations of higher import than even the intellectual benefits that are reaped from it. The introduction of religion into secular matters is too often censured as impertinent and unseasonable; and many will think it wholly out of place in a work professedly on science. I can only reply,' she adds, 'by the simple confession, that I should grieve to be acquainted with that science, which might not, under God, forward in some way or other the grand object of my existence. "Thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." (Deut. vi. 7.) These are the commands of God concerning the momentous truths of Scripture. They leave us very little time for science, *independent of religion*. Every believer in the Bible will endeavour to act in the spirit of these words. He will consider that time as lost, which is spent without regard to eternity; and that learning as useless, which he cannot employ in subservience to heavenly knowledge.' This valuable manuscript was written about two years before her death. She had intended, during her last illness, to have revised it for publication. But increasing weakness, and the overwhelming impression of the near prospect of eternity, compelled her to relinquish her design.

Upon the lawfulness of study she draws the line with great precision and Christian simplicity.

'Does the time'—she asks—'you now devote to study, break in upon any known and immediate call of duty? If it does, your way is clearly pointed out. *No prospect of future good can justify you in the neglect of present duty.* Your studies must, according to circumstances, be wholly abandoned, or laid aside, till you can resume them without feeling that conscience is drawing you another way. Perhaps you are ready to exclaim, that "this is a hard saying." You cannot contentedly resign or postpone your hopes of mental improvement. Still less can you consent to hazard the loss of all that you have already acquired. Suffer me to remind you of two points of view, in which it imports you to consider this question.

'I readily admit, that the studies of worldly men may be successful, notwithstanding the evil spirit in which they are prosecuted. "They have their reward." But nothing that you do can prosper, without the divine blessing. This must be the crown of your undertakings, or you labour in vain. If you know any thing of the spirit of prayer, you make it your constant request, that all your doings may prosper, as far as they will promote the glory of God, and no further. In answer then, to your own petition, God must withhold his blessing from your most laudable employments, if they do not lie in the direct path of duty. On this account you have no rational prospect of success. If you do succeed, be assured that some root of bitterness will spring up from the very accomplishment of your purposes. To continue your studies, therefore, under existing circumstances, would be to subject yourself to certain vexation and disappointment.

'On the other hand, I would remind you, that if you simply attend to your duty, and resolutely forego the most beloved pursuits the moment they come into competition with it, there is no fear that you should lose any thing by such conduct. He who made and who preserves your intellectual faculties, can surely enable them to retain anything that will be really useful to you. Your small stock of knowledge will, with his blessing, carry you further than the acquisition of the whole circle of human science could do without it. We may affirm of intellectual gains, no less than of those which are gross and tangible, that "a little that a righteous man hath is better than the riches of many wicked." We are commanded to "be careful for nothing, but in every thing to make our requests known unto God." You may therefore, in faith, commit your studies and acquirements to Him. You may freely ask, and confidently expect, that he will take care of them for you, and return them to you, whenever they shall be wanted for his service.'

The lawfulness of study being proved, its expediency, importance, and responsibility, are next considered.

'But perhaps the contrary to all this is your case. You feel that you can devote a certain portion of your time to study, without infringing upon any prior and more imperious demand of duty. If it be thus with you, your studies are *undoubtedly lawful.* It only remains to inquire, how far they may be *expedient* for you.

'Of this, you must yourself be the best judge. It must depend on a variety of circumstances, the particular bent of your talent; the opportunities of improvement which lie within your reach; your present situation, or your future prospects in life. Let us suppose that all or any of these combine in such a degree, as to give you reason to hope that your studies may open a door of usefulness. I shall endeavour to convince you, that no fancied dread of the snares and temptations attendant upon human learning ought to deter you from the pursuit of it. In your case the acquisition of knowledge is not merely a permitted employment, but a positive duty. God has made nothing in vain. He has given us nothing, which we may not use to his glory. This we admit without reluctance in reference to every minor blessing, with which his bounty has enriched us. We acknowledge, that our health, time, riches, influence, are all entrusted to us for God's service, and capable of being used to his glory. But do not they make a strange exception to this general admission, who so roundly assert the utter inefficiency of human reasoning, and of human learning? If so many things, which we possess in common with unbelievers, may yet be legitimately improved to the glory of God, why is the understanding to be excepted? Why must that best and fairest of God's common gifts be suffered to lie waste, only because it is a common one? None can deprecate more earnestly than I do the idea, that the unassisted light of human reason can ever make us wise unto salvation. But shall we therefore say, that the reason takes no part whatever in our reception of truth? Remember, that he who gives you spiritual teaching is the very same, who gave you this human understanding. He gave you not the former to supersede and overpower, but to guide and enlighten, the latter. Both are alike his gifts; and though the one is inferior to the other, and useless without its aid, yet we must neither neglect nor despise it. *Nothing that he gives can be worthless.* So much for reason itself. And as for those parts of human learning, which contribute to strengthen and improve this faculty, *they also are given by God;* means which he has adapted to the fulfilment of no ignoble purpose. We are just as much bound to use those instruments, which Providence has placed within our reach for the cultivation of our understandings, as we are bound to attend to the culture of our fields. Nay, unless we deny that our minds are better things than our fields, we are more called upon to *encourage* the growth of the former than of the latter. If God has given you superior faculties, and the means of improving them, there cannot be a more manifest token, that he intends they should be improved. The parable of the talents is never more fairly exemplified, than when, in the way of duty, we go and trade with the natural abilities which our Divine Master has distributed to us, till we can bring them back to him with the *grateful* acknowledgment, "Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds."

'If then you are possessed of superior powers of mind, remember, that the source from whence they emanate is divine. Esteem the gift very highly for the Giver's sake; and seek to bring it to that perfection, of which he has made it susceptible. Use your talents, as not abusing them. Keep them in the dependent, subordinate station which they are intended to occupy. Expect not from them more than they are capable of performing. But expect something from them. Do something with them. Cannot you find any use for them? Take them to God. He has large fields for their employment. There is ample room in his vineyard. Pray that he would send you forth to labour in some way or other in that plenteous harvest, whose labourers are so few. There is nothing so sweet as this simple committal of your way to one, who is infinitely able to guide and protect you in it. "In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths." *Then* they become paths of usefulness indeed. The most brilliant fancy, the profoundest judgment, clearest understanding, the most extensive learning, are *in themselves* less than nothing. But intreat the blessing of God upon them; and you shall find they will be worth just so much as he pleases. The infidel exerts the whole force of his understanding, blinded as it is by the god of this world, in opposing the doctrine of the cross. Let yours, illumined by a beam from the fountain of light, be no less unequivocally devoted to the service of the cross. Think not the time lost that you spend in study, if you are studying in and for God. Do not say; 'I will lay aside the vanity of human learning, and trust only to the divine teaching for powers of sound argument and appropriate expression.' You might with equal justice say, 'I will abandon the superfluous toil of ploughing my lands, and confide in Providence for a plentiful crop.' It is true in both these cases that the increase cometh from God only; but it is no less true, that he will have the planting and the watering to be ours. God will not help you, if you refuse to help yourself. The trust of the slothful is an impious and a foolhardy trust. His mind, like his vineyard, shall be grown over with weeds.

'In intellectual, as well as in spiritual gifts, "the Spirit divideth unto every man severally as he will." Thus we read, that "Bezaleel was filled with the Spirit of God, in all manner of workmanship, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer." And if these meaner talents come directly from him, how much more the nobler properties of the understanding! Are you indebted to his bounty for the possession of a piercing and commanding intellect, and strong powers of reason? I am sure he did not give them to you for nothing? Why fold that napkin round them? It is your Lord's treasure. What possible right have you to "bury it in the earth?" Do what you will with your own, if indeed you can find any thing which is your own. But beware how you trifle with what is his. He is coming, and will expect to "receive it with usury."

'Consider, had those powers of mind belonged to you as the bondman of Satan, how would you have toiled to perfect them for his service! How much mischief would you have contrived to do with them! And shall "the Lord's freeman" take no pains to improve his talents in his Redeemer's cause? Shall no good be done with them, now that they are Christ's? It is in truth a strange doctrine, that they must lie dormant, because Satan has no longer any claim upon their exertion.

'Why is it, that we have such a dread of calling in the aid of our reasoning powers? Is it not, because we look upon reason as something of our own? If we reason in faith, is it not the Spirit of our Father speaking within us, just as much as in any other mode of addressing the unconverted? If we employ human means only so far as we have the warrant of Scripture, of past experience, and of present providences; if we cultivate our faculties in the humblest and simplest dependence upon God; surely this is neither making flesh our arm, nor "leaning to our own understanding."'

Some difficulties connected with study are then discussed in interesting connexion with Christian principles.

'I cannot but attribute many of the difficulties which perplex and obstruct the Christian student, to his not studying sufficiently in faith. We do not pursue our intellectual contemplations in the same simple, child-like dependence, which we are sometimes enabled to carry into our other duties. We make study an employment too entirely secular. We are apt to consider it as something wholly apart from religion. It is one of those subjects, upon which we do not permit ourselves to converse freely with our heavenly Father. To apply to him at every step for counsel and assistance, would convey to us an idea of presumption. We are afraid to trifle with the majesty of God, by expecting that he will take an interest in the mere earthly improvement of the intellect. That he both gave us this intellect, and bestowed on us the means of its cultivation, is admitted by us beyond the possibility of a doubt. We adore the bounty which has adorned and enriched us. But we hesitate to believe in a condescension, which shall stoop to notice the petty progress of each minute portion of this intellect, and make its daily and hourly advancement the object of benevolent concern. I would not, my beloved fellow Christians, utter one single expression, which might impair your veneration for the Divine Majesty. But in this timid reserve I perceive no marks of genuine veneration. Your privilege is to draw near to God with the tender reverence, the sacred familiarity, of a beloved child. To shrink from his presence with the retiring fearfulness of a slave, is to dishonour the scripture representation of his attributes. And in which of your earthly affairs can you hope that the benevolence of your Father will be interested, if not in the cultivation of your reason? It is the gift, by which he has distinguished you from the rest of his earthly creation. It is that, which stamps you with the impress of Divinity, which tells you, you are born to immortality. The immensity of condescension by which the Most High bends his regard to any of our paltry concerns, is indeed beyond conception, as it is beyond praise. But if, where all is so unworthy, I might dare to mention one thing as less unworthy of his notice, it would be the progress of the mind. We "are fearfully and wonderfully made." But our intellectual faculties are the surpassing wonder, the crowning excellence of God's creation. The countless worlds that are scattered over the infinity of space, declare the glory of God. The magnificence which created, the strength which upholds, the wisdom which governs the mighty system, afford inexhaustible matter of wonder and adoration. But the intellect, which is able to reflect upon all this, is something far more admirable, in which the glory of God is more greatly conspicuous. The original formation of reason is not, however, more wonderful, than the improvement of which it is capable. A man of a highly cultivated understanding appears altogether a being of a different order from one wholly destitute of the advantages of education. Reason, as it is the noblest of our faculties, so it is the most capable of being conducted to a high degree of perfection. And God is glorified in the perfection of his works. When therefore you cannot confidently look for communion with God in the exercises of your understanding; when you are afraid to expect his co-operation in the use of the meanest of those human aids which he has given you for its improvement, it can only be accounted for in two ways. This hesitation proceeds either from the absence of a religious motive, or from an infirmity of faith. If you have no decidedly religious motive for your studies, I do not see how, with any colour of propriety, you can devote yourself to them at all. I am not surprised to hear, that doubts and difficulties throng your path. But if you are seeking to cultivate your understanding with a single eye to God's glory, you may so conduct each one of your literary employments as to enjoy his presence all the time you are engaged in it. You may draw near to God, even in your studious hours. He will not despise any thing that you do for him. His love accepts your worthless services with as much complacency as the princely obedience of an angel. I repeat it; to study in faith, *in a humble, simple, child-like faith*, removes every perplexity and temptation incident to its pursuit. Your employments will then cease to appear altogether secular. Cultivating your reason as God's gift, and assured, that he beholds not with indifference your feeble attempts to glorify him in this greatest wonder of his creative power; its commonest exercises will become in a measure sacred as the exercises of religion. Spiritual improvement, with no lingering step, will accompany your intellectual progress. "Holiness to the Lord" will be written upon the most trivial of your studies.'

The influence of a vain-glorious spirit, as the canker upon this holy principle of faith, is pointedly illustrated.

'When once the thought of what men will say of us is permitted to mingle with our studies, all spiritual comfort in them is at an end. Our faith must necessarily languish. It can no longer be a living faith, an active principle. "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another?" was the severe rebuke of Jesus to the vain-glorious Pharisees. When I observe a Christian delighted with the homage that is paid to his eloquence, his judgment, or his taste, should he tell me, that his "love is not waxing cold," that his faith is as strong as when none but God cared for his obscure name, I should be beyond measure astonished at such a circumstance, if indeed I could credit its reality. But in truth, the assertion only proves that the man's heart must be already "hardened through the deceitfulness of sin;" or that he has never known what true faith is, for "how can he believe," so long as he is "receiving honour from men?"'

The snare of self-indulgence connected with study, is most profitably treated.

'I have all along supposed, that you are studying with a view to the benefit of others, rather than to your own gratification. Yet even in this case self-indulgence may insinuate itself into your pursuits. If you possess a talent for them, they will prove so attractive to you, that you will become attached to them for their own sake. You will be tempted to prolong your pleasing employments, and suffer them gradually to steal something from the time appointed for other duties. We have already touched upon the absorbing nature of our mathematical studies, and the intellectual disadvantages which ensue from giving way to their silent encroachments. These, however, are of small moment, when compared with their corroding influence upon our spiritual enjoyment. An excessive fondness for these abstruse meditations, a habit of indulging in them for their own sake, will be as a worm at the root of our communion with God. A lamentable declension from his ways, will be the probable consequence. By insensible degrees the thoughts of our literary pursuits will begin to mingle with our serious meditations. Then the hour of study will break in upon the hour of prayer, and perhaps in time may totally interrupt or supersede it. Who can tell the train of evils which will follow such an intermission of our spiritual watchfulness! When prayer is omitted, study is unsanctified. Every selfish motive has free permission to enter; nay, is invited, as it were, to take possession of the heart, whose sentinel has thus deserted his post. And with what impertinent excuses do we entertain conscience all the time! 'I am just now so occupied, that I am scarcely in frame for prayer. Were I to attempt it, I should find it impossible to disengage my thoughts from the busy, perplexing reflections which have taken fast hold of them. When I have followed out these investigations to some satisfactory conclusion; when I have considered this or that point a little more fully; when I have conquered this difficulty, or corrected that mistake, then my mind will be in a placid uninterrupted frame. Then shall be my hour of prayer. I shall then betake myself to my spiritual duties with tranquillity and delight; whereas now they would be a weariness, a formality.' Thus the hour of prayer is put off to "a more convenient season." Our contemplations detain us longer than we had anticipated. The evening shades thicken round us; still we are deeply engaged in our inquiry; still unsatisfied with the result. Midnight surprises us at our labours; and at last the lateness of the hour warns us to repose, before we have found time to pray. A sense of languor and drowsiness, the natural result of our intense mental exertions, either quite prevents our devotions, or compels us to insult God with a prayer from which the heart is absent. We retire to rest with the painful feeling that we have lost a day. For every Christian must be sensible, that he cannot rob God of his portion of the day, without robbing himself of the whole. Still the deceitfulness of sin will follow us with a lying consolation. 'It is but one day; to-morrow I shall awake refreshed, and my first thoughts shall be with God.' Let us not silence conscience with this deceitful plea. If I am not greatly mistaken, this one lost day is the forerunner of many more. Our foot has begun to slide, our steps to decline. To a heart prone to depart from God, this retrograde motion is natural and easy, while the effort to regain a forward progress is immensely difficult. The sin to which we have yielded to-day, will revisit us to-morrow with more urgent solicitations. Self, having obtained the indulgence of one day, will plead hard for another. To make no more than one deviation from the straight path, is infinitely more difficult than not to deviate from it at all. "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways." Perhaps the very circumstance of having a religious motive for study, may then be used by us as a cloak to hide our defection. 'All my pursuits are designed to fit me for engaging in God's service. I cannot therefore go very much out of the way of duty, by devoting to them a little more time than prudence might otherwise have dictated. My present diligence will one day be turned to account in the cause of religion; it cannot therefore be wholly misplaced.' Thus, in the plenitude of self-indulgence, we can talk to ourselves about our zeal for the Lord Hosts. Our conduct resembles that of the priests, who "offered polluted bread upon the altar, and then said, 'Wherein have we polluted thee?'" If we would offer any acceptable service to God, it must not be thus defiled with self. "Hath the Lord as great delight in" our worthiest pursuits, "as in obeying the voice of the Lord?" We are told that "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Our poor worthless attempts in the cause of our Redeemer can be of no value, but as they are accepted by God through his intercession. How foolish then to imagine that we can succeed, while we neglect thus offering them to God in frequent and faithful prayers! If we will work in our own strength, we must expect to be left to such success as our own strength is able to ensure.

'Do you, upon serious reflection, perceive that you are now yielding in any way to this self-indulgent temper? Let me earnestly recommend a temporary cessation, if possible, from the employments that have ensnared you. A month, a week, in some cases even a day, rescued from your too fondly cherished occupations, and devoted to earnest prayer for future preservation and direction, may enable you to resume them without danger. But, as you value your peace and spirituality of mind, beware of returning to them, till you experience so much sweetness in heavenly things, as to make the very best of earthly things appear trifling and insipid in the comparison. The memory of Henry Martyn is sacred to every Christian student. The rule by which he regulated his literary pursuits, deserves to be called the golden rule of study. Let us carry it into all the parts of human learning. It will strip them of every excessive and ensnaring attraction. 'So deep,' says his biographer, 'was his veneration for the word of God, that when a suspicion arose in his mind, that any other book he might be studying was about to gain an undue influence over his mind, he instantly laid it aside; nor would he resume it, till he had felt and realized the paramount excellence of the Divine oracles.'

She adverts to what she had said above, as suggesting a safe-guard against some temptations of self-sufficiency and self-dependence.

'The only effectual remedy I have met with, is to consider human reason and spiritual teaching in one respect exactly in the same point of view: I mean, as both freely bestowed by God, to be increased, continued, or suspended, at his pleasure. I would consider every little improvement in my studies; the smallest extension of my intellectual powers; the least ray of light that shines in upon my natural reason, when engaged in the commonest earthly speculations; all these I would consider as coming just as directly and absolutely from the Spirit of my God, as I do those sacred influences which inform and comfort my spiritual existence. Ceasing to look upon reason as our own, we should cease to lean upon it with a misplaced confidence. What we expect from it would be expected from the God to whom it belongs, not from ourselves, who have no right in it. The only way to preclude all glorying and trusting in our own things, is, *to have nothing of our own*. Then, *when all is God's*, we can neither confide too much, nor expect too largely. Thus David acted. He said, "I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me." Did he therefore resign the use of the sword and of the bow? No: but he ascribed the strength which moved his arm in wielding them to God; "It is God that girdeth me with strength;" "He teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." There is nothing so reasonable or so delightful as this unreserved ascription of all our intellectual powers to "God our Maker, who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven." He who thus realizes the property of God in his reasoning faculties, may without arrogance indulge in anticipation of their usefulness, which to a weaker faith, would seem the height of presumption. It is not that he esteems the instrument too highly; but that, viewing it *as God's instrument*, he can set no bounds to its efficiency. He does not imagine that his own arm can bring victory. But through God he knows he shall do valiantly. He enters deeply into the prophet's feelings; "I cannot speak, for I am a child." But the answer of the Lord is graven upon his memory; "Whatsover I command thee thou shalt speak." He is ready to exclaim with Moses, "Who am I, that I should go upon the Lord's errand? I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." But his diffidence vanishes before the firm assurance that God "will be with his mouth, and teach him what to say." To cultivate our reasoning powers with this absolute hopelessness of their single efficacy, and these large expectations from them as instruments in the hand of God, is to bring a certain blessing upon all that we do with them. Hope nothing from yourself. Think nothing too great to hope from the bounty of your God. A firm adherence to this simple rule would enable you to bring your reason to the highest degree of perfection; for God will honour those who thus honour him. "Cease then from your own wisdom." "Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not to your own understanding." Sure I am that if your trust be thus in the Lord, he will teach you "excellent things in counsels and knowledge." You shall both "know the certainty of the words of truth," and be able to "answer the words of truth to them that send unto you."' Again, 'It is the perfection of intellectual enjoyment to receive reason entirely as the gift of our God, and every improvement of it, as a fresh token of his love. Every thing is good, must be good, if we view it in this light. How shall it not be good, if it comes directly from our Father's hand? How shall it not be very good, if sanctioned by our Father's blessing? You know that "a gift is as a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it; whithersoever it turneth, it prospereth." And then, "the blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich; and he addeth no sorrow with it." The poorest trifle becomes valuable, if it be the gift of love. But reason is itself a precious stone, a costly gem. When received as a gift it becomes a charmed stone, a talisman to shield from harm, and to ensure prosperity. Only acknowledge all your earthly acquirements in this light, and you shall find, that, whichever way you turn them, success shall attend your endeavours. Regard every one of your mental faculties as given to you by creating love. Rejoice in the gift, because redeeming love has restored it to you with a seven-fold blessing. Here is a shield of love, if the shield of faith appear insufficient for your defence. For will not you earnestly guard against the abuse of a thing so given and so blessed?'

Her encouragement and advice in the resistance of self-indulgent temptations is truly excellent.

'It is encouraging to reflect, that if "you are Christ's, all things are yours." Whatever talents he has given you are yours, freely to use and improve. *They are also His;* therefore you may confidently expect, that he will get glory to himself out of them. And this, if I mistake not, is your wish. Your acquirements are of no value in your eyes, except as you can use them for Christ. Begin then and end all your studies with him. Seek to find communion with God in every one of them. "Do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, and to the glory of God." The curse which clings to the best of earthly things, and which once shed its baneful influence on all your intellectual faculties, is now taken away in Christ Jesus. Once perhaps your talents might have made you a splendid mischief, a brilliant pest to society. Now if you use them in faith, they shall be an instrument of healing and of blessing.'

The following closing remarks place the balance between intellectual and Christian wisdom with admirable clearness and beauty.

'On the whole, in attempting to decide upon the true merits of human learning, my readers will not acquit me of the charge of inconsistency, unless they bear in mind the two-fold principle upon which my assertions are founded, and from which I hope I shall not appear to have deviated. On the one hand, I conceive that to enlarge and strengthen, to cultivate and refine, to enrich and beautify the intellect, is of all the objects of mere earthly attainment, incomparably the most worthy. Viewing study in this light, I cannot but speak in its favour with some degree of liveliness and passion, as one who has tasted, though very slightly, of the benefits which flow from it. On the other hand, when I compare this best of earthly things with the lowest and meanest of heavenly attainments, it sinks ineffably in my esteem; no longer possessing any intrinsic worth, but valuable only from its subserviency to these higher objects. Considering it, therefore, in this point of view, I am exceedingly fearful of overrating its efficacy. I am led to speak of it with the caution due to a pursuit, which is equally capable of becoming a singular blessing, or an extraordinary snare. Thus when I weigh intellectual cultivation in any earthly balance, I cannot but adjudge to it a decided superiority. But when I place it in the balance of the sanctuary, I perceive that it has no weight at all, but what it derives from the blessing of God on accompanying circumstances. By affixing to human learning any independent value, we take from it that which it really has; for though exceedingly useful as a submissive attendant upon divine knowledge, it can do us nothing but harm, if we permit its entrance as a dominating usurper.

'We should be less apt to set our hearts upon the pleasure of intellect, if we reflected how much they partake of the evanescent nature of all earthly enjoyments. When this little moment which we call life is fled, of what use shall our studies be to us? Our enlarged faculties will then discern in an instant more than a thousand lives of intense application would now enable us to discern. Our earthly pursuits and attachments are among those "childish things, which we shall put away," when we arrive at man's estate. The very best and wisest of them are but the "*summi amores puerorum, qui una cum prætextâ ponentur.*" While, however, we are in this fleeting state of existence, we must not despise those temporary delights and assistances, which the goodness of God has so wonderfully adapted to our imperfection; nor need we fear to avail ourselves of them with due moderation, and in a simple dependence upon God's blessing. But never let it be said of the Christian, that he is so much absorbed in "things temporal," as to neglect, for one moment, "the things which are eternal."'

The intrinsic excellence of these remarks render an apology for their introduction needless. The high and general importance of the subject, the full development of its true principles, the solid and expanded views, and, above all, the Christian wisdom, spiritual simplicity, and unction which pervade the discussion, will commend it to the profitable attention of every intelligent reader. The treatise itself (the writer here speaks from more competent judgment than his own) might probably be considered by men of science, as not formed upon the more approved system of mathematical study; and, though displaying much power and clearness of mind, is occasionally inaccurate in definition and illustration. The practical and excursive remarks (judging from the preceding extracts, and some others hereafter to be adduced) will however be generally considered to possess no common value.

The writer has been induced to extract so largely from this instructive manuscript, chiefly with a view to two important classes of persons in the present day. In this era of religious excitement the minds of a large mass are at work, inquiring, or rather speculating, in a feverish state of restlessness and perplexity. Their feelings are interested, animated, and more or less intensely occupied with the engrossing subjects now brought before the church. Yet often—among the young especially—whether from defect of education or of mental cultivation, their judgments have little power of discrimination; their principles are confined; and their profession mainly characterized by spiritual dissipation, which exposes them to the besetting snares of a disputatious temper, self-conceit, and self-delusion. To such we would strongly recommend the principles, obligations, and advantages of Christian study, which Miss Graham has so admirably laid out before them. The solid influence of these intellectual habits upon her own character, furnishes the most satisfactory illustration of their importance. So far from diverting her attention from the supreme concerns of eternity, they enabled her, through Divine teaching, the more steadily to concentrate her interest in habitual, enlivening, and practical contemplation.

To Christian professors, whose habits and pleasures are found in the field of intellect, we cannot but observe, how much they may learn from this highly-gifted saint, of that "simplicity and godly sincerity," that careful inspection of motives, that watchful subordination of natural indulgence to the supreme object of the glory of God, which can alone exclude the blast of Divine jealousy from these legitimate sources of enjoyment. All her views of science were received through a spiritual medium, and elevated her soul to the hallowed atmosphere of communion with her God. The spirit of prayer was the constant guard upon her intellectual studies. Never did she enter upon the daily course of tuition with her young cousin without earnestly imploring the blessing of her heavenly Father. We have already seen a specimen of her spirit of supplication on this interesting subject, upon which it would be well for the student to meditate, till his heart becomes deeply imbued with its simple spirituality and enlargement. How delightful again is the pattern set forth in one of her letters! Speaking of some perplexities relative to the pursuing of her studies, she adds—'I am now resolved, God helping me, to give this week to prayer, presenting each of my studies to Jesus, that he may prosper and sanctify it by his Spirit, take from it all self-love, and cause me in all my employments, even in the least, to aim at his glory, and to labour in his name. Join with me in this prayer.' Not less instructive is the practical spirit that pervaded her studies. Nothing was done for self-indulgence. Her pursuits were only valuable in proportion as they were consecrated. In every thing, to her to live was Christ. Nothing besides seemed worthy the name of life. Nothing seemed to command her interest independent of this great object. To a correspondent, who had inquired her sentiments relative to the cultivation of her mind, she writes—'I think it may be done, with a prayer however, and a resolution, that all that we do shall one day be employed in the service of Christ. I think the only thing is, never to lose sight of this great object. And to this end I know no other means than that of making it a subject of prayer. I have often been prevented from praying for success in study, because I thought it was better only to mention spiritual wants at the throne of grace. But I now think, that after having asked a blessing upon our common occupations, we are less likely to forget the end, which alone can enable us to follow them without danger.' Apart from this holy simplicity of principle, (which is the exclusive character of the Christian Student,) 'learning'—as Mr. Baxter tersely remarks,—'is but the pleasing of the fancy in the knowledge of unnecessary things.' Intellectual pleasures will be purchased at the fearful expense of the loss of heavenly communion with God. In the cultivation of this spirit, we shall be enabled to honour our God, and to receive his needful aid in literary as well as in religious pursuits. The solid advantages of study indeed will be safely enjoyed, and therefore will become a medium, by which the Divine glory will be displayed, and the presence of our God will be realized with a higher zest and a more abiding influence.

But in returning to Miss Graham, we may add, that her studies were not confined to the severer branches of knowledge. She had cultivated an acquaintance with the Roman classics with considerable success.[*] In the field of modern literature and taste, she was perfectly familiar with the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. For the first two, she had proper masters. The last she learnt from a Castilian, who was introduced to her father's house, in exchange for teaching him her own language. In order to improve herself in the knowledge of the languages, she made considerable use of them in mutual correspondence with her young friends. For the same purpose she translated Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield (a work not congenial to her taste, but selected as a good specimen of English style) into French, Latin, and Spanish, and commenced an Italian version. She made a similar use of Gil Blas, to perfect herself in the Spanish language for an important object, which will shortly be noticed at length. She appears, however, to have ultimately relinquished this work for a reason equally characteristic of her good sense and Christian simplicity, 'Should I become,' she writes to her correspondent, 'perfect mistress of the pleasing and pregnant style of Gil Blas (of which I intend to write at least two volumes,) it would be almost too light for the serious subject on which I wish to write.' In the same spirit the project even of these two volumes seem to have been quickly laid aside. The next week she writes to the same correspondent: 'I told you that I had begun to write Gil Blas very diligently. But yesterday I thought of the folly of thus employing myself about a work in which I wished Christ to do all. I am therefore determined to give the remainder of this week and the following to reading the Bible with prayer.

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[*] To one of her correspondents she recommends the study of the Latin Grammar, as the means of a clear understanding of 'that noble language,' and of 'ennobling the intellect by the reading of the poets and historians of that language.' Two other advantages she notices—that of a more distinct and enlarged acquaintance with our own 'language, in great part deduced from the Latin,' and that of forming a good style, adding—'that the English style of a person well-instructed in Latin acquires great richness and fertility from the number of classical and energetic words of which it is composed.' While however in her manuscript she points out the substantial advantages of this instructive field of intellect, she does not fail to advert to the restriction, which sound Christian judgment is constrained to impose upon an indiscriminate indulgence. 'If,' she observes, 'we cultivate classic literature with a view only to increase our fund of critical knowledge, we shall miss many of the benefits, which we might have derived from pursuing it with a more valuable and extensive design. The true ends of that fascinating study are to impart chasteness and elegance to the style, to enrich the mind with manly sentiments, beautiful images, and poetical associations.' She elsewhere recommends the cultivation of this field of literature as 'a corrective to' what she calls 'the cold and jejune expression, which marks the style of the mere mathematician. I acknowledge,' she adds, 'the Christian objections, that are urged, not without weight, against the study of the ancient authors. I am only advocating them under proper restrictions, and with due moderation. Thus guarded from abuse, let them walk hand in hand with the more abstruse sciences. They will mutually aid and correct each other. A high degree of classic elegance is consistent with strong

The best English writers were familiar to her, especially the standard works connected with the philosophy of the mind. She appears to have made herself thoroughly acquainted with the principles of Locke. She speaks in one of her letters of reading his important Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding for the twentieth time with renewed interest, and recommends to her correspondent the study of this work with great earnestness, as the means of giving her an increased thirst for pursuits purely intellectual. Stewart was read with much improvement to herself. Butler's Analogy was also upon her first shelf. The following letter to her cousin gives a lively and intelligent view of her interest in these valuable writers.

Hastings, *July* 26, 1823.

'I am very glad that you like Butler; I found, as you do, not only that he is humble himself, but that he inspires his readers with sentiments of humility. He shows them the littleness of human reason, and how weak it is where it will not submit to the light of revelation. I will tell you the good Stewart has done me. I have long felt that all the efforts I have made to obtain true knowledge have been almost useless. Stewart has shown me the reason of this. It is because I have always allowed the greatest confusion in my ideas. I have never arranged them. He has shown me that my mind is like a large sack filled with rubbish of all kinds, and where perhaps something that is useful may be found, but all is packed together in so confused a manner, that whosoever sought for it would be seeking a needle in a bundle of hay. I am almost in despair; however I am resolved to make every effort to arrange a little better the confused mass, and I am more than ever convinced, that the only sure way of having the head filled with clear and well-defined ideas is to accustom oneself to put one's thoughts upon paper. I must tell you a resolution which I desire to execute: it is to write down from time to time all the new ideas and facts, whether original or acquired by reading or conversation, which I have gained. By doing this we should know the progress which our minds make; and we shoud not forget, as we now do, the ideas which pass through the mind without making any impression, but which might be very useful if gathered together, and reserved to a proper occasion.'

Her acquaintance with the Greek language only extended to the reading of the Greek Testament. The further progress in this department of literature was hindered by her application to other studies necessary for the superintendance of the education of her cousin. She was proposing to commence the study of Hebrew, but increasing indisposition precluded her from engaging in any new branch of study that excited her interest and exercised her habits of application.

Miss Graham studied the theory of music with much attention, and wrote a short but correct development of its principles* for the use of a young cousin, then preparing for the situation of governess, and whom, as we have before hinted, she had in part educated for this important sphere with anxious pains and interest. Apart from this object, she would not probably have devoted so large a portion of her valuable time to this study, as it was a matter of frequent concern to her to observe the preponderance given to this elegant and fascinating science above the more solid and useful accomplishments.

In some of her lively exercises of mind she took up the subject of Chemistry with great delight, making long extracts from the books which she had read, and going over every part till she thoroughly understood it. Without having any more definite object for this study, she felt that some absorbing occupation of this character was necessary to beguile the long and wearisome hours of sickness. For the same object Botany also attracted her attention. Thus with various and successive occupations her mind was always maintained in active, intelligent, and profitable exercise. A striking feature of her character (one which entered into her recreations equally with her studies, and which formed the basis of her high mental superiority) was a total concentration of every power of thought and feeling, in the object of pursuit immediately before her.† Indeed, as her father observes, 'she followed Solomon's advice in every thing she undertook. "Whatsoever thine hand findeth to do, do it with thy might!"'

Her peculiar singleness of aim preserved her in the midst of her intellectual employments from the baneful influence of self-indulgence, and stimulated her to apply her literary pursuits to valuable practical purposes. Her great object in the study of the Spanish language, was to obtain a medium of communication with the Spanish refugees. The discovery of a strong tincture of infidelity among them, combined, with the recollection of her own fall, to excite a compassionate, earnest, and sympathizing concern on their behalf. The second part of 'The Test of Truth' opens with an exquisitely touching view of her feelings on this painful subject. Indeed the work contains the substance of her communications with some of those interesting but unhappy men. It was sent to them, with much and earnest prayer, upon the eve of their departure from England. She had intended to have translated some of the most striking extracts from Paley and other writers upon the Evidences of Christianity, and in one of her letters she mentions having no less than eleven English volumes before her mind for this purpose. Finding, however, that Paley had been translated, she purchased the work, and sent it to her Spanish friends with her own.

The following notices will give an interesting view of the exercises of her mind and faith strongly called out towards these objects of her compassion, after she was removed from immediate intercourse with them.

Sept. 8, 1825.

'As to my Spanish, we have been so busy about the schools, that I have not been able to do much. But I find a delightful confidence that this book, having been the suggestion of Christ, and belonging to him, and not to me, will be blessed by him. I have read one part of 'Las Ruinas,'‡ and in reading it I was struck with the reflection, that the best answer would be a continual reference to the word of God. I thought therefore of placing my observations on the blank pages, and of

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powers of sound argumentation. The combination forms a style of reasoning as pleasing as it is convincing. The simplicity of a mathematical style is thus kept from degenerating into poverty, and its cautious correctness is not permitted to stiffen into a frozen sterility.'

* A Letter to a young Piano Forte player.

† One of her letters gives a graphical picture of this remarkable concentration of mind.

Plymouth, *May* 10, 1825.

'When the fury of learning takes possession of me, I cannot think of any thing else. If I am seized with a fit for studying any particular thing, I cannot give my mind to any other studies, however much I usually delight in them. I now wish to study Spanish and Music. But I am so carried away with my ancient mania for Mathematics, that, although my head aches, and I cannot think without inconvenience of any thing, I am perpetually puzzling my brains to resolve questions which will never be of any use to me. It is said, that every thing is given for some good. I cannot imagine why I have been endued with this invincible propensity to a study, which is always diverting me from more useful and feminine occupations.' This letter, it will be remarked, was written several years before her Treatise on Mathematical Study, and before the important intellectual and moral benefit of that study, which her Treatise so fully develops, had opened to her mind.

‡ Volney's Ruins of Palmyra, translated into the Spanish—an infidel work of much authority with her Spanish friends.

filling the margin of the printed paper with references. I beseech you to pray, that if I be not a fit instrument for the conversion of the souls of these poor Spanish exiles, the Holy Spirit would be pleased to raise up some other.'

Miss Graham obtained a copy of the book, interleaved with blank paper for the insertion of her remarks. She did not however complete this task, thinking that the simple argument of 'The Test of Truth' was better adapted for her purpose.

April 9, 1827.

'Last week my blessed Master gave me the power of writing in his name to the poor Spaniards. I have written three sheets in English. But as I have not studied Spanish for a long time, I find myself in some difficulty, and must give this week to the language. Next week I hope to translate what I have written, and to send it to you; if you will oblige me by seeing it put into their hands. My faith in seeing them converted to God increases every day. At present, "the strong man armed keepeth his palace, and his goods are at peace." "But I have a confidence given me from heaven, that I shall see the "stronger than he," who will conquer him, and "take from him all his armour wherein he trusted." I may not perhaps see this while I am here; but I shall not rejoice the less, because I see it in heaven.'

About a month afterwards, we find her mind deeply exercised upon this work of labour and love.

May 5, 1827.

'I wrote the Spanish book in the name of Jesus, and in the belief that he would give me a spirit and a wisdom, which by nature I do not possess. I *had* a strong faith in the promises of God to manifest himself in his own time to his own elect. But in the way of preparing to send it, my faith vanishes, and I have now only "an evil heart of unbelief."[*] To say to all the bones in the church-yard at Stoke, "O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord,"—would almost seem to me easier than to say the same thing to souls dead in infidelity. However, I feel that I have courage even for this, since "Jesus is the resurrection and the life," because all the glory will be to him alone; and because he has assured me, that having confided myself to him, my expectations can never be disappointed.'

The next letter was sent some months afterwards, with 'The Test of Truth,' and 'Paley's Evidences.'

Dec. 20, 1827.

'I send you Paley, which pleases me very much, with the letter, in which, without entering upon any argument about the Evidences, &c. I have leant upon the simple proposition, that God having promised in the Scriptures to give his Spirit to whoever asks it with sincerity, must either keep his promise, or not be God; and I have endeavoured to show them, that according to their own principles they are without excuse, if they neglect to seek their Creator in this manner. But if even now it do not succeed, it has been a blessing to me; it has been the cause of many prayers, of many sweet moments of communion with Jesus. I cannot therefore but hope, that in the time and manner which please him, my prayers will be answered. I recommend these unhappy people to you. Pray for them often and fervently; possibly amongst them may be found some of those who were "chosen before the foundation of the world."'

In another letter formerly quoted, after having begged her friend to join with her in prayer for a blessing upon her studies, she added in conclusion—'And pray for me, that I may have something to say to those poor Spaniards, and that my love for them may not grow cold.'

The full result of her prayers and "trials of faith" on behalf of her Spanish friends, is among the secrets which "the day will declare." Meanwhile, what Christian can fail to be invigorated by this exhibition of prayer, faith, self-denial, and patient hope in the work of our Divine Master?

Allusion has been already made to a disinterested project which she had formed of devoting herself to the work of tuition. To her cousin, she writes as if her heart was full of it—'I think of it day and night. The opportunity of my illness appears to me excellent for preparing myself for my plan, *if the ability for putting it into execution should be granted me.*' Her gracious Lord however was pleased to accept her in the desire, not in the performance of her work. Protracted indisposition hindered her from giving any definite shape or execution to the plan, which only remains on record, as one among the many instances of the ceaseless activity with which her energies were employed in the service of her Redeemer, and of his Church.

It is natural to expect to see her a "fellow-worker with God," in the daily course of active devotedness. She was a constant visiter of the poor in the most miserable abodes, under circumstances trying to her delicate frame and tender spirit. For some time she took a daily and somewhat distant walk through an uninviting part of the city, to spend an hour with a dying young woman, whose case had deeply interested her, and to whom there is every reason to believe that she was found the blessed messenger of life and salvation. Her sympathy was much called out by the temporal wants of the poor. Much of her leisure time was employed in working for their benefit. A large chest of useful articles of clothing was constantly kept in her own room, while the opportunities of distribution were always improved as means of spiritual instruction to the objects of her consideration. Her Sabbaths were entirely devoted to the service of God. She became a teacher in the Christ Church Sunday School, and though she was often exhausted at the close of the day by the continued excitement of her exertions, yet she ever counted her toil in the work of Christ to be her highest privilege and delight.

Upon her removal from London, the interest of her intellectual mind continued to be called forth in the employment of a village sphere. A deep and abiding constraint of redeeming love regulated every mental effort. Though she diligently improved her retirement in adding to her already well-furnished storehouse; yet she chiefly regarded it as the means of secretly recruiting her strength for the service of God. Hers was not the mind to repose luxuriously in 'the Castle of Indolence.' Hers was not the soul that could rest even in spiritual self-indulgence, insensible to the urgent calls of active duty. Even her delicate health was not suffered to preclude her from the self-denying exercise of Christian devotedness. During the first summer of her country residence, she regularly attended at the parish workhouse at seven o'clock, to explain the scriptures to the poor previous to the commencement of their daily labour. This however, like every other "labour of love," was an exercise of her faith and conflict with the great enemy. She mentions to her cousin the repugnance, which at one time she found to this work, and her yielding to the temptation of deferring it from day to day. Yet it was not long before she found the victory of faith over inertion; and gladly did she give the praise to Him, who enabled her to make a successful effort; 'I told them of my intention' she writes 'to go every morning to pray with them, and read the word of God. My Saviour removed every difficulty out of the way, and caused the women to receive me with the greatest civility.'

The children of the parish were the objects of constant solicitude. She wrote a few simple addresses for their use. She drew out also questions upon the parables and miracles for the assistance of the Sunday School Teachers; and, when prevented by indisposition from attending the school, she assembled the children at her own house for Scriptural instruction. The young women also in the parish occupied a large share of her anxious interest; and, finding them unwilling to assemble at the same time and place with the children, she appropriated a separate evening for their instruction. She was, as might be supposed, a constant cottage visiter. The following beautiful extract from her mathematical manuscript will show the high and consecrated spirit with which she connected this humble ministration with her intellectual pleasures. Warning her Christian student of the dangerous snare of self-complacency,[*] she inquires of him—

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[*] This book was 'The Test of Truth.' Her care and anxiety for them extended to their temporal as well as their spiritual distresses. As a token of affectionate sympathy, as well as some acknowledgement for valuable instruction received, she gladly appropriated the proceeds of her Musical Tract to the fund raised for their relief.

[*] Her remarks upon self-complacency are so just and searching, that the writer is tempted to add them in a note.

"*Self-complacency* is another of those temptations, to which the student is peculiarly exposed. He may so far distrust his own heart, as to abstain from 'doing any thing through strife or vain glory.' He may keep out of the way of human praise. And yet there may be an inward complacency, a proud consciousness of superiority, equally destructive to his growth in grace. He 'thinks of himself more highly than he ought to think.' He courts not the breath of applause: but he drinks in the intoxicating vapour of self-gratulation and esteem. There are some men, in whom pride stifles the impulses of vanity. If they seem to care little what others think of them, it is because they think so well of themselves. Their own opinion needs no confirmation. Their solitary plaudit is so abundantly satisfactory, that the buzz of admiring multitudes would be a superfluous

'Do you ever experience this proud internal consciousness of superior genius or learning? God has placed a ready antidote within your reach. The abode of learned leisure is seldom far from the humble dwelling of some unlettered Christian. Thither let your steps be directed. "Take sweet counsel with your poor uneducated brother." There you will find the man whom our "King delighteth to honour." His mean chamber, graced with one well-worn book, is as "the house of God, and the very gate of heaven." Observe how far the simplicity of his faith, and the fervour of his love, exceed any thing you can find in your own experience, cankered as it is with intellectual pride. God has taught him many lessons, of which all your learning has left you ignorant. Make him your instructor in spiritual things. He is a stranger to the names of your favourite poets and orators. But he is very familiar with "the sweet psalmist of Israel." He can give you rich portions of the eloquence of one, who "spake as never man spake." He can neither "tell you the number of the stars, nor call them all by their names." But he will discourse excellently concerning "the star of Bethlehem." He is unable to attempt the solution of a difficult problem. But he can enter into some of those deep things of God's law, which to an unhumbled heart, are dark and mysterious. He will not talk to you "in the words which man's wisdom teacheth;" but oh! what sweet and simple expressions of divine love are those "which the Holy Ghost has taught him!" He "knows nothing but Christ crucified;" but this is the excellent knowledge, to which all other knowledge is foolishness. He has "the fear of the Lord; that is wisdom. He departs from evil; that is understanding." When your soul is refreshed by this simple and lowly communion with one of the meanest of God's saints, return to your learned retirement. Look over your intellectual possessions. Choose out the brightest jewel in your literary cabinet. Place it by the side of "the meek and quiet spirit" of this obscure Christian. Determine which is the "ornament of greater price." Compare the boasted treasures of your mind with the spiritual riches of your illiterate brother. Run over the whole catalogue. Let not one be omitted; the depth of your understanding, the strength of your reasonings, the brilliancy of your fancy; the fire of your eloquence. Be proud of them. Glory in them. You cannot. They dwindle into insignificance. They appear to you "as a drop of a bucket, as the small dust of the balance."'

The following letter gives a beautiful illustration of the truly Christian spirit, with which she inculcated upon her friends the responsibility of persevering effort in the work of God:

Stoke, *August* 4, 1825.

'I think that visiting the poor is an excellent help to spirituality of mind, because it shows us our own weakness, when we lose sight for a moment of the strength of Christ. It also brings to light many secret corruptions, of which we were before ignorant. I am very anxious to hear about the Infant School. Do not be discouraged by the cold answers of ——. Rather pray for them, that more faith may be given to them, and a spirit of love for the souls that are perishing around them. Such a prayer offered in faith by one Christian for another will bring down a blessing upon both. I am very sorry that I was angry with ——, instead of praying for her. I do not think that Christians pray enough for each other. Perhaps the Lord is proving your faith and love by making you wait in this cause. If it be so, do not doubt his power to carry you through all you undertake in his name. From the mouth of the children for whom you are interested, he will cause his praises to be sounded. Do "not" then, "be weary in well-doing." If you have not already begun, let me advise you not to begin, till you have given a special time to the scriptures and to prayer. I desire all our undertakings to be "sanctified by the word of God and prayer."' Then referring to her own intention of setting apart the next week for spiritual exercises in reference to her Spanish communications—she adds—'I thought perhaps that you would give next week to these things, and that it would be delightful to me to remember, that we were both thus employed at the same time. But if you cannot do this, pray at the time fixed by us, that I may have grace and faith to pass these days in dedicating myself to this work, and that we may both of us in all that we do be delivered from a self-seeking spirit, and may take every step with our eyes fixed upon the cross of Jesus. I am afraid of annoying you by this mode of speaking of these things. But if you knew how full my heart is of tenderness, while I write, you would pardon the importunity, with which I beseech you to give yourself entirely and without reserve into the hands of Christ. He can give you from the treasures of his grace all the zeal, love, and warmth which you need. All is ours already by virtne of his blood. Let us make use of it. Let us go to him in holy boldness, and ask for all the grace which he is so ready to give.—*Psalm* lxxxi. 10.'

The pressure, however, of increasing illness constrained her to relinquish her own habits of personal activity for some time previous to her death. It was her appointed dispensation rather to suffer, than to do, her heavenly Father's will; while her solitary hours were cheered by the contemplation of the glorious prospects opening now upon her view—"*looking for the mercy of her Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.*"

CHAPTER IV.

Further Extracts from her Writings and Correspondence.

It is not to be expected, that the quiet tenor of Miss Graham's habits in a retired village could furnish much variety of incident or detail. We shall, however, abundantly compensate for this deficiency by a more full exhibition of her fine, powerful and spiritual mind, as illustrated in her writings and correspondence.

But this department of our work is too large to be comprehended in one mass. We will therefore set it forth in several distinct divisions, and give her sentiments upon the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel; upon subjects of interesting theological discussion; upon some points of moment connected with Christian experience and profession; and upon miscellaneous subjects.

1. *Her views of the great doctrines of the Gospel.*

Her apprehensions and statements of the grand fundamentals of the Christian faith, were eminently Scriptural.

On the humbling doctrine of original sin, she justly remarks in a posthumous work:

'It is the very first lesson in the school of Christ: and it is only by being well rooted and grounded in these first principles, that we can hope to go on to perfection. The doctrine is written in Scripture as with a sun-beam. If we do not feel some conviction of it in our own hearts, it affords a sad proof that we still belong to that "generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their filthiness."'

After adducing some of the most convincing Scriptural evidence, she proceeds forcibly to illustrate the subject by the case of infants.

'Would we know the *reason* of this indelible pollution, which fallen man has transmitted to his latest descendants? let that given by Scripture suffice: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one." But is not the new-born babe innocent? yes, from the commission of actual sin; but not from the pollution of a nature altogether sinful: for "who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" "Death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Why then is death so often commissioned to snatch away the babe in the first hour of its existence? why, but because that babe is a sinful creature? Sin, that root of bitterness, has already shot its fibres into the inmost soul. That infant "born of the flesh, is flesh;" and "as such cannot please God"—cannot bring forth any other than the accursed fruits of the flesh. As surely as the cockatrice's egg will hatch into a viper, so surely will the babe born of unclean parents be itself unclean; so surely it will be "by nature a child of wrath, even as others." And therefore it is as the Apostle tells us, that "Death reigneth over all, *even over them that have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.*" I entertain not a doubt that these little ones are redeemed by the blood of Jesus: but that they *need* redemption, that they are *sinners*, "children of wrath by nature;" of this truth I am equally well assured; and every little mound in the churchyard seems to have a voice that tells me so.'

Then, after citing our Church's recognition of this doctrine

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addition. Can any thing like this be found in the disciple of Jesus? Yes—for the law of sin still dwells in his members. Neither this sin, nor any other, shall be permitted to have dominion. (Rom. vi. 14.) But its assaults will sometimes vex and discompose him. He will be tempted, according to the natural bent of his character,' to seek the applause of others, or to rest in his own.

in the Ordinance of Infant Baptism, she returns to her Scriptural ground of argument.

'The Holy Ghost has instructed the Apostle to give us such a full comment upon the spiritual death we all die in Adam, that we cannot too often read and pray over the following passages, Rom. v. 12, 21. 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22, 45, 49. Eph. iv. 22, 24. Col. iii. 9, 10. There are many others, in which our nature in Adam is spoken of, in contradistinction to the new and holy nature we receive in Christ Jesus. So essential is a right understanding of this truth, that until we receive it, many of the most beautiful parts of the Church service must appear just as unintelligible to us as if they were written in an unknown language. Nay, worse than unintelligible; they must seem extremely foolish and ridiculous. How absurd (to an understanding not convinced of the original defilement of our nature) must it appear to talk of remitting an infant's sins; of causing the old Adam to be buried, and his carnal affections to die in him; while all the time the hearer thinks that the infant as yet has *no* sins, *no* carnal affections; while the very existence of the old Adam or original sin is doubted by him!'

The second records of Christian experience furnish full confirmation of her humiliating statement.

'Oh! what an unmeaning heap of words,' she exclaims, 'has been handed down to us in the law of Moses, the Psalms of David, the confessions of Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Daniel, Jeremiah and the rest of God's saints, if that evil nature which caused them to groan did not really exist! Above all, what shall we make of Romans iii. and vii.? What shall we understand by the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, between the old man and the new man, between the carnal and spiritual affections? Was St. Paul dreaming, when he said, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing?" Was he beside himself, when he declared, "that he found in himself a law, that when he would do good, evil was present with him?" that, though by Divine grace he had learnt "to delight in the law of God after the inward man, yet still he saw another law in his members, warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin which was in his members?" The apostle of the Gentiles, "who laboured more abundantly than they all;" he, who "had been caught up to the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words which it was not lawful for him to utter" amongst sinful men; he, who "counted all things but dung, that he might win Christ;" he, who was "ready, not only to be bound, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus;" this chosen vessel of mercy, full of zeal and full of love, and *under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, so groaned under the burden of the original corruption of his nature, "the law of sin warring in his members," that he was compelled to cry out, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And from the time of Paul there has never been a real Christian, who has not often felt himself constrained to adopt his language, and to say in the anguish of his soul, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The remedy, as is usual in Scripture, follows close upon the complaint: "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."'

From her mathematical manuscript we extract the following method of proof *of the total depravity of man.* In speaking of the three modes of demonstration, Inference, Coincidence, and *Reductio ad absurdum*, she thus applies the last mode to the subject alluded to: "If man be not utterly depraved, he must be in one of these two states, either perfectly good, without any mixture of sin; or good, with some admixture of evil and imperfection. The first of these suppositions carries its own absurdity upon the face of it. The second is plausible, and more generally received. Yet it is not difficult to prove, that if man had any remaining good in him, that is, towards God, he could not possibly be the creature that he now is. There could not be that carelessness about his eternal welfare, that deadness to spiritual things, which we perceive in every individual, whose heart has not been renewed by Divine grace. Man would not love pleasure more than God. He would not prefer "the things which are seen and temporal" to "the things that are not seen and eternal." He would not trifle with sin. He would not sneer at holiness. He would not habitually neglect to pray.

'All these things are utterly incompatible with the hypothesis, that man is only partially fallen from God. The very least spark of innate godliness would imply a restless dissatisfaction in what is evil; an importunate longing to be freed from it. The man in whom such a spark of goodness existed would breathe after lost communion with his Maker. He would prefer God's will and pleasure to his own. "The honour that cometh from God only" would be dearer to him than the most splendid tribute of human applause. Is any thing like this to be found in man before his reception of Divine grace? No. He "lives without God in the world:" chooses his own will and pleasure, and seeks his own glory. He is utterly selfish; therefore he is utterly fallen.

'We find then that the doctrine of man's partial depravity involves absurd consequences. It leads to conclusions which are wholly at variance with fact. These reflections bring us back to the Scripture statement. We admit that the heart of man may yet be the seat of many noble and tender affections *towards his fellow-men. But in regard to God,* we declare his affections to be alienated, his understanding darkened, his will depraved. "There is none that understandeth; there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone aside; they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one."'

The utter helplessness of man she adduces with great clearness and power to prove, that the work of grace, from its earliest commencement to its final consummation, is "all of God."

'Grace will be given'—she observes—'to all who diligently seek for it. But, if we attend to the Scripture account of every man, woman, and child by nature, we shall find that this seeking also is the *effect following upon grace received; not the cause producing it.* By this I mean to say, that the very act of *seeking* grace proves that *we have received grace already;* and that the very ability to seek, is itself the *free gift* of God's sovereign grace. If "every thought of man's heart *is evil,* and that *continually,*" surely it is not out of that heart that the first desire of any good thing can spring. If, by nature, "there is *none that seeketh after God,*" whence can the first attempt to seek him arise, but from free grace drawing us *contrary to nature*? Freely must grace be given to enable us to seek at first; and freely must it be continued, to enable us to go on seeking. I know that *none shall seek the Lord in vain; none* who *come* shall be cast out; *none* who *believe* shall come short of everlasting life; *none* who *choose the better part* shall have it taken from them; but then *none can seek the Lord, unless he first seek them. None can come, except it be given him of the Father;—none can believe,* save as many as are *ordained* to eternal life; *none can choose Christ,* except *he first choose them.* If again we consider the magnitude of the change which must take place in every sinner's heart before he can truly and earnestly seek God, we shall be convinced that no part of it is properly his own. He must "be born again;" must "become a new creature; *old* things must pass away, all things must become *new;*" he must "pass from death unto life;" "from darkness to light—from the power of Satan unto God;"—"from going about to establish his own righteousness, to submit himself to the righteousness of God;" and this, to a proud carnal heart, is the most difficult of all. And who is sufficient for these things? Who but He, that first formed us in the womb, can cause us to be born again of the Spirit?" Who but He, that originally created us, is able to "create us anew in Christ Jesus?" Who but the giver of natural life can give spiritual life; "and quicken those that were dead in trespasses and sins?"

'When the Lord of life stood by the grave of Lazarus, and said—"Lazarus, come forth; and he that was dead, instantly came forth;" who would say, that this act of lifting himself up was the cause of his coming to life; and not rather, that his coming to life was the cause of his being able to lift himself up? It is thus, when Jesus by his word and Spirit says to the heart of a sinner—"Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." Instantly that dead soul arises, and its first act is seeking, or prayer; but this same act of seeking is the *effect* of spiritual life, not the *cause.* We pray *because we are alive, not that we may live.* We cannot quicken ourselves when dead in sin, any more than we can bring a dead body to life. But when *Jesus* has quickened us, we shall as surely perform all those actions, which demonstrate the soul to be spiritually alive, as a dead body when raised by divine power, will surely perform all the functions of a living person. Grace, great grace, must be infused, to enable us to seek at all; and he who first gave grace to seek, will give *more* grace in answer to that seeking, thus fulfilling that precious Scripture, which saith—"To him that hath, shall be given." We neither *begin* nor *carry on* the work of grace in our own hearts. "Jesus is the *author* and *finisher,*" the *Alpha* and *Omega* "of our faith." From the first spark of grace that faintly glimmers upon us here, to the full blaze of glory which shall burst upon us in heaven; *all, all is his doing;* it is *he* that made us alive (spiritually,) not we ourselves. It is God who both *begins* the good work in us, and also will " perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ." '

Then after having confirmed her statement by the strong and unequivocal language of the Church, she proceeds to exhibit in connexion with it, *the perfect freeness of Divine grace.*

' It is absolutely necessary to a clear and full view of this doctrine, that we ascribe to the *free, sovereign* and *unmerited* grace of God, the first desire after him that ever arose in our hearts, as well as the fulfilling of that desire when expressed in prayer. We must be convinced that *nothing* in the work of salvation is *our own,* but only the gift of God's love to us in Christ Jesus. Christ died for us when we were enemies. The benefits of his death are applied to us, *for the purpose* of reconciling us, not in consequence of *our* making any advances towards being reconciled. He " died for the *ungodly,*" for those " who were *without strength,*" without strength to come to him; without strength to form so much as a wish to come to Him. The *desire* to come is *given for his sake:* the *ability* to come is given *for His sake:* the *acceptance on coming* is an acceptance *for the beloved sake of this beloved Saviour,* " without whom we can do nothing." Those who say—' Grace will be given if we ask; but then asking must *precede* or *procure* the given grace'—are in effect robbing God of much of the glory due unto his name. For the power and the inclination to ask are of themselves a part of the free gift of God's grace to us in Christ Jesus. They are the beginning of God's work in the heart; and to say, that we begin this work, is no other than to say that we can create ourselves anew in Christ Jesus. I will venture to affirm, that if God *waited* to give us his grace till we asked him for it of our own accord, we should go without it to all eternity.

' The great source of error on this head, even amongst serious people, is, that they cannot bring themselves to think they have *nothing of their own* in the work of salvation. Therefore it is, that, when constrained to acknowledge that the grace given them *when* they seek, is from God only; their self-righteousness betakes itself to another strong hold; and we find them laying claim to their *asking* and *seeking,* as if *that* at least was the effort of their own will, the spontaneous act of their own power. This is just as if one should take a dead person by the hand, breathe life into him, and lift him up upon his feet; and that person should make a show of acknowledgment to his benefactor, by allowing to that benefactor the praise of lifting him up *after* he was alive, and keeping him alive ever since, and yet should maintain, that *the first breath of all* came into him by his own spontaneous act, by the effort of his own unassisted power. The absurdity of such an assertion with regard to temporal life, would strike us at once; but we are not so struck with it in reference to spiritual life; and the reason is this,—when we speak of a corpse, we know what we speak about,—there it lies before our eyes, incapable of breathing, moving, speaking. We perfectly know what we mean, when we say that a dead *body* cannot raise itself to life. But when we speak of a *soul* " dead in trespasses and sins," we too often use the phrase, merely because we find it in the Scriptures; without the slightest conception of the awful reality expressed by it. Nor is it till we have ourselves in some measure " passed from death unto life," that we begin to perceive the dreadful and close analogy which really exists between the two states of natural and spiritual death. If God were to come to an unconverted person with the question—not—" Can these dry bones"—but Can these dead souls—" live!" he would be apt to reply—Why not? What should hinder them from raising themselves up, and breathing the breath of spiritual life? But when God has quickened us from our own death in trespasses and sins, our eyes are opened to see what spiritual death really is, and then we learn with trembling awe to reply, " Lord, thou knowest." This is thy work. It is thou that must make us alive, and not we ourselves.

' Since then men are universally disposed to " go about establishing their own righteousness," how carefully ought we to close up every avenue through which this besetting sin might gain admittance, and rob us of our peace, by leading us to rob Christ of his praise! Many are the windings of our own treacherous hearts; many are the devices of Satan, by which he would tempt us to ascribe to our own strength what God has done for us of his mere mercy. Nor let us think that a mistake here can be of trifling importance. God is very jealous for his great name; and he has declared, that " if we will not lay it to heart, to give glory to his name, he will send a curse upon us, and will even curse our blessings." Many and glorious are the crowns which adorn the sacred head of Immanuel; let us not try to pluck thence the brightest and fairest of them all, for well does it become this King of kings. When we reach heaven, and receive the crown of glory, we shall be ready enough to cast *that* at his feet, and to say, Thou *only* art worthy. Let us do the same with the crown of grace here; for surely we have as little right to arrogate the one to ourselves as the other.'

These Scriptural statements of man's total corruption are well connected with *the calls of the Gospel;* not as implying man's natural free-will and power to turn to God; but as displaying the riches of Divine grace, as stamping the mark of guilt upon the moral inability of the sinner, and setting forth the means by which the Lord accomplishes the purposes of his everlasting love. In the valley of dry bones, to which Miss Graham has just alluded, the prophet was commanded to " call the things that be not, as though they were." The almighty power of God gave effect to the feeble voice of his servant. He fails not to manifest the same Divine power in the resurrection of souls under the ministration of his Gospel; while the sovereignty of his grace is not less apparent in " quickening whom he will."

Perhaps, however, Miss Graham may be considered somewhat defective in *an exhibition of the free invitations of the Gospel.* Many exclusive writers* deem it unnecessary to address the language of pleading love and urgent remonstrance, where the want of inclination opposes a moral barrier to its success. But this is to obscure the riches of the grace of God by the narrow and perverted reasoning of man. Our Lord's personal ministry was in no way restrained by his perfect knowledge of the Divine purpose or of human inability. Though the objects of electing love were individually known to him, yet his gracious offers were as general, as if no counsel had been fixed in the eternal mind, or as if he were unacquainted with its restricted object and end. Though he most decisively declared man's total inability to come to him irrespective of the sovereign application of Almighty power; yet " his bands of love" were " the cords of a man;" suited to " draw" him as a rational and responsible creature. The freeness of Divine mercy, not the secret decree of the Divine will, was the ground and rule of his patient procedure. He spoke the glad tidings to the unbelieving Jews, " *that they might be saved.*" He complains of them most tenderly, that " *they would not come to him, that they might have life.*" He connected his declaration of the purpose of God with a full and faithful invitation to sinners. He offered himself indefinitely to large and mixed assemblies as the provision for the salvation of the whole world. He extended the commission of his Gospel " *to every creature,*" and closed the special reevlation of the future history of the church, with the same widely-extended embrace of inestimable mercy. Where then is the sinner that is excluded from the responsibility of believing the testimony? Or where is he that is shut out from the encouragement of its free and large invitations?

Turning from Miss Graham's writings to her correspondence, we find her views of the Gospel to be equally clear and encouraging.

The following letter gives a distinct view of the ground of our acceptance with God:

February 15, 1828.

' Dearest ——. Join with me in admiring the mercy of our God. " For if *when we were enemies* we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son, *much more* being reconciled, we shall be saved by His Life." " If we confess our sins, God is"—not *merciful* and *compassionate,* but " *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins." For since " Christ once suffered, the just for the unjust;" since *He* " *bore our sins in his own body on the tree;*" if we believe on Him, and lay hold on his salvation, justice itself cannot but acquit us. It cannot be, that Jesus should lay down *His* life, and that then God should require *ours.* It cannot be, that, when Jesus has paid the dreadful debt to the very uttermost farthing, we should be called upon to pay it once again. No. As God is a *faithful* God, He must fulfil the promises He has made, that not one of all those who come to Him through Jesus, shall ever perish. As He is a just God, He will not punish us and our Surety too; will not demand a twice-told reckoning. If indeed the atonement of Jesus were not perfect; if He had not suffered *all*, not paid *all*, we might tremble. But Almighty Justice declared itself satisfied, when our Surety was released from the prison of the tomb, when he sat down on the right hand of God, and took possession in our name of the inheritance He had purchased for us; and therefore it is said, that He "was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification." By His death He laid down the price of our salvation; by His rising again He declared that the price was accepted, the salvation complete. And this seems to me the great display of God's wisdom in the cross of Christ, that the *Just* should be able to justify the *ungodly* without deviating one tittle from His justice; "that He should be just, and yet the Justifier of him which believeth on Jesus."

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* Miss Graham, however, must not be confounded with writers of this class. If there was an omission in her statements, there was no defect in her system. Her private correspondence abounds with the most fervid appeals to the unconverted, and the most unrestricted offers of the Gospel. See the letters in Chapter v. adduced as illustrative of her ' *compassionate concern for the unconverted.*'

We extract an illustration of this subject from her manuscript, equally beautiful and just. In defining the principle of analysis to be, taking to pieces a train of argument, and examining the soundness of its component parts, she gives the following Scriptural example, '"Christ crucified, the wisdom of God, and the power of God."' (1 Cor. i. 23, 24.) What an overwhelming multitude of reflections crowd upon the serious mind at the bare mention of these words! But in proving the doctrine to unbelievers, how many concurrent circumstances must be separately and distinctly unfolded.' It is alleged to be incompatible both with "the wisdom and power of God," that he should be constrained to glorify one of his attributes at the expense of another. We must therefore consider each attribute apart from the rest, and show how each is glorified in the doctrine of the cross. Each part of the argument must be unfolded. Each link of the wondrous chain must be distinctly separated. We may offer them successively to the unbeliever, and challenge his strictest scrutiny to detect a single break. If only one link be imperfect, the whole chain must give way. All the hopes which hang upon it must perish. But the more closely we examine it, the more complete will be our satisfaction. I have adduced this doctrine in illustration of my meaning, because I know of none which involves a greater number of considerations. In Maclaurin's sermon on the Glory of the Cross, we have a most perfect specimen of this kind of analysis.'

But we find these two things inseparably united in Scripture, holiness and salvation, as I saw it well expressed in some little work I was reading the other day: 'No salvation *by* works; and yet no salvation *without* works.' "Christ hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins." If then we follow and obey Him not as our Prince, He is as yet no Saviour to us. If He had not given us repentance, we must not suppose that he has given us remission. But, dear ——, let us bear in mind, that both are *gifts*. Repentance is as much a *gift*, and as little a merit, as *pardon*. I fear I have been very tedious; but the subject has led me farther than I intended. We are sinners seeking a common Saviour; and therefore I trust that nothing we can say of Him, can be wearisome.'

The practical view of this statement is more fully developed in a subsequent letter to the same correspondent; one of the last she ever wrote:

September, 1830.

'Far from thinking it presumption to write as you have done, my dear friend, I think we ought not to be ashamed of owning what God has done for our souls. We know that it is solely "by the grace of God," His free, unmerited favour, that we "are what we are;" and that in our lips, and above all, in our lives, we are bound to show, that "the grace of God was not bestowed upon us in vain."

'Dear ——, it has indeed pleased God to "call us to His kingdom and glory;" let us (in His strength) "walk worthy of the high vocation wherewith we are called." "Let us exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day; let us provoke one another to love and good works;" and above all, let us pray for one another, and that fervently and unceasingly. We have need not only to pray, but *to* "*watch unto prayer;*" for it is only as long as we maintain this watchful spirit, that we can hope to enjoy any of the comforts of religion. Let me intreat you, not as one whose freedom from these sins gives her a right to exhort others; but as one who has herself felt by mournful experience what "an evil and bitter thing it is" to depart from the God of our salvation; as a backslider, whose backslidings have been healed by the inexpressible mercy of a long-suffering God; let me most earnestly and affectionately entreat you to guard against the least declension from holiness; the least relaxation in that close and humble walking with God, which alone can keep you peaceful and happy. Works cannot justify us before God; but we are said to be justified by works in one part of scripture; that is, they are the only evidence of our justification that we can offer to our fellow-creatures. "Ye shall know them by their fruits." And what are "the fruits of the Spirit?" Forgive me, if I record them here. The description is so lovely, that we cannot remind one another of it too often: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." Let us examine ourselves by this, dearest ——. Let us see whether we bring forth *this* fruit, and whether we "bring forth *much* fruit, *so shall we be His disciples.*" My course is perhaps almost ended. I have reason to hope, that it will not be very long, ere I enter into that rest which Jesus has purchased for me with His blood. Oh! that I had walked more to His glory, "who loved me, and gave Himself for me!" But your course (as a Christian) is but lately begun, and may, if the Lord please, be continued for many years. O then let it be indeed "the path of the just, which is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." "Be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity. Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. Be clothed with humility;" for as you are of an humble and "contrite spirit, and tremble at God's word," so will "the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity," delight to dwell in your heart, to bless you with His refreshing and sanctifying presence. And now, dearest ——, "may the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God, your whole body, and soul, and spirit, be preserved blameless unto the coming of Jesus Christ." To Him may we with one heart and voice, give glory both now and for evermore! Amen.'

The following letter, however, carefully separates the fruit of faith from any ground of dependence. The application of the subject for Christian consolation will be interesting.

Stoke, Feb. 21, 1827.

'The chapter you mention, (Matt. xxv.) is particularly delightful as holding out a lovely picture of the people of Christ. But let us mark, that it is not the action, but the motive, which meets with such high commendation. It is not said—Ye fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirsty, &c., but "I was hungry, and ye gave *me* meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave *me* drink; inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these, *ye did it unto me.*" And this appears to be the grand difference between Christians and worldly people. The Christian does every thing *as unto Christ*—in His name, in His strength, and to His glory. The worldling may, and often does, out of natural benevolence or ostentation, feed the hungry, or clothe the naked; but he does it not unto Jesus, but to please himself, to gratify natural feeling, to appear well in the sight of others, to gain a stock of merit enough to buy heaven, or at least to help out what may be wanting in the merit of Christ. These are his best motives: Talk to him of doing good works, *because you are saved*, and not *that you may be saved;* and you are talking of a thing which never entered his narrow heart, and which never will enter it, till it is enlarged by the grace of Christ. But let us beg of God, to give us this motive, and right actions will naturally follow. It will, as some one expresses it, 'like the spring of a watch, soon set all the wheels of our souls a-going.' I cannot leave this chapter without sharing with you the comfort I have derived from it in another point of view. Does Jesus say—'I was hungry, and ye gave me meat?' &c. Is He then hungry, when we are hungry? Does He faint, when we are thirsty, and languish, when we are "sick and in prison." And think you, He will not much more sympathize with our spiritual necessities. When we hunger for the bread of life, and thirst for living water; when we are sensible that our guilty souls stand "naked" before him; when we feel ourselves "sick" of that worst disease, sin; and in bondage to Satan, that most hard master, will not He then sympathize with us? And his pity will not be a vain empty pity. He will not only sympathize, but relieve. He will feed, and nourish, and clothe, and heal, and deliver us. Nor will he be content with this. But the same pity he feels for us, he will teach us to feel for others; so that we shall be such characters as He describes the "blessed of the Father" to be. Only let us trust Him for all this, and continually importune him for it; for his promises are all addressed to those who trust, and ask, and seek, and knock.'

The freeness and fulness of the gospel are delightfully applied, to counteract the subtle influence of self-righteousness.

September 28, 1825.

'You tell me, my beloved friend, that you have lately suffered worldly thoughts to engross too much of your time, and that you have found little comfort in prayer. Will you let me tell you what seems to me to be the cause of this; at least as far as I can judge from my own experience?

'You want a more simple and entire dependence on what Christ has done for you; and will do in you: you want to be doing something yourself, when He has done all; you would repent and pray earnestly; and then you think Christ would forgive you. I do not know whether I am right with regard to your feelings; but this at least has sometimes been my own case; but in fact, my dear ——, it was for sinners who *cannot* repent, who *cannot* pray, that the Saviour came to die. Repentance is His gift—His *free* gift—as well as pardon; and it is only when we are willing to come to Him—poor, empty, and miserable as we are—that He delights in "filling us with good things." I think I have not clearly explained myself; but I will try to give you an instance of what I mean.

'I used to be often doubting whether I was one of Christ's people or not. Now this one text satisfied all my doubts.—"All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." From this it seems there is but one question—'Am I willing to come to Christ?' If so, then I am one of those whom "the Father hath given Him;" if so, then will he never, never cast me out; and if so, then is God the Father, then is God the Son, engaged by an immutable promise, by unchangeable faithfulness, to bring me—a feeble worm of the earth—a sinner by nature and practice—yes, even to bring me safe home to glory. Am I willing? O my dear friend, I doubt not your heart is answering to mine; Yes, Lord, thou knowest that I am willing to come unto thee. "To whom should I go?" for there is "none in Heaven or in earth that I desire beside thee!" Again, with regard to the love of the world,—that great enemy to the Christian life—I used to think, how shall I overcome it? Now, I look simply to Jesus, who has said "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." He has overcome it for us, and will overcome it in us. For how can we love that world, which crucified our Lord and Saviour.—How can we give way to that "love of the world," which will deprive us of "the love of the Father?" Believe me, my dear ——, there is not a sin, however deeply rooted in the heart, from which we may not be delivered by simply looking to Jesus, and pleading with him his precious promises. To this end, "let the word of Christ dwell richly in us with all wisdom;" let us "hide his word in our hearts," and we shall find it will preserve us from "sinning against him." "The love of the world," accompanied as it always must be by lukewarmness in heavenly things, is indeed a great sin, and will, as far as we indulge in it, be as a cloud between us and the Father; for, "know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?" But then we need not be discouraged; for though we never can overcome it in our own strength, we have a promise that the "strength of the Lord Jesus shall be made perfect in our weakness." "Of his fulness, we receive grace for grace." Dost thou want grace every moment to keep thee from falling?—"My grace is sufficient for thee." Wouldest thou have wisdom? "Christ is made unto us wisdom." "God giveth to all liberally, and upbraideth not." Wouldest thou have peace? There is "peace and joy for thee in believing." Thy Saviour is "the Prince of Peace," Wouldest thou be preserved unto the end? "The Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil." Finally, do we seek for direction in every step of our path through life? Let us feed on those precious promises. Isa. xxx. 21, and xlviii. 17. Thus, my dear friend, we may go on, "with joy drawing water out of the wells of salvation;" and we are then constrained to cry out with Jeremiah "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart." I fear that I have already taken too much time upon this; but it has pleased God, in my afflictions, to make Christ, and the word of Christ, so unspeakably precious to me, that my heart will not rest, till I have called on my dear friend to live in consistency with her privileges as a child of God, and to "rejoice in the Lord always."'

And again,

September 17, 1827.

'I have read your letter again and again with deepest interest. I grieve to find, that you do not gain any sensible comfort in the path of religion. You seem to think yourself going backward, rather than forward. But may not this be, because you see daily more of the vanity and wickedness of your own heart, and of the wretchedness of your very best performances? If so, are you not making the best possible progress? And while perhaps in reality you are *less* conformed to the world, *less* bent upon earthly things than you were a few months ago; your more enlightened views of the spiritual nature of God's law, and the holy strictness of its requirements, may make you see more worldliness and sin in every thing you do, than you were capable of perceiving, when you first began the study of your own heart. For, believe me, the further we "come up from this wilderness, leaning upon our beloved," the more clearly we shall see, that not one step can be taken in our own strength; and every time we begin to think we are a little stronger, and may venture to stir a few steps alone, we shall be left to stumble and fall, till he again upholds us with his hand. We want to be something in ourselves, to have something that we can call our own, something to look at, and to rest upon as such: when, alas! we are nothing, have nothing; but what comes to us from the fulness of Jesus. As long as we look into our own hearts for any source of comfort, we must inevitably be disappointed. If we look at "our righteousness, they are but as filthy rags," "the covering is narrower than that a man can wrap himself in it." But if we cast these filthy rags from us and look to the righteousness of Jesus, then we have a spotless robe; an ample covering for our naked and defiled souls. I cannot help thinking, my beloved friend, that your sadness proceeds from thinking too much of yourself, and too little of Jesus. You brood upon your own sin and misery, till you forget "The Lord your righteousness." You are deeply sensible of your own weakness, but dwell too little on the sweet assurance, that you "can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth you." You lament your own folly; but is not Jesus made wisdom to you? your own insufficiency; but "in Jesus dwells" there not "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily?" and may not you be "complete in him?" Yet let us not cease to look at ourselves to make us humble; but let us look to Jesus to make us happy; and when we look at him, let us remember, that he is *our* Jesus, our Saviour, and that will make us *more* happy. Let me give you a text, which I have sometimes found to be a sovereign remedy against all those fears, which a view of our own sinfulness is apt to excite: "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it, and is safe." Here is comfort; here is safety. My dear friend, I have as much sin and weakness and folly, to lament as you can possibly have; and if it does not make me as miserable as it does you, it is simply because, whenever I am frightened and tormented by the accusations of conscience, I "run into this strong tower, and am safe." You too are safe, for have you not taken refuge there? Why then will you not open your eyes, and behold how "the name of the Lord, as a strong tower," compasses you on every side, so that you are quite out of the reach of every enemy; Jesus is our "hiding place and our shield." If we fear Satan, he will soon "bruise Satan under our feet." If we fear the world, Jesus "has overcome the world." If we fear the treachery of our own deceitful hearts let us put those hearts into the hands of Jesus; he shall turn them "as the rivers of water, whithersoever he will. Nor is he only thus strong to defend us, but rich to supply all our need. If we want repentance, Jesus is exalted to give repentance. If we want faith, "it is given us on the behalf of Christ to believe." If we want holiness, "Jesus is made of God sanctification unto us." If we want peace, "the peace of God shall keep our hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." In short, let our sins, and fears, and wants be ever so great, they need not drive us to despair, as long as Jesus lives and "is able to save to the uttermost." *We are complete in him.* Well then might David say, "They that *know thy name* will put their trust in thee;" well might Solomon say: "Thy name is as ointment poured forth;" and Isaiah: "His name shall be called Wonderful." But, my dear friend, *we* have an interest in this precious name; *we* may draw near to the Father of mercies in this name, and *he will deny us nothing.* Then shall we give way to gloomy doubts and forebodings any more? Alas! I know how little all these reflections weigh with us, unless the Spirit of God bring them home with light and power to our hearts. Even while I am talking to you, my own heart is so little affected, that I am ashamed to go on; but I speak rather as I would feel, than as I do feel.'

The above statements of Divine truth will be generally admitted to be of a Scriptual and decided character. Her exhibition of the humbling doctrines of the Gospel brings no occasion for despondency; while it commends to the awakened sinner the simple glory of a free salvation. Nor does her view of gratuitous acceptance lose a particle of its evangelical clearness by the connected display of its fruitfulness. The man thoroughly humbled by the doctrines of the grace of God, will delight in holiness as the track of communion with his God, and the path-way to heaven; while his sense of continued defilement will preserve him from self-righteousness, deepen his self-abasement, and establish his faith in the simplicity of Christ.

Her connected apprehensions of what are called the higher doctrines of the gospel with the whole system, are well stated by the beloved brother, whose high previlege it was to attend her during her last illness.

'She had received,' he observes, 'the Gospel as a dispensation of pure grace. She delighted to speak in a *holy manner* of God's electing love. She "knew her election," and rejoiced in a sense of her high privilege. The reception of this blessed doctrine produced in her soul *deep humility, gratitude, and love.* She well knew, that it was God "who had made her to differ" from a "world that lieth in wickedness;" and she could say from her heart: "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake." She was so deeply convinced from the word of God, from all around her, and from her own heart, of the deep depravity of human nature, of the utter helplessness of man to do, think, or say any thing that is spiritually good, that she saw no other method, whereby a sinful creature could be saved, but from the combined offices of the Holy Trinity; from the election of the Father, the redemption of the Son, and the sanctification of the Spirit.'

A single extract from her publication will fully corroborate this testimony. The beauty of her language will justify the length of the quotation.

'Thus it is, that while the doctrine of predestination is death to those who weary themselves in presumptuous disputings and reasonings about it, there always have been and will be a happy few, who, humbly and sincerely feeding upon it, receiving all that the Scripture tells them concerning it, and desiring to know no further, find it health and peace to their souls. It lays them very low at the feet of their Redeemer; brings down the high swelling of their pride and self-esteem, pulls away from under them all those broken reeds upon which they had been used to lean, self-righteousness, self-will, self-dependence: and leaves to them no one prop on which to lean for support: whilst "coming up out of this wilderness," but the arm of, "their Beloved;" that everlasting arm, which will surely conduct them to glory. When that arm becomes shortened that it cannot save, or weak that it cannot support; when the arm of Jesus fails and is weary; then they will begin to look around for some other stay, but not till then. Or when they can discover in themselves one single good thing which Jesus did not put there: one reason why he should visit them with such amazing love; then they will conclude that his love took its rise from theirs; not theirs from His. But they never will discover one such thing, so long as the Spirit of God illumines their heart, and brings to light its immense depravity and worthlessness. Therefore as God's love could not have been excited by any thing in them, they believe it to be an eternal love: that they were called in time, because they were chosen from eternity; and that the name of Jesus is now engraven as a seal upon their hearts, because their names were written on his heart before ever the world was. And when their thoughts stretched forward to the end of this pilgrimage, and they rejoice in the view of the mansions prepared for them in their Father's house, the crown of that rejoicing is this: "We got not the land in possession by our own strength, neither did our own arm save us; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, *because thou hadst a favour unto us.*" "Thus they rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh;" for "God is the glory of their strength; and in his favour their horn is exalted."

'I cannot pretend to meet the objections, or to refute the cavils commonly raised, when this doctrine of election is made the subject of discussion; for I did not learn it in the way of carnal reasonings, but by simply taking the Scriptures as I found them, and as the Spirit of God enabled me to receive them. If St. Paul, after descanting on this subject, breaks off in an extacy of admiration, exclaiming—"How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" we need not wonder, if our shallow understandings are incapable of fathoming, our limited capacities of comprehending, our low minds of reaching them. We must be satisfied with believing that it is even so, because "so it seemed good in our Father's sight," whatever it may appear in ours. This reason, which appeared satisfactory to our Saviour, may surely satisfy us; or if not, he has vouchsafed an assurance, which may well serve to repress present inquiry into things too high for us—"What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

'That these things are so, I believe, because I find them amongst the "revealed things, which belong to us and our children forever." How or why they are so, I desire not too closely to inquire, lest I should intrude into the "secret things, which belong unto the Lord our God." O that he would give unto every one of us that humble and teachable Spirit, with which a little ignorant child is content to receive his father's lessons, without rudely commenting upon his father's ways, or rashly intruding into his father's secrets! This one thing we know; and with this we may be satisfied; that "the Judge of all the earth cannot but do right." But it were preposterous to expect that he should always do that which is right in our eyes, so long as our notions of right and wrong are so utterly confused and perverted as they have been ever since the fall. He himself tells us that "the Lord seeth not as man seeth:" and that "that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God." It cannot be, so long as "his ways are equal, and ours unequal," that his righteous dealings should be in exact accordance with our unrighteous views and sentiments. Instead then of wearying ourselves with impotent attempts to bring down his will and counsel to the level of our ideas, our far wiser way will be to submit our thoughts and ideas to his will, assured that it is holy, just, and good.' She then proceeds to defend the doctrine at some length, and with considerable ability, from the usual objections of charging God with injustice, and of encouraging licentiousness, arrogance, and despondency in man.

The writer has indulged himself with this large extent of quotation, as the best means of introducing Miss Graham's work from the comparative obscurity of an anonymous publication, into that more general acceptance, which, in his own, and, he presumes he may add, in his reader's judgment, it well deserves. It would be too much to anticipate a universal concurrence in all her statements. Yet from the peculiar unction and richness of her theology, and its entire freedom from speculation and controversy, they cannot be read by the serious reader without spiritual profit. The more mysterious doctrines (as will be seen from the last quotation) are handled in a holy, practical spirit, eminently calculated to soften prejudice, to prostrate the soul in humble thankfulness, and to enlarge the Christian's joy in God. It is indeed one of the many painful results from the harsh, crude, and abstract statements too often given of these doctrines; that they have contributed unjustly to discredit the more sober Scriptural declarations, which, when cast, like Miss Graham's, into the mould of our Seventeenth Article, are justly pronounced by our Church to be 'full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons.'

On such deep and humbling subjects, the writer would not presume to set up his judgment as the rule of faith for the Church. Yet he has felt a caution necessary for his own mind, which he ventures therefore to suggest to his brethren. Let us take care, lest the irreconcilableness of these doctrines with our apprehensions of the Divine character, rather than a defect of their Scriptural evidence, should influence our rejection of them. Is there no danger, lest a predisposing bias in the search for this evidence, should obscure that singleness of eye, which is the only medium for the reception of heavenly light? The admission of these doctrines, indeed, as the result of disputation or argument, could only issue in a fearful proportion of that "knowledge which puffeth up," combined with a total absence of the "love that edifieth." But the child-like reception of them *as revealed in the Holy Scriptures*, will be (as we have just hinted), eminently fruitful in humiliation, love, privilege, and devotedness. After all, however, we must remember—"A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven." This sacred aphorism lays the only substantial basis of the true faith of the Gospel, while the light reflected upon the steady course of Christian consistency, though it will not clear up every difficulty, will enlarge our discovery of the Divine goodness to man, and assure to our minds the unchangeableness of God, as the ground of that "strong consolation," which "the heirs of promise" are fully warranted to enjoy.

2. *On subjects of Theological Discussion.*

The first question is closely connected with some of the subjects of the last section. It states *her views of the consistency of conditional promises with a free salvation.*

'As to the promises'—Miss Graham observes—'I do not say, that they are unconditional either; but I do say, that the conditions on which they depend are such as guilty man is altogether incapable of performing. I do say that Jesus as our *Surety*, has performed all these *for* us, and *by his Spirit* will perform them all *in* us. Through his perfect atonement we escape the threatenings; through his unspotted obedience we become "heirs of the promises"—heirs of eternal life. For if the blame of our sins has been imputed to *Him*, then has the merit of His righteousness been imputed to *us*. "If he has been made sin for us, then have we been made the righteousness of God in him." And because the promises are ours for his sake, therefore the conditions of them are worked in us by his free Spirit; "for it is not we who live the life of faith, but Christ that liveth in us."

'One of the sweetest promises, upon which the mind of every Christian rests with unspeakable delight, runs thus: "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." Here is a *condition*, "Him that cometh;" and a *promise*—"I will not cast out." But who *are* those that come to Jesus? "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me." "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him." "No man can come to me, except it were given to him of my Father." How distinctly are we here told, that the same free mercy, which promises to receive us *when we come*, must be put forth to *make us come;* or *we never should come!* The promise will surely be fulfilled to all who obey the condition; but none *can* obey the condition, save those *to whom it is given.*'

'Every condition necessary to salvation'—she remarks—'is fulfilled in us, not by any efforts of our own, but by our "receiving" continually "grace for grace out of the fulness of Jesus."' In confirmation of her argument, she adduces the Christian graces (repentance, faith, love,) as *required of us*, but *yet wrought in us.* Thus she concludes the discussion—'The great question then about the promises seems to be, not so much whether they are *conditional*, as whether God looks to *Christ*, or to *us*, for the *performance* of those conditions. If to Christ, the burden is laid upon "one that is *mighty:*" if to *us*, then we are undone; 'for the condition of man after the fall is such, that he *cannot turn and prepare himself*, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by *Christ preventing us*, that we may have a *good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.*'

This statement is confessedly strong and uncompromising; yet it is in the writer's apprehension, neither unguarded, unscriptural, or discouraging. It assumes *with our church* the Scriptural point, *not of the weakness, but of the utter helplessness* of man. It connects the freeness of the Gospel with the sovereign purpose and Almighty grace of God. Thus man and God are each in his proper place; man in the dust; God on the throne. The humble and intelligent believer will acknowledge of every act of faith and obedience to the end of his course—"*Thou also hast wrought all our works in us.*" Nor will he hesitate to trace all these works to *the* "*good pleasure*" of his God as the first cause.

The opposite statement may be easily proved to be most discouraging. The free invitations of the Gospel are unconnected with an entire dependence upon Divine grace to enable the sinner to accept them. Conscious inability is therefore left without any power to act upon it. The sinner is either blinded in self-delusion, or hardened in despondency. On the other hand his helplessness is taught to depend upon the Sovereign pleasure of a God of love; and he "works out his salvation with fear and trembling," indeed, but with confident hope of perseverance.

The unscriptural use of the term *condition* with many theologians—*as if man could of himself perform the work of his salvation*—has brought it into disrepute. Yet in Miss Graham's view conditional promises ultimately resolve themselves into absolute unconditional love. The duties of Christian obedience—the Divinely appointed means of enjoying the promises—do not depend upon any thing to be fulfilled by us. They constitute a part of the engagements of the Evangelical covenant, by which the Lord fulfils the demands of his law by the Almighty power of his grace. Miss Graham with many excellent men would altogether abolish the use of the term, at least as applied to us. But it has been allowed by many of our most orthodox Divines, whose statements cannot justly be accused of infringing upon the freeness of the Gospel. It would be difficult to substitute any other theological term, that would express the sense of many important declarations of Scripture with equal precision and appropriateness. Let it be understood to imply—not what is meritorious, but what is necessary in the economy of the Gospel—not an efficient cause, but an indispensable requisite. Is it not then needless scrupulosity to exchange a convenient term of explication for feeble circumlocution? And may there not be some danger, lest in our anxiety to preserve the freeness of Scriptural statement, we unconsciously become fettered in the bonds of human systems?

Her letter *upon the nature and degree of explicit faith necessary for acceptance with God* is highly interesting.

'The question you propose about prayer, does not appear to me to admit of a doubt. Ought there not to be in every prayer a reference to the intercession of Christ? Will *the earnestness and sincerity* of a prayer avail without it? Doubtless, my dear friend, there *ought* to be this reference: nor can *a believer* in Jesus imagine a prayer without it. But when *an unbeliever* first begins to long after the knowledge of God, the intercession of Christ may be a part of that knowledge, respecting which he is in utter darkness. Shall the earnest and sincere petition which he offers under such circumstances be disregarded? Is not the intercession of Christ going on for him as surely as if he knew of it? And is not this poor ignorant prayer the first fruits of this intercession? And will not the Father *accept it* for the sake of his beloved Son, though the sinner as yet knows not how to *offer it* in his name? Certain I am, that the person who thus begins to seek after the Lord *with his whole heart*, will ere long have Jesus revealed in his soul; and *then* he will seek in the name of Jesus. The most signal answer I ever received to prayer, was at a time when I was so bewildered in the labyrinth of infidelity, that I actually should have feared to have been guilty of blasphemy, had I prayed in the name of Jesus. In sincerity and earnestness I prayed to be taught, whether Jesus Christ was an impostor or not; and for the sake of that precious Saviour, whom I thus insultingly doubted, my prayer was answered.

But our experience is of little value, unless it agrees with Scripture. I think the Bible is very clear upon this head, and therefore I venture to speak so confidently. I will mention two or three texts. "He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Is not this a description of the degree of faith and knowledge, which is necessary before a person can come and pray to God in an acceptable manner? And is not this the sum of it, that he must believe that there is a God, and that, if he diligently seeks this God, he shall be rewarded by finding the object of his search? There is not a word about, 'He that cometh to God must believe and pray through the intercession of Christ;' though no doubt the person who believes so far as is mentioned in the text, will soon believe God in Christ, as he is revealed in the Gospel. So then, if a Pagan or Mahomedan in the darkest corner of the earth, or an infidel in this country, were to begin to seek God diligently, from the mere "belief that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him," upon the warrant of this text I should have no doubt of his acceptance.[*] Again, "If any man will (or wishes to) do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." Here is the case supposed of a man, who, so far from praying in the name of Jesus, is not yet convinced, whether his doctrines are Divine, or whether he is a mere pretender, "*speaking of himself.*" What then is the preparation required? He wishes to do the will of God. He would gladly worship God aright, and submit to his will in all things. Yet he cannot pray *at first* with any reference to the intercession of Jesus. For he would think it sinful to do so, as long as he knows not "whether the doctrine be of God, or whether Jesus Christ spake of himself." Yet this man—we have the word of Jesus for it—"shall know of the doctrine." Consider also the free and generous promise of Christ, that "our heavenly Father will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." Suppose yourself to have been in the state of mind of the text just mentioned, and to have heard this gracious promise. Would you have thought of any intercession, of any thing *beyond asking?* And you would probably have asked; "O my heavenly Father, give me thy Spirit to teach me whether this man is sent by thee, or whether he speaks of himself." Suppose for a moment (God forbid that any one should suppose it in reality!) that, after having offered this prayer sincerely, earnestly, perseveringly, you were at last suffered to perish for lack of knowledge; that the Holy Spirit for which you asked was not given, because you asked it not (and how could you?) in the name of Jesus, the promise would seem to carry with it a want of sincerity, as having a condition attached to it, which was concealed from you, and which the very nature of your petition incapacitated you from performing, until further knowledge was given. I believe, that when Christ said, "Ask, and it shall be given you," he meant what he said, in the *literal* sense of the word. It is remarkable, that asking in the name of Christ, was a doctrine not revealed to the disciples, till shortly before his death, though they must often have prayed before, *and that* with acceptance. The Lord's prayer also contains no *express* reference to this doctrine, though doubtless every Christian *in his heart*, offers it in the one name, through which he looks for acceptance. Let us take the text above mentioned, to an assembly of Indians. Let us say to them, 'You know not what to think of our doctrine concerning Jesus. You would take him for your Lord and your God, if you were sure that all we say about him is true. We will tell you how to find this out. There is a promise in the book, out of which we preach to you, that God "will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." The Holy Spirit is given to teach you about Jesus. If you will ask for this teaching, you shall have it; and then you shall know what to think of our doctrine.' They ask. In the name of Jesus they cannot ask. For the very point in question, the very thing which they ask God to teach them is, whether the name of Jesus is of any avail or not. They are impelled to ask by a "belief that there is a God, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Will the promise be made good to them or not? Or will this failing to pray in a manner in which they do not believe (that is, to act contrary to the reason which God himself has lighted up within them) annul the engagement by which God has bound himself, that all that ask should have? Oh! no. This is prayer; and it is praying with precisely that degree of "faith, without which it is impossible to please God." "To every one that hath, thus much shall be given, and he shall have abundance;" he shall be rich in faith. And this is as true to my mind, as clear as any of the promises of God can be. You say, 'Must faith be acting at the time?' I think the *degree* of faith mentioned in Heb. xi. 6, must. Yet even this, we know, may be a trembling faith, such as, "*If thou canst do any thing*, Lord, I believe: help thou mine unbelief." But, "the day of small things," the first prayers of a hitherto unbelieving sinner have something in them unspeakably interesting. And it is so delightful to feel, that the very least of the "small things" comes from God, and implies pardon and heaven, and all those great things which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," that we cannot dwell upon them without transport. This is that "faith which is as a grain of mustard seed." Wrapped within its minute, dry, and unsightly husk is the embryo of the future tree, which shall expand and "flourish in the courts of our God." Oh! what a God of wonders! As we cannot look into the hearts of others, it is hard to know when the prayer is earnest and sincere. But if we could discern this, we might look at such a prayer with the same confident assurance that showers of blessings would follow it, as Elijah knew that there would be "abundance of rain," though there was nothing to be seen but a little cloud like a man's hand.'

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[*] This text may, doubtless, be accommodated for intelligent and warranted encouragement in the case here presented to us. Yet it may be questioned whether Miss Graham's exposition includes the whole substance of the Apostle's mind. The faith of Cain in bringing his offering probably admitted the naked belief of the existence of God, and of his bounty to those that inquired after him. The Apostle's definition, however, stands in immediate connexion with the faith of Abel and Enoch, (ver. 4, 5.) which implied access to God, and communion with him through an acceptable medium. Indeed, the true faith in God's existence seems necessarily to suppose some relation to him. See Gen. xvii. 1. Exod. iii. 14. The very expectation of reward to sinners deserving condemnation, must, in a righteous government, be grounded upon some apprehension, however obscure, of a way of favourable acceptance. The desire and act of seeking also supposes some rule to direct our path and warrant our hope; a rule founded upon some new relation between God and his creatures, by which merited judgment is averted, and "mercy rejoiceth against judgment."

This letter involves a question of much interest and no small difficulty. Miss Graham's sympathy with the case supposed, enabled her to fix a conscious grasp upon the subject, and to speak directly to the point with much force and clearness. The instance of the penitent Ninevites *ignorant of the medium of acceptance* might have been added to her Scripture illustrations of the argument. And we can scarcely doubt that the cry to a Supreme Being—'*Ens entium, miserere mei*'—"seeking the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him"—may have proved the first dawn of light and love to some awakened conscience in a benighted world.

No other way to God than by Christ is here supposed, though an *unconscious* approach through him is admitted. For ourselves, however, who have been made acquainted with his precious name, no obligation is more important, no privilege more delightful, than the constant dependence upon it in every step of access to God. It covers all guilt, defilement, ignorance, and infirmities. It assures our confidence in the presence of a God of inflexible justice and unspotted holiness. Our persons and services, in themselves most unsuited to his awful majesty, are presented through this medium clothed with divine beauty, and commended in his sight as "a sweet-smelling savour." A clear knowledge of the person of Christ is therefore necessary as the basis of Christian confidence. The exercise of this confidence will be—not to apprehend him *separately* either as God or man, but to make his *entire person* the object of our trust. This intelligent and spiritual worship is as superior to mere external service, as the blood of the Son of God, by which we are brought into the capacity for it, is to the vile and corruptible things of earth.

The question under consideration however requires a wise mixture of decision and forbearance to determine its precise limits. While insisting upon the importance of a clear apprehension of Divine Truth, we would present the full Scriptural encouragement to souls emerging out of darkness with a simple desire to know the light; seeking the truth, yet knowing not where to find it. Let them wait in the twilight for the dawning day, humbly, prayerfully, earnestly. Sincerity in the diligent and persevering habit of faith will not be left in darkness. On the other hand it must be remembered, that the influence of the Holy Spirit, needful for every act of faith and prayer, stands in ordinary conjunction with revealed truth. Let us be aware therefore, lest by broad statements we lose sight of the great fundamentals of the Gospel, and forget "that there is none other name than Christ under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," and that "life eternal" consists in the knowledge of him. Let us also carefully connect the general promises of the early dispensation of the Gospel, with the more full and clear light subsequently vouchsafed. The direction to which Miss Graham refers—"Ask, seek, and knock"—must ever be linked with the name of Christ. His name is our only warrant to "ask." Himself is the only way to "seek:" the only door at which we can "knock" with any well-grounded hope of acceptance. In the neglect of this theology, we should attempt to open a way to heaven without "entering in by the door." We should admit the unscriptural supposition of pleasing God "without faith." We should endeavour to maintain our complete acceptance with God without the continued application of "the blood of sprinkling." 'Take heed'—said the excellent Dr. Owen—'lest, while we endeavour to invent new ways to heaven for others, by so doing, we lose the true way ourselves.'

Miss Graham's discussion of the subject, in connexion with the experience of the intelligent Christian, is most satisfactory and edifying.

'I think I now quite understand you about prayer. My reason for speaking of the beginnings only of prayer was, that I thought no confirmed Christian could possibly pray without a reference to the mediation of Christ Jesus. But your observation, that we may pray without *immediately referring to it*, or even thinking *directly of it*, is very just, as in the case you mention of ejaculatory prayer. But I would ask you, my dearest friend, is it not an understood matter between us and our heavenly Father, that we are to have all things in the name of Jesus? Would we, *if we could*, receive even the least of our blessings through any other medium? Is it not the very joy of our hearts to have every thing, and do every thing through Christ; to believe that the Father loves us for his sake; accepts us in him; hears our prayers, not because they are ours, but because he offers them for us? And is this fixed, settled, deep-rooted feeling less, when in ejaculatory prayer there is no *immediate* reference to his mediation, than in our larger devotions, when we stop to make out our title more fully, and to dwell upon it more largely? It is delightful and profitable to do this; but yet I think the intention of our hearts is the same in both cases. If you were asked after one of these short prayers—'How do you expect or wish it to be heard?' would you not reply—'In the one name of my Beloved?' And would not the heaven of heavens seem less desirable of attainment, if by any possibility we could possess it in our own name, instead of the security of Jesus having entered before us and for us? I hope I am not wrong, and I am sure I would not object to repeating as often as possible to ourselves and to others our entire reliance upon his name. But I think, that when his mediation has become the very life and food of our souls, we need not torment ourselves with the fear, that such or such a prayer will not be answered, because I did not think of making formal mention of the ground on which I asked. Let me rather say—'God knows that I would not, if I might, have it answered in any other way. He knows what I mean and constantly desire; and, if through infirmity I may have expressed myself amiss or deficiently, infinite love will not misunderstand me.' If you think I have taken a wrong view, tell me, my dear friend. But I am confirmed in it by this circumstance. When I am in a truly spiritual state, the mediation of Christ is (as it were) so worked up into my being, that I am often, (except in stated prayers) not conscious of a direct reference to it at one time more than at another. Yet I think my mind never loses the idea. It is perpetually resting upon this sure anchor of hope. But when I am in a cold and careless state, (as at the present time) I lean upon it with an unstable faith. I am therefore much more often conscious of a *direct* reference to it. The shortest of my prayers have a sort of formality about them, from the cold repeated reference of the name of my Saviour. I do not know whether this is your case. I had rather have the thing so constantly in my heart, that I scarcely stop explicitly to allude to it, than lose the consciousness of it so often, (as I now do) that I am obliged to remind myself of it, in order to plead it with God. But I think that in all *sincere* ejaculations there is an inward, though perhaps almost unconscious, feeling of repose and delight in his name, through which alone we desire to have acceptance with the Father. I fear I have not expressed my meaning intelligibly. I have sent, as you desired, my thoughts without reserve; though I know too little of the spirit and power of prayer to qualify me to give my sentiments on so important a subject.'

The following letter *on Prayer to the Holy Spirit*, evinces much thought and spirituality.

'I feel very incompetent to give you any opinion on the point you mention about the Holy Spirit. Yet I have no doubt whatever in my own mind, that it is both right and desirable to pray to him separately and distinctly. I should be very much afraid, that the contrary opinion would gradually tend to undermine our faith in the Personality of the Holy Spirit; unless indeed it is meant by this, that we are to pray to the Tri-une God only, and not either to the Father, the Son, or the Spirit, considered as separate Persons. I have no doubt, as you say, that when we pray to the Father, we do worship this Trinity in Unity; and perhaps this is the most proper way of addressing our usual petitions. But it appears to me, that separate addresses are *permitted*, if not *sanctioned* in Scripture. And what I would earnestly contend for, (but that I fear I may be meddling "with things too high for me,") is this—If the Father and the Son may be separately addressed; then, not to allow of a separate address to the Spirit, is to rob him in some measure of his equal glory, and to do away with his Personality. I do not at this moment recollect any direct instances of prayer to the Holy Ghost in the Bible, though I think that there are many, in which he would appear to be the person addressed. But if Prayer comprehend adoration and thanksgiving, we often address him separately in the Liturgy, when we say—'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,'—a form of words, in which we imitate the Seraphim before the Throne, who cry—"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." The same separate act of worship is surely implied, when the four beasts, who rest not day and night, adore the Almighty, saying—"Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." Jesus commanded to "baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Here again a separate act of worship seems to be implied. By baptizing in the name of each Person of the Holy Trinity, distinctly and separately repeated, I cannot but understand, that we *separately invoke each of them* to perform their covenanted part in the redemption of the baptized person. But I think, that it may at once decide the question, that we are said to be "the temple of the Holy Ghost;" and why he should come and dwell in this temple, except to receive our acts of worship, I do not see. Besides, all his offices invite us to pray to him. He is our Comforter; and this warrants us to ask him for comfort. It is his work to "shed abroad the love of God in our hearts;" to cause us to "abound in hope;" and to "take of Christ's and show to us." But surely "for all these things he will be inquired of by us, to do them for us." I had almost forgotten to mention that beautiful prayer, Numb. vi. 24—26, which I have always considered as a separate invocation of the Persons of the Sacred Trinity. May "the fellowship of the Holy Ghost" be with us; and may he fulfil his sacred office in teaching us what to pray for, and how to pray."

This question has exercised the minds of many sincere Christians. Perhaps an endeavour to present it in its full Scriptural light will not be unacceptable. The exclusive claim of the only true God to the worship of his creatures is one of the first principles of right reason and of religion. Upon this eternal and unchangeable ground our Lord denied to Satan the worship which he demanded of him. We may remark therefore *upon the general subject*, that the proofs of the Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit are so decisive (though obviously this is not the place for their production,) that only scrupulosity of mind and judgment could refrain the honour of Divine worship on account of the withholding of a more explicit revelation. *The Divine nature—not the distinct Personality*—is the proper and necessary ground of worship. Each person therefore in the Sacred Trinity possesses equal and unalienable claims—*not as a person but as God*—to the trust, love, subjection, invocation, and every form and act of worship from the creatures of God. The Holy Spirit, therefore, 'with the Father and the Son, together is worshipped and glorified.'

As to the detail of the question, the worship of heaven as Miss Graham observes, appears to be given to him. At least he is never mentioned among the universal chorus of worshippers; which (*considering his Personality*) is some negative testimony on this point. He is represented as "proceeding out of the throne," being not only "before," but "in the midst of the throne;" his "seven eyes" marking his omniscience: his sevenfold influence, his Divine perfections. The thrice-repeated invocation of the heavenly host, while it proves his distinct Personality in the undivided Trinity, evidently includes his worship. "The Lord *sitting upon his throne*," and *worshipped* with most solemn and impressive adoration, *sent by his own authority*, and *spake by his own mouth*, that commission to the Prophet, which an apostle declares to have been delivered to him *by the Holy Ghost*.

The worship of the earth commences at the visible entrance into the church of God. The very first act of Christian worship in the administration of baptism is not only, as Miss Graham observes, a separate *invocation* of the Holy Spirit, but also a *dedication* of the baptized person to his service. For as the administration of this seal of the covenant in the name of the Holy Ghost is a direct acknowledgment of this Divine Person as conjointly with the Father and the Son, our covenant God; so it necessarily implies also the reciprocal obligations of faith, obedience, and worship. "The communion" or "fellowship of the Spirit" (one of the most enlivening privileges of the Gospel) must also, like the "fellowship with the Father and the Son," be maintained by prayer in the large acceptation of the term. For how else, but in worship, can a creature hold communion with his God. This worship St. John scrupled not to give to the Holy Spirit in supplicating from him, conjointly with the Father and the Son, a large supply of spiritual blessings upon the Church of God.

In Christian experience, the offices of the Holy Spirit—as Miss Graham remarks—*when connected with his Divine Personality*, naturally imply supplication. In reference to one of these offices, Scripture parallelism, together with the marked distinction of the Sacred Persons, exhibits St. Paul *probably* on more than one occasion invoking the Holy Spirit as the "God that heareth prayer." Nor indeed can we conceive of his presence in us as his temple, without all the devotional exercises of reverence and praise for his condescending love.

The *part which the Holy Spirit maintains in the administration of the church*, shows that his claim to immediate worship was fully acknowledged. It was *after a day of public and special supplication*, that he directed by his own authority the consecration of ministers to his immediate service. To whom then, may we ask, had the prayers of the church been specially addressed, but to Himself, who was manifestly the object, as well as the author of their consecration? And to whom did the worship resulting from this consecration belong, but to Him, who was the direct source and fountain of it? We need again only advert to his acknowledged power in the ordination of the ministers of the church, and to the exercise of his sovereignty in the appointment and restraint of their several spheres of labour, and in the distribution of His gifts, as a clear and scriptural warrant for the direct mode of address to Him employed in the Consecration services of our church.

The Christian investigator of the early Ecclesiastical Records will observe with delight this Divine worship fully pervading the rituals of the Primitive churches.* Our own church, closely following her sacred exemplar, has not confined this adoration of the Holy Spirit to her more exclusive Ministerial services. How often has the introduction of it into her Litany elevated the faith, and refreshed the spirits of her sincere worshippers! The frequent repetition of the doxology in her Liturgical exercises, is in the true spirit of the heavenly worship; and it may be a matter of just surprise, that any one of those who have constantly and joyfully united in this public ascription of praise to the blessed Spirit, should be exercised with scruples as to the Scriptural ground of the private duty and privilege of prayer to the same Divine person.

Miss Graham considered, and with some justice, that many Christians are defective in rendering due and equal honour to the Holy Spirit. Her own views of his personality were remarkably clear. 'I feel'—said she on one occasion—'"*the love of the Spirit*," as distinct from the manifestation *of the love of Christ* to my soul. Is this wrong?' Then she added—'I think I can account for the feeling; as I have made it a matter of special prayer, that I might have clearer views of the Holy Spirit.' She was accustomed (as we have already seen) to address Him in direct and probably frequent supplication. The Spiritual life indeed of the Christian is much employed in his reverential service. As "the sin against the Holy Ghost" (whatever that might be) included a wilful rejection of his faith, honour, and worship; so does every sin of "grieving" our Divine Comforter, and "resisting" his holy influence partake, according to its measure, of the same character. The antecedent obligation is therefore, sufficiently obvious. The Being against whom sin is committed, must be the worthy object of religious honour and service. All the exercises therefore of contrition and self-abasement on account of sin, are our humiliating but ready acknowledgments of the claim of the Holy Spirit to our dutiful obedience and worship. A full, distinct, and frequent confession, however, of our equal dependence upon his power and love is a primary obligation, and will result in a large supply of his heavenly grace, strength, and consolation.

Should some of the minor particles of illustration be thought to possess little or no positive weight, they may yet derive force and clearness from their connexion with more decisive grounds of evidence. From the main points, however, and from the whole view of the question, sufficient warrant may be deduced to satisfy perplexed and unsettled inquirers, and to quicken even the most intelligent servant of God to a more habitual acknowledgment of his duty, and enjoyment of his privilege in communion with the Holy Ghost. If a more explicit testimony still be demanded, we must recur to first principles, never more valuable than on these subjects. "*It is written.*" What is written is sufficient. What is withheld is best withheld. Man would be "wise above what is written." Had more been revealed, more would still have been desired; and the appetite for what is beyond human research would have been more excited, not only without practical benefit, but to the great detriment of Scriptural knowledge. Enough is given both in substance and clearness to direct and encourage our supplications to the Divine Spirit for a full supply of his heavenly influence. But in this and every other approach to the doctrine of the Trinity, many questions must arise, and must remain unanswered. All that belongs to the inner sanctuary of the essence of the ever-blessed Tri-une God, is equally above conception and expression. The Scriptures inform us of his nature, but they do not reason about it. A divinely-guarded and sacred veil covers him from our view. And much thought upon this deep subject of Deity—*irrespective of, and beyond, the sacred boundaries*—either involves us in the labyrinth of metaphysics, or sinks us into the gross, low, and familiar views of an opposite school. Our inquiries into this subject must be conducted with the deepest caution and the most profound humility. All that belongs to God's own revelation of himself, must be received with unfeigned submission and contentment. To seek for "access through Christ by the Spirit unto the Father," is the rubric for Christian worship: and in a strict attention to this Scriptural directory, every act, thought, and desire of prayer will become a means of communion with each of the Sacred Persons in the Divine essence, "without difference or inequality." At the same time, as our minds are drawn to a separate contemplation of them (especially as seeking those blessings which belong to their respective offices in the economy of grace) an immediate address to either of them is fully warranted; always however remembering that, whichever person be the object of worship, the mediation of Christ is the only way of access, the only plea for acceptance.

Adverting now to topics of more general interest, we transcribe from Miss Graham's manuscript, a few remarks *upon the subject of Infidelity* as a fearful characteristic of the present day. They will be found to possess the usual marks of her sound, reflecting, Christian mind. Speaking of the importance of mathematical study as furnishing armour and discipline suitable to the present crisis, she remarks—

'Intelligent Christians are especially called upon to set themselves in strong array against the gathering forces of infidelity. This last enemy of Christianity is filling up his ranks from all classes of the community. The active diligence of his malignity naturally reminds us of the prediction—"The devil is come down to you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."'

The deceitful and superficial character of the arguments employed by the great adversary is well exposed. 'They generally consist,' she observes, 'of a confused mass of objections, apparently formidable from their very indistinctness. Like objects seen through a fog, the superficial observer supposes them to be larger than they really are. But let us disentangle the artful confusion of words and ideas. Let us set apart each argument for separate and minute scrutiny. Let us analyze the boasted reasonings of the infidel philosophy. We shall find that they may be classed under two heads—Assertions which are true, but no way to the purpose; and assertions which are to the purpose, but they are not true. These form the materials of every plausible argument against Christianity. By this mixture of untrue and irrelevant matter with that which is true and pertinent, the understandings of the self-conceited and unwary are subverted. Strictly speaking, no assertion can be to the purpose which is not true. But it may be of such apparently pertinent application, as to lead us to examine less closely into its truth. On the other hand, if it be undeniably true, we sometimes forget to inquire (especially when many arguments of this kind are artfully interwoven together) whether it has any connexion with the subject in hand.'

In reference to the efforts necessary to resist this mighty spirit, she justly inculcates the importance of a well-furnished and well-disciplined mind, enabling us to meet the infidel upon his own ground of reason, and to fight him with his own sword.

'Whenever,' she observes, '"the enemy thus comes in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against him." He, who in his purpose of inscrutable wisdom suffers these "scoffers to come in the last age," will not fail to raise up men in his Church well-fitted to resist them. These champions of the cross must be men "strong in the faith," and "filled with the Holy Ghost." But, judging from the instruments which the Lord has employed in times past for his Church, we are led to expect that they will be learned in all the wisdom of their enemies—in earthly as well as heavenly wisdom. To oppose the subtleties of Arians, an acute and powerful reasoner was raised up in the person of Athanasius. A wise and learned Augustine was provided to quell the dreadful heresy of Pelagius. Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and almost all the eminent Reformers, were men of profound erudition, and strong powers of argumentation. "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise;" and he could, now, and perhaps may, see fit to correct the progress of infidelity by means of "unlearned men." Yet when we look back upon the instruments which he has heretofore raised up, and consider the many advantages of human learning which he has placed within our reach, it seems evidently our duty to use those means to the utmost; at least until the Lord shall give us some clear indication of a more excellent and acceptable way. "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings our God ordaineth strength." Let us then seek to obtain the spirit and temper of a little child. But let us never forget, that, while "in malice we are children," it behoves us "in understanding to be men." '

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* Hurrion's valuable sermons on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and Drs. Berriman's and Waterland's Sermons on the Trinitarian Controversy, give a condensed and satisfactory body of evidence on this subject.

She thus happily brings a Scriptural illustration to bear upon her subject.

'David with a sling and a stone fought Goliath and conquered. This time he wanted no other weapon, for God had appointed him no other. But when on a future occasion he was sore pressed by his enemies, he went into the temple of the Lord, and demanded the sword of that same Goliath. "There is none," said he, "like that; give it me." Why should he choose a weapon, which he had seen fall powerless from the hand of the uncircumcised Philistine? Because he knew that in the grasp of the circumcised David it would do goodly service. The hand, not the weapon, had been in fault. Thus may we, if called by the leadings of Providence, avail ourselves of human means, and meet our adversaries hand to hand, with their own weapons. Only let us use David's caution. Let us not take the sword of the Philistine, till it has been consecrated in the temple of the Lord.'

The present face of the times in the judgment of all intelligent observers seems strongly to mark an impending crisis, as if the "Israel" of God "and the Philistines were putting the battle in array, army against army." We know on which side the victory is secured. Yet the conflict will doubtless be severe. Let the servants of God gird themselves for "the good fight of faith," with the whole armour of God. This is no time for slumber or inaction. A religion taken upon trust, "received by tradition from our fathers," provides no resource in the hour of trial. A "faith standing not upon the wisdom of man, but upon the power of God"—will be a defence, a stay, a ground of unfailing hope and consolation.

But on this subject we will give Miss Graham's own words in a letter to her cousin without date. It will be found to be a refreshing specimen of her mode of treating subjects which have lately been found so fruitful in speculation, in a practical and edifying application.

April, 1827.

'Amongst the reflections which I have made upon the Millennium, there are two which occupy my mind very much. I thought of them the whole of one day; one was founded upon this text—"And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end, because it is yet a time appointed." Does not one shudder with horror in anticipating the fulfilment of this prophecy? Who can need purifying more than we do? Who can say that these words are not addressed to us? How dreadful to fall in that time when the Saviour is about to appear! to fall in the very moment when our song of triumph should begin! to fall in the very midst of enemies, of persecutions, of infidelities, in that time when "the devil will have great wrath, because he knoweth that he will have but a short time" to trouble the faithful. But I think that perhaps God has inspired me with this fear, that I may pray against so fatal an event; and this is my reason for communicating it to you. When I was almost overwhelmed with this reflection, these sweet words came to my heart, and made me think of you,—"Two are better than one." Since in this instance the Scriptures and our hearts agree, I beseech you not to separate yourself from me. Let us love each other always, and pray for each other, that we may not fall. But if unhappily one of us should fall, may the other be ready to raise her up again. If I should fall either into the love of the world, or into infidelity, or into any other sin, do not give me up. Do not think I am a hypocrite. Think that it is to "purify and to try me;" and pray, that if you fall, I may act in the same way towards you. But in the midst of the thoughts which these sad ideas gave me, these words came for my encouragement,—"They that are with the Lamb are called, and chosen, and faithful." You know how precious these words have been to me. But I now saw them in a new point of view. They appeared to me a plain promise introduced exactly at that time to console the saints under their difficulties, by assuring them that they will be a little troop, "called, chosen, and faithful," against whom no enemies will be able to prevail: that they will have a degree of faith proportioned to their sufferings and necessities. In short, in describing the character of this elect band, I wish to believe, that it describes what we shall be found, if we arrive at that period. If already we are "called and chosen," shall we not then be "faithful?" Let us plead this promise. It speaks to me like a voice from heaven. It answers every fear, every uncertainty. Would God choose and call soldiers who would be unfaithful to him? Will not our Captain teach us to follow him whenever he will have us to go? When I say to myself, 'Poor and feeble creature, what will you do in that time of distress and temptation? Faith, which cannot resist a single vain thought, how will you resist the united efforts of the world, the devil, and a wicked heart?' Then I answer, 'Yes; but has not God said, that the saints in that day shall be "faithful and chosen" by Himself, who cannot choose amiss? Rest upon his word; if he sees that you are not fit to fight in the battle of that great day, He will not call you to it; and if he call you to it, it is his part to give you the fidelity which will be so necessary.'

Miss Graham's remarks *on the subject of Prophecy* will be interesting, and furnish occasion for some observations suited to the present time. Having insisted upon the importance of mathematical study in reference to the progress of infidelity, she applies the same train of reasoning to the *excitement to the study of Prophecy*, which she justly remarks to be one of the prominent characteristics of our day.

'There is yet another subject,' she observes, which, though at present but partially considered, bids fair, ere long, to engross the attention of the Christian world. I allude to the study of prophecy. "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read," is the Divine command; "no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate." I am particularly led to advert to it in this place, because I have heard with inexpressible pleasure, that these inquiries have already been useful in thinning the ranks of infidelity. The inducements of this study are indeed greater than in any former age of the church. The coincidence between prophecy and its fulfilment is in these latter days grandly conspicuous. It is such, that "he who runs may read." The winding up of the whole seems to be near at hand. The last prophecy must ere long, find "her mate," in the last event of humanity. Prediction is almost swallowed up in accomplishment. Happy are those, who with reason enlightened by a ray of divine intelligence, can trace the wonderful coincidence, which subsists between what God has foretold, and what he has done; whose thoughts stretch forward in awful, yet fearless anticipation of what God is about to do!

'But to attempt any discussion of the views that are held upon this subject, would be foreign to the purpose of this little treatise. If we would enter fully into the prophetic writings, we must, like Daniel, "set our faces unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplication." My object is to hint to the youthful student, who may probably be hereafter engaged in this most interesting contemplation, the extreme importance of having his imagination under the strictest discipline of reason. If ever the "spirit of a sound mind" was necessary, it is so in the investigation of the future prophecies. A more than mathematical accuracy of definition, of statement, and of argument, should be carried into all that is said or written upon this subject. When I consider the extraordinary spirit of inquiry that is now beginning to spread; when I think I perceive that these inquiries are not only justified by Scripture, but are themselves a part of prophetic fulfilment; and when I joyfully anticipate that "many shall run to and fro" on this subject, "and knowledge shall be" wonderfully "increased;" it is at such times that I most deeply feel the importance of intreating the young Christian diligently to cultivate, in a spirit of prayer and faith, all those parts of education, which especially tend to impart soundness, penetrativeness, and energy to his reasoning powers.'

Whatever may be thought of the somewhat novel connection of prophecy with mathematical study, it would have been well for some of our modern interpreters to have disciplined their minds to the principles of this more severe science. Much crude and dogmatical statement would have been restrained, many painful absurdities would have been excluded, and much perplexity spared to the path of the sincere, but unfurnished inquirer. The prophetic study is indeed, as Miss Graham observes, one of the characteristics of our day. The church is awakened to the full and dutiful acknowledgment of her Lord's command; "*Search the Scriptures.*" Indeed, apart from the authority of this express command, the universal "spirit of prophecy," as "the testimony of Jesus," while it furnishes the true key of interpretation, gives it an imperative claim upon our attention and regard. The succession of events most deeply interesting and solemnly instructive passing before us through the medium of the daily press, also strongly marks our immediate and personal concern in this Scriptural research.

Many Christians are unduly repelled by the difficulties and uncertainty which confessedly belong to the subject. But "the prophets," though they could not understand, felt it their duty and privilege to "search." "We have also the more sure word of prophecy," with the injunction that "we do well that we take heed to it," and with a special and most encouraging promise to stimulate our investigation.

The precise extent of the claim of this study must however be variously estimated. In all cases, indeed, the consideration of *fulfilled prophecy* is a component of Christian evidence to our own minds, and will furnish the "answer, that we should be ready always to give to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear." The study of unfulfilled prophecy; if it be a general duty, is not in all cases the immediate duty. It must be subordinated to the primary concern of a personal interest in the Gospel. To a mind awakened to serious inquiry on its own state, yet but slightly tinctured with conviction, and imperfectly directed to the Saviour, the presentment of the claims of unfulfilled prophecy for consideration is a most mischievous evil. The soul is diverted from the main object of contemplation and pursuit. A speculative taste is gratified in the place of the practical influence of the truths of the Gospel. This "ignorance of Satan's devices" enables him to get advantage, if not to the ruin of the soul; yet to the "corruption of the mind from the simplicity that is in Christ." And indeed under all circumstances, attention to prophecy must be regulated, in some degree at least, by the leisure, opportunities, and advantages severally belonging to us; not failing to pay due regard to Scriptural proportion, as well as to imperative obligation. That exclusive study, which occupies the place of Christ crucified in doctrine, and forms a substitute for the various exercises of experimental and practical habits; is greatly to be deprecated. Besides the evils with the young inquirer just adverted to, it keeps out of sight many important subject of obligation and interest included in the sacred canon. It has originated many of the schisms now unhappily dividing the Church, by the substitution of "doubtful disputation" for substantial truth, greatly to the hindrance of Christian privilege, devotedness, and consistency.

Admitting, however, the general importance of this study, the temper in which it is to be conducted is a matter of the first moment. The instance of Daniel produced by Miss Graham, exhibits the finest specimen of the Prophetic Interpreter or Student. Such diligence of research in prostration of soul, accompanied with such sanctity, humility, faith, and perseverance, will under the most unfavourable circumstances of external destitution be honoured of God. The exercise of these holy graces will form a safe-guard against the delusive influence of human speculations, and will enable us to improve the results of Divine teaching for the high purposes for which they were vouchsafed. The investigation of prophecy will thus become a cheering support to us in the anticipation of trials, and a quickening stimulus to the discharge of our immediate responsibilities.

The warranted expectation however of human help may probably have been overrated. Though in this, more than in any other age "many have run to and fro"—yet it may be doubted how far Miss Graham's hopes have been realized by an increase of "knowledge" commensurate with the extent of research. The march of Christian intellect has been in most cases retarded by a defect of spiritual or intellectual qualifications. Some of the more elaborate and practised writers want that unction and spirituality, which evidence a mind Divinely-instructed for this "search into the deep things of God;" and this deficiency of the stamp of heavenly influence, materially weakens our confidence in the results from their subsidiary intellectual advantages. Other writers of a more decided evangelical school are too sparingly furnished with those resources of erudition and intelligence, which doubtless were intended to reflect valuable, though subordinate, light upon the prophetic page. Some again of the same school, have taken up crude and indigested views—the result of imagination, impulse, or excitement, rather than of matured judgment and consideration; while the dogmatism and self-sufficiency of others give no proof of Divine suggestion, and offer no satisfaction to the inquiring mind. There is probably no accredited writer in the various prophetic schools, who has not contributed his quantum in clearing up difficulties, and throwing light upon some department of the subject. Yet it may be doubted whether a connected and comprehensive scheme of the Divine system has yet been satisfactorily developed; and in the different schemes that have been proposed, much Christian discernment is required to separate in them what is solidly established, from what is unsubstantial and speculative. Human helps must therefore under all circumstances be subsidiary—not primary. God's book must ever maintain its own supreme place. The scattered rays reflected from different parts of its prophetic system (such as the comparison of the Books of Daniel and John) and centering in one point, will often furnish a strong and clear light for the direction and encouragement of the Christian student. We feel therefore great confidence in recommending a Berean search of the scriptures as the ground-work of prophetic investigation; not omitting to avail ourselves of the industry and intelligence of accredited writers for the expansion of our views, and the elucidation of our difficulties; but at the same time exercising our judgment in dependence upon our heavenly Teacher, again to compare the exposition of their systems with the light of the sacred book. In this process of inquiry we are persuaded, that "the wise shall understand," (even though they be "way-faring fools") as far as is consistent with the Divine will, and necessary for their duty and comfort; and for the rest they may well be content to wait for the full splendour of the light of the heavenly word.

May the writer without presumption be allowed to suggest a few hints relative to the clear interpretation and profitable study of prophecy?

1. Let the special need of Divine influence be primarily considered. Far be it from the writer to underrate the intellectual qualifications. He is well aware of the treasures of erudition, that have been effectively applied to this most important subject. He would have the whole field of prophecy traversed with all the mind and research that can be brought to bear upon it. But he cannot forget that the teaching wisdom belongs to God; and that it is the irradiation of his holy light, which can alone illumine the dark places in this, to us, uncertain track. Let the interpreter duly weigh his special and weighty responsibilities. How large a portion of the grace and "wisdom that is from above," does he need, to induce that waiting spirit so acceptable to God; to restrain the rising of dogmatism, spiritual self-will and conceit; to repress "private interpretations," so inconsistent with the comprehensiveness of scripture prophecy; to guard against giving his own mind in the professed desire only to interpret the mind of God; to take an entire view of the whole range of prophecy, instead of contracting his interest to a few favourite points; to forbear with the decided views of his opponents; readily to retract his indigested opinions, and to yield his prejudices to the influence of more correct and enlarged apprehensions; habitually to connect every view with the glory of his Saviour, and the extension of his kingdom! These are confessedly responsibilities of no ordinary moment. They forbid trifling with the subject, as if its clear light were revealed by some momentary inspiration; they realize the urgent need of "the Spirit of wisdom and revelation," to "enlighten the eyes of the understanding;" and they inculcate a habit of dependence, supplication, seriousness, and that reverence, which Lord Bacon so justly describes as indispensable to the profitable consideration of the subject. In the defect of this spirit, successive systems of prophecy have been ingeniously woven; the interpreters "come together," and bring before the church their several hypotheses and conclusions; and "every one," as at Corinth, "hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation." It cannot be doubted, but this defect of Christian simplicity is one main cause of the indeterminate apprehension of the subject. Who does not see how needful is "singleness of eye," the gift of God, to reflect light upon the mind; while an "evil eye," affected with some natural bias, leads us in the review of the results of human ingenuity to exclaim, "How great is this darkness!"

2. Let a forbearing spirit be inculcated in this research. The importance of this spirit in an intellectual view is sufficiently obvious, as a guard from the prevalent evils of self-conceit. Its influence in every department of sacred truth; *especially in the field of prophecy;* is of yet higher moment. The writer's own studies in this field have brought him to the fixed conclusion; that many of the controverted points (those, for example, connected with our Lord's second Advent,) are embarrassed with difficulties on both sides, sufficient to preserve wise and humble men from dogmatizing on either part; and to excite mutual respect and forbearance, rather than what we are too often constrained to see—"brethren grudging one against another." The event indeed is a doctrine of faith, absolutely certain. The time and circumstantials being imperfectly revealed, are matters of forbearance; on which all, even the most sober, interpreters have been constrained in the course of investigation, in some points of more or less moment, to retract, modify, or restate their views. Indeed, prophecy, according to the Scriptural

definition, is "a light that shineth in a dark place," yet not surely the light of "perfect day;" and well would it be for us, if the confession of our ignorance would find vent in the Apostle's adoring contemplation; "How unsearchable are his judgments! and his ways past finding out!" We may indeed justly expect clearer light to dawn upon us, as the consummation of the grand events draws on. Meanwhile we must combine diligent study with cautious application. We must be content for the most part with the statement of general views and results. If the events are clear, the time, mode, and means of their accomplishment are often undefined. We are assured, that none of the Divine predictions can fall to the ground; that the events contemplated in them are the fruit of the Lord's superintending love to his church, and that they will all issue in the final advancement of his own glory. In this recollection it is most suitable to cultivate that truly Christian spirit of patient expectancy which in child-like humility, not in slumbering indolence, is content to leave to the Lord the unfolding of his own purposes.

The writer may be permitted to observe, that a less determinate fixing of dates of the several prophetic eras offers large room for the exercise of this forbearing spirit. Prophets with all their warranted confidence were modest. They never spoke without a clear commission: "*Thus saith the Lord.*" Interpreters of prophecy are not always so modest. The confident mode of calculation which is sometimes adopted, might lead us to suppose not only that the several periods, but also that their commencing points, were, like Daniel's weeks, absolutely revealed. To a few of the most important eras, dates more or less probable, *but not absolutely decisive*, may be assigned; and in periods of less moment, experience has fully shown, how unsatisfactory all attempts to fix the precise periods of events have proved and are likely to prove. Our Lord, while he reproved listless indifference to "the signs of the times," rebuked with no less decision this presumptuous interference with his Sovereign prerogative. 'If ever,' as Miss Graham admirably observes, '"the spirit of a sound mind" is necessary, it is so in the investigation of the future prophecies.' Wise and holy men of God will learn to speak with caution and reserve upon subjects obscurely revealed. General views are sufficient for the ground and encouragement of faith. And the cloud that still covers this mystic history of futurity, abundantly shows, that the end of prophecy was not to make us prophets; but to "set us upon our watch-tower," as diligent and humble inquirers, seeking to "have understanding of the signs of the times, that we might know what Israel ought to do," and to expect.

Indeed this designed darkness subserves various and important uses. It furnishes a needful and wholesome check upon human speculation. Had the Great Author of prophecy intended it as the rule of life, he would doubtless have written it with a sun-beam. In its present mode and character of revelation it is however admirably suited; not indeed to indulge unwarrantable curiosity, but to exercise our faith, to call forth our Christian graces, to enliven our hopes, to quicken our anticipation of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of Christ; and meanwhile that we should mark with soberness the gradual development of progress towards this glorious consummation. It is far more profitable; instead of making a framework for ourselves; to be looking in the Lord's best time for that clear reflection of light in the fulfilment of prophecy, which will awe even the most inconsiderate to conviction. "This is the finger of God. What hath God wrought?"

3. Let the subject be ever considered as a practical study. It is a sign of an unhealthy excited temperament, if the prophetic parts of scripture be more interesting than the preceptive, that is, if we are more conversant with matters of uncertain interpretation, than with the subjects that relate to our immediate duty. If the prophetic study be dissociated from its practical character and consequences, our prepossessed fancy is far more likely to give the interpretation than the Divine Spirit. The blessing belongs to those that "*keep the things* that are written in the words of this prophecy." The fruit of Daniel's research was that which is most specially needed at the present eventful moment: intercession for the church and for the land; Habakkuk went to his watch-tower, not to speculate in idle curiosity, but, as we have before hinted, to be in readiness to hear the valuable lessons of reproof and instruction that were designed for him. Supposing that the period of accomplishment is far distant, yet there is a large preparatory work of prayer, exertion, and Christian devotedness, urgently pressing upon us. And far better shall we be employed in girding ourselves to the discharge of the practical obligations of prophecy, than in minutely tracing out the conjectured period and mode of its fulfilment, and in attempting to narrow its wide and comprehensive sphere by uncertain application to the little particularities of our own time and place. Is there no danger while fixing the dates and describing the circumstantials of the grand coming events, lest we forget that every page of prophecy is a direct personal revelation to our own souls, and lest we too slightly regard those clearest predictions of the sacred page; the promises of God to his people, and his threatenings to the unbelieving world?

How much has been lost to the church by a speculative contemplation of the prophetic view of the doctrine of our Lord's second advent! If, instead of filling up (from the resources of imagination more than from the substance of Scripture) the outlines, the faith of the church had been singly fixed upon the glory of this consummating event, and intensely exercised in the glow of expectancy, how different would have been her aspect at the present moment! What a bond of union would have subsisted among her members! What an atmosphere of love would have pervaded her territory! What a spring of holy consecration would have been in extended activity! It ill becomes servants, looking for the return of their absent lord, to spend themselves in discussing the mode and circumstantials of his coming, when they might be far more suitably employed in preparing the house for his reception, and in readiness to give an immediate answer to his welcome knock.

The obscurity that hangs over the precise period of our Lord's coming is indeed a most wise and gracious dispensation to invigorate the church in every age with the high privilege and obligation of looking for this triumphant crisis. Whatever views therefore tend to divert the attention from the present duties connected with this anticipation, are the unscriptural delusions of man's conceit. This spirit of constant expectancy may be considered as the perfecting feature of the Christian character. It concentrates all the practical and animating exercises of the Gospel. What an encouragement does it supply to the assurance of faith! What a stimulus to activity, devotedness, abounding love, heavenly conversation, sobriety of spirit, readiness of habit, and watchful preparation for eternity! What support does it furnish in the hour of trial, whether from the immediate visitations of God, or the persecuting enmity of man! What materials does it give for personal edification, compassionate labours for the unconverted, and mutual exhortation and comfort in the church of God! How cheering is the prospect which it holds out of complete transformation into the image of our beloved Lord! What patient hope and joyful anticipation does it bring into the waiting soul! So eminently practical—so richly consolatory—is the believing and habitual contemplation of the coming of our Lord! Indeed when we realize the hope of body and soul at this blissful era being equal participants of the eternal redemption—the happiness of every member of the body consummated in the complete glorification of the whole body—and the church, "filled with all the fulness of God," presenting to the universe the entire "fulness of Him, that filleth all in all"—we may well conceive, that never was an event so joyful known on earth since the fall of man. We wonder not that "the whole creation," now "groaning and travailing together in pain" under the ruins of sin—should then be awakened to joyful exultation in its "deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

This scriptural privilege of expectancy was however inculcated upon the church, while the event which it contemplated could only be seen through the long vista of some thousand years. It does not therefore necessarily imply the approach of the grand crisis. Yet the view which has just been given of it, includes all the essential principles of sanctification and of happiness. We cannot therefore but see sufficient reason for the large space which it occupies in the enforcement of Christian obligation, and the prospects of Christian hope. Our Divine Saviour is brought eternally near to his people. His perfect likeness is the immediate consequence of his vision. His glory is their everlasting joy.

It is painful to reflect, that a speculative study of prophecy should have so materially injured the influence of those prospects of the church upon her present duties and privileges. The minute descriptive details, that have been sometimes connected with the coming of Christ in his kingdom (not to speak of their doubtful scriptural authority, and their closer alliance to earth than to heaven) have a strong tendency to repress a spiritual contemplation of this great event. Even the details given in the prophetic books are much under the veil. Interpreters expound them according to the principles of their different systems; and after all their diligence and labour, much is left unexplained, or resting upon conjectural support. In these things the writer is content to "walk by faith, not by sight." All that is necessary is revealed. We shall be as happy as God can make us. As to any precise knowledge "it doth not yet appear what we shall be." And such knowledge we want not. It exhibits a far more enlarged expectancy to be assured, that it will be something that we neither know nor can know—interminable bliss without sin, and with Christ. Our happiness centres in the certainty and glory, not in the circumstantials, of the event. And surely the "shaking of earth and heaven," which seems to be at hand, will quicken the cry for our expected Lord—'Come quickly. Take to thyself the kingdom, and reign with all thy saints.' The waiting Christian, in these times of special trial of the church, "lifts up his head full of joy and expectation. Faith overcomes the tremendous thought of wrath and judgment, as the harbingers of his coming; and still the cry is re-echoed to the solemn declaration,—"Surely I come quickly: Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

3. *On Christian Experience and Practical Religion.*

Miss Graham's correspondence, flowing in an easy and natural strain, will be generally interesting. Even where no striking features are visible, an affectionate earnestness, tender sympathy, and a direct application of the first principles of the Gospel to the several cases of her friends cannot fail of being observed.

The following letter appears to have been written to a friend, newly awakened to concern for her eternal interests.

Nov. 1826.

'I fancy that you have for some time past felt a conviction that religion is something more than you used to think it, more than the world in general seem to think it. But yet, perhaps, you do not see very clearly, what more it is that religion requires of you. You see, that there is nothing in this vain world capable of satisfying the desires of your immortal spirit; but you do not clearly comprehend what there is in religion to satisfy all our desires. You seek the Lord; but you do not yet feel as if you had found Him. You probably spend much time in reading the scriptures; but sometimes they seem obscure and unintelligible, sometimes dry and uninteresting. You often pray; but do not always find either comfort or sweetness in prayer. Sometimes you feel as if you could give up every earthly enjoyment for one glimpse of that "love of Christ which passeth knowledge;" and at other times it seems to you very foolish and unreasonable to pretend to more religion than other people. This is what many feel, who are beginning to be very anxious about religion. I cannot help indulging a strong hope, that you will soon find in the love of Jesus all that you want to make you happy; only let me beg of you to seek him simply, under the conviction that we can neither do nor think any thing good without Him; that "every thought is evil, only evil, and that continually;" and that, while we continue in this state, we cannot understand the things of the Spirit of God, because they will appear "foolishness to us." The change which every person must undergo, before they can truly receive Christ as their Saviour, is described in terms no less striking—"Ye must be *born again.*" "If any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a *new creature;* old things are passed away; behold! all things are become new!" In other parts it is described as a change from death unto life, "from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God." But I will not multiply instances. Surely such a change as this cannot be the cold, worldly, heartless religion, with which the generality of people sit down satisfied! Surely it is a change we have no power to make in ourselves. When God "breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life," it was a wonderful act of his creating power. But when he breathes spiritual life into the soul of one "dead in tresspasses and sins," this seems more wonderful; and yet this is what we vainly think we can do ourselves. But if we can be once convinced, that we are so utterly worthless and sinful, that none but Christ can save us, then we shall go to Him for every thing. If we want repentance, wisdom, holiness, salvation, all these are His to give; He promises to give them to every one that asks Him. O be much in prayer to this precious Saviour! He has declared, that none shall seek Him in vain. Those who leave off trusting in themselves, and cling with a single and undivided heart to the cross of Christ, and "count every thing else but loss, so they may win Christ and be found in Him"—what words can describe their blessedness! How true it is, that those who seek happiness in any thing except Christ Jesus, are "hewing out to themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water!" Come then, my most dearly loved friend, come with me to "the fountain of living waters"—come to Him who has said—"If any man thirst, let him come to me, and drink"—as if he had said—'If there be any poor sinner, who has begun to find out that the pleasures of this world cannot quench his thirst after happiness, if he long for something less vain and empty and unsatisfying, let him come unto me.' Do you desire to give yourself to Christ, to make him your all in all? Then let not any fears or misgivings keep you away from him, for he "waits to be gracious" to you. Your sins need not keep you away; for he came to call sinners. He calls Himself the friend of sinners; and indeed, till you are taught by His Spirit, how exceedingly sinful you are, you cannot prize Him as you ought. Let me intreat you often to dwell on the "precious promises" of Scripture. Remember, that "in Him all the promises are yea and amen;" and if we plead in His name for the fulfilment, the truth and faithfulness of God (who cannot lie) stand engaged to perform them for us. There is one in particular which seems to me full of encouragement; it describes so fully the state of heart we want, and promises to give what it describes to those who inquire of the Lord. See Ezek. xxxvi. 25—37.'

The next letter is of a later date, and implies a more distinct advance of Christian knowledge in her friend.

'Let me use the privilege of friendship, and entreat you to look less at the dark side of your prospects, and more at the unspeakable mercies with which God has favoured you; particularly that he has given you the greatest blessing he has to give, in calling you to become his reconciled-child by faith in Christ Jesus. And having given you an interest in his Son, "shall he not with him freely give you all things?"—all things that are good for you, my dear friend. If therefore your wishes are not satisfied, it must be because it is not for your good to satisfy them. Your lot has been chosen out for you by one, who is infinitely wise and kind, as the very best for your present and eternal happiness, and "He doeth all things well." You will ultimately find peace in religion; I am sure you will; and in the mean time is it not a blessing, that you are not permitted to take up your rest here, and find the false destroying peace, which so many experience in worldly enjoyments? What if you were to ask God in Christ's name for the fulfilment of such a promise as this—"Behold I will bring in health and cure, and I will heal him, and will reveal unto him the abundance of peace and of truth" would he deny you? Considering that no promise of Scripture "is of private interpretation"—not meant for one part of the church, or one age of it, but for the whole flock of Christ *now*, and every member of it, and therefore for *you*—considering too, "that all the promises of God are yea and amen to us in Christ Jesus;" and that Christ himself has said—"If ye shall ask any thing in my name, *I will give it you*"—what encouragement have we to take these promises to God in prayer, to wrestle with him, and declare with holy confidence—"I will not let thee go, except thou bless me!" Oh! he would bless you; and his "blessing maketh rich, and *he addeth no sorrow with it.*" My dear friend, you must come to God thus, and "give him no rest," till he grant you the promised blessing. You must not take a denial. May the Spirit of prayer be abundantly poured out upon you! It is our privilege to take our sins and sorrows, and cast them upon Christ: he has already borne their agonizing weight; why should we groan under them? "Cast thy burden upon the Lord." Would that I could act as I advise! But I fall very, very far short. Even my desires after this state of mind are miserably faint and cold; but let us both take comfort in the reflection, that we are accepted *in Christ;* "complete in him;" beloved, not for *our* deserving, but for *his;* and his are "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." When we fail, Christ remains the same; and it is for the sake of what he has done, that God will accept us; not for any thing we can do; or we might indeed go mourning all the day long.'

These letters mark the general tone of Miss Graham's correspondence in affectionate counsel and scriptural encouragement. The case to which they primarily refer is among the most difficult and delicate within the compass of Christian instruction. No service is more valuable to the sincere but unintelligent inquirer than to enter into his case with tenderness, forbearance, and anxious consideration of his difficulties. Vague and ill-defined directions throw little light upon his path. Even the primary and immediate counsel, guiding him to the Saviour of sinners, needs a present and particular application to his individual state. His difficulties will indeed vary according to his simplicity, sincerity, and earnestness.

But under all circumstances, the *instant duty of believing in Christ* must be inculcated. No deficiency of spiritual apprehensions must be allowed to hinder immediate attention to "this work of God."* The Gospel was not intended to answer the question—"What shall I do, that I may inherit eternal life?" But it affords a satisfactory reply to a question more nearly interesting to the condition of a sinner—"How can man be just with God!" It opens by the instrumentality of faith a free, immediate, universally accessible way to favourable acceptance with our offended God. No perplexing course of preparatory discipline is required. All are invited without limitation, without delay. Infinite mercy and grace are provided for infinite need. Only those that feel will ask; and all that ask shall have. Thus a sense of sin is the prerequisite, without which no man will come (for "the whole need not the physician;") but it is no part of the warrant to come. The Scripture has no where prescribed any uniform rule, or measured out the precise extent of necessary conviction. All constitutions are not formed alike; and therefore pungency is no certain proof of sincerity. Many are brought without a process of painful exercise to a simple and clear reception of the truth.

The soul is as welcome to Christ at the first moment of invitation as at any successive period; and protracted conflict manifests only the stubborn power of unbelief; a sin, which the Spirit of God will not fail to apply as matter of humiliating conviction. To insist therefore upon a determined measure or intensity of well-defined conviction as a preparation of faith, is an infringement upon the freeness and simplicity of the Gospel. The law also, as the instrument to produce this conviction, must be used in immediate connection with Christ. *He* is the life; and if he be not set forth at the commencement, there will be only the temporary and unsatisfactory change from a state of indifference to a state of bondage, without any effective principle of holiness or of privilege, and the man will be satisfied without that entire simplicity of faith and self-dedication so indispensable to salvation. Even in the exhibition of Christ, the mind of the inquirer must be diverted from a too minute and anxious analysis of its own exercises of faith to a fixed contemplation of the glorious Person presented to view. The emphasis of the invitation is, "Look—Come *unto me*." The first sensation of rest will be connected not with a precise knowledge of our own feelings, but with an entire dependence upon the work of Christ. Though self-examination is intimately connected with the prosperity and advance of the Christain life; yet it must never be employed to originate our peace and hope in the Gospel; but to ascertain the reality of our hope; to detect false confidence and backsliding; to bring to us the warranted enjoyment of "the testimony of our consciences," in regard to the consistency of our profession; and to mark our progress in knowledge, experience, and practical devotedness. One further point, connected with the case of the inquirer is of indispensable moment. He may be assured that there is no indefinitely future period; no "day of the Lord's power" more favourable for his acceptance than the present; and that no deficiency of knowledge can acquit him of the obligation of an instant surrender of himself to God. This very moment the Lord demands his unreserved faith, and his whole heart; and every delay brings a fresh charge of guilt, widens the distance, and increases the difficulty.

The following letter, written about two months before her death, gives an interesting view of her own search after truth, and marks a discriminating apprehension of the Gospel.

Stoke Fleming, Oct. 1830.

'I am grieved that you should for a moment imagine that I think our dear —— must be lost, because she does not subscribe to the doctrines of Calvin. I do not myself so much as know what all Calvin's doctrines are, or whether I should subscribe to them myself. I have read one book of Calvin's, many parts of which pleased me much, I mean his Institutes, which Bishop Horsley says ought to be in every clergyman's library. Further than this I know nothing of Calvin, or his opinions. I certainly did not form one single opinion from his book, for I had formed all my opinions long before from the Bible. You may remember my telling you that some years ago I declined greatly, almost entirely (inwardly) from the ways of God, and in my breast was an infidel, a disbeliever in the truths of the Bible. When the Lord brought me out of that dreadful state, and established my faith in his word, I determined to take that word *alone* for my guide. I read nothing else for between three and four months, and the Lord helped me to pray over every word that I read. At that time, and from that reading, all my religious opinions were formed, and I have not changed one of them since. I knew nothing then of Calvin. I have said so much, dear ——, because I think it a very wicked thing to do, as you seem to think I do, to call Calvin or any man "master on earth," or to make any human writer our guide in spiritual things. Christ only should be our master, and his word our guide, and his Spirit our teacher; and that Holy Spirit will be given to us if we ask for it. But I suppose by the doctrines of Calvin you meant the doctrine of predestination, which Calvin, in common with many other of God's saints, believed and preached. My belief and settled opinion about predestination, you will find expressed more clearly than any words of mine can do in John vi. 37, 39, 65. Rom. viii. 28—30. Rom. ix. Eph. i. 3—6, 11. 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14. 2 Tim. i. 9, 10. Titus i. 1, 2. 1 Peter i. 2—5. 1 John iv. 19. Rev. xvii. 8. John xv. 16. I also join in every word of the 17th Article of our church; so much so, that if asked my opinion about predestination, I should give it in those very words, from the impossibility of finding any others, which in so short a space expressed my meaning so well. But this article is only of *human* authority, therefore I should bring forward the proof from the Scriptures of that God who cannot lie. I have just given you a few texts as they struck me. They are, I believe, enough for my present purpose: but detached texts lose much of their power: it is the whole sense of the whole Bible that should determine us; and since "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, (for they are *foolishness* to him)," let us pray to become spiritual, "that we may know the things that are freely given us of God." The above texts will give you an idea of my opinion. Indeed some of them are exceedingly plain, and strong, and full, in their account of the doctrine. I endeavour to receive them as a little child, in their plain literal meaning.

'But to return to our dear ——; I think the doctrine of election *essential* to the *comfort* and *consistency* of our walk with God: because I deem it essential to receive the whole Bible, and every truth contained in every part of the Bible without partiality or gainsaying. But I do not consider a belief in the doctrine essentially necessary to salvation. I *do* consider a simple trust in the atonement and righteousness of Jesus Christ as *absolutely necessary* to salvation. If then, dearest ——, your beloved friend and mine too, (for I do most sincerely love her) possesses this simple reliance on the death and obedience of Christ for salvation, doubt not that she will be saved; though she may not yet have been able to receive those high and humbling doctrines which very few Christians do receive in the commencement of their course, and which some cannot to the very end thoroughly embrace. Many, however, I think embrace the actual doctrine, though they cannot bear the words predestination, election, &c. A strange dislike, since both words happen to be taken from scripture. My beloved —— would have been quite distressed, had I supported the doctrine of predestination in my conversations with her *under the name of predestination*; and yet we often conversed on the thing itself and subjects connected with it; nor did I find her ideas differ greatly from mine. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, Jesus Christ." All who are built on this foundation, who are thus founded on the Rock of Ages, must be secure. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts xvi. 31, &c.

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* John vi. 28, 29. This instant duty of believing is however questioned by some of our modern religionists—either as seeming to imply a natural power to believe, or as inconsistent with the manifest inability to believe without a divine principle. But our Lord inculcated the duty upon the unbelieving multitude in this passage in answer to their professed inquiry upon the subject of duty. He subsequently enforced it upon the same class of hearers (John xii. 36, with 37, 40.) Besides—as sin is the neglect or resistance of obligation, if faith be not the duty of the unconverted, unbelief is not their sin—consequently—not what the Gospel repeatedly declares it to be—the primary ground of their condemnation (John iii. 18, 19, xii. 48. xvi. 8, 9. 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.) This system of measuring duty by ability, and of admitting inability to cancel obligation, equally annuls every bond of love and obedience, by which man is connected with his God, but for which he is no less incapacitated than for the spiritual exercise of faith. It argues also a forgetfulness of the justice of the divine requirements, and of the responsibility of that sinful inclination, which constitutes the principle of his impotency to comply with them. The commission of the Gospel is an universal call both to repentance and faith (Mark i. 15. xvi. 15, 16. Acts xvii. 30.) The cross of Christ is held up to the whole world. (Isaiah xlv. 22.) The Holy Spirit employs its awakening and attractive influence as the means of quickening sinners to life. (John xii. 32.) Thus the grace of God is glorified, while the unbelief of man excludes him from the free justification of the Gospel, and consequently leaves him without excuse.

"He that believeth on the Son *hath* everlasting life; and he that believeth *not* the Son, *shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*" John iii. 36. See also John iii. 15, 16, 18. v. 24. vi. 40, 47. xi. 25, 26, &c.'

The two next letters are of the class of those which were formerly adduced in illustration of her clear apprehensions of Scriptural truth. The first letter introduces some incidental notices of interest. It seems to have been written to the correspondent, whom she had formerly addressed on the subject of Christian study.

Stoke Fleming, *Jan.* 4, 1827.

'My own dear Friend,

'Every letter I receive from you gives me fresh cause for thankfulness, and increases my hope, that you have learnt of Him who teacheth, and will certainly never leave you till he has given you that "joy and peace in believing," which all His children sooner or later experience. I trust that the love of my God to you will be a constant source of thanksgiving and self-abasement to me; for Oh! what thanks can I render to Him, for the love with which He is now calling you out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of His dear Son? And how can I ever be sufficiently humbled, when I reflect how unfaithfully and inconsistently I have acted towards you? One instance in particular is now fresh in my memory. You once asked me to write to you; and I put it off from day to day, till at last, I wickedly persuaded myself that I could not do it at all. I hope you will forgive this cruel neglect, "as God for Christ's sake has forgiven me;" and that we shall be enabled henceforth, to love and help one another in His strength, and for his sake.

'Dear ——, how can you say that I am your dearest friend, and only comforter? I glory in the thought, that you have a Friend, whose love is stronger than death, and a Comforter, who is able to make you rejoice with joy unspeakable; and to whose blessing and influence we must refer it, that such poor, helpless, and sinful creatures as we are, can ever be of the slightest use in helping or comforting each other. I know you long to call Jesus your friend, and the Holy Spirit your Comforter; and where does this longing come from? Not surely from your own evil heart; for from that corrupt source can proceed nothing but hatred or indifference to God and His ways. Besides, it is a feeling you once knew nothing of. Believe me—rather believe the Scriptures when they say—that every desire of the soul after God, is inspired by Himself, and is the fruit of His own free love in Christ Jesus—"I have loved thee with an everlasting love; *therefore* with loving kindness have I drawn thee." "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Now, do you not feel yourself drawn towards God? Does not your heart sometimes choose Christ in preference to every earthly blessing? Do you not come to Christ in prayer, beseeching Him to receive you? And do not the texts I have mentioned, with a thousand others of the same import, warrant the inference—that you "come" to Christ, because "the Father has given you to Christ," and draws you to Him; that He "draws you with loving kindness, because he has loved you with an everlasting love;" and finally, that He will "never cast you out?" My dear friend, I would not, indeed I would not, flatter you with a false hope. I know of nothing so melancholy as the way in which the world say—"Peace, peace, to themselves, when there is no peace"—no rational ground of hope. But the hope of a soul convinced of sin, renouncing all trust in its own righteousness, and casting itself on the mercy of Jesus, cannot be a vain or presumptuous hope; because it is founded on the word of God. You say, you feel so wicked and so worthless, that you dare not hope. Now till you felt yourself to be both exceedingly wicked and worthless, you could not be a fit object of Christ's grace, who says—"They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." I know that many, when they first come to a sense of their own sinfulness, think something in this way: 'Christ will never receive so vile a sinner as I am; I must repent, and pray and try to make myself a little better; and then perhaps I may deserve his favour.' Alas! they know not that repentance and prayer are his free gifts, and instead of praying for the pardon we receive, are themselves a part of it. Would it not have been as reasonable for the leper to have waited, till he could cleanse himself from his leprosy; the blind man, until his sight was improved: or the sick of the palsy, till he could take up his bed and walk, before they would come to Jesus to be healed? The first chapter of Romans, from the 18th to the 32d verse gives an awful description of the state of every man's heart by nature; and though education and the restraints of civilized society have prevented the breaking out of sin in the dreadful and open way in which it was indulged among the heathen, still I think every person awakened to a sense of sin, will perceive in it, as in a glass, their own image; at least they will acknowledge, that the seed of every sin is in their heart, especially that most unnatural and truly diabolical sin, of "worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator." And lest we should imagine that living in a country where God is known, and joining in acts of outward religion can make the heart really better, till it is converted to God; the Apostle goes on, in the second and third chapters, to prove that the Jew is no better than the Gentile; that "there is no difference; every mouth must be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God." And it is immediately after having given us such an awful view of our state, in the sight of God, that he goes on to hold out free and unconditional salvation, to all who simply trust in the death and righteousness of Christ. But I doubt not, you will soon perceive to your comfort, how very free the offers of grace in the gospel are. I cannot forbear mentioning one more instance; it is in the parable of the two debtors in the seventh of Luke—"And when they had *nothing to pay*, he *frankly forgave* them all." It is when we are brought to this feeling, that we "have nothing to pay," that our hearts are in a fit state to receive with eagerness and delight the "frank forgiveness" of our Saviour; then we give Him all the glory of it. Surely you and I feel ourselves to be in the situation of the debtor who owed most. We have nothing to pay; and sometimes I think I can even rejoice in this extremity of poverty; since it hides pride and boasting from me, and makes the mercy of God appear so divinely infinite. I do not know, that you have any reason for fancying that you shall die young; but though the thoughts of death are useful to all, and delightful to those whose sins are forgiven for Jesus' sake; I think we ought rather to be willing to live as long as our heavenly Father pleases, in hopes of being the means of bringing others to him.

'I am glad you like your pupils so much. I feel incompetent to give you any advice about them: I believe the great thing is to pray much for them, that they may have that grace, which alone can make the Sabbath a delight. We should also pray with them, and let them see that we are very anxious about their salvation, and that, though we attach much importance to their progress in other things, we look upon them all as nothing in comparison with the knowledge of Christ. Children sometimes take much pleasure in answering a few simple questions on a chapter they have read; and in this way very little children may be made to comprehend a great deal. Many of the parables, types, and emblems in Scripture are particularly adapted to their capacities, and afford them great delight. I have seen a little child, who would have been tired to death with a serious discourse, listen for a long time with unwearied attention, whilst being told in its own childish language, how Christ compared himself to a vine, and his people to living branches; or how Christ as the good Shepherd, "gathers the lambs with His arms, and carries them in His bosom." While explaining these things, they should be taught the text or texts referred to; that so a portion of God's own word may be fixed on their hearts. I think, however, there is nothing more important than to stop as soon as the attention of our little hearers seem to tire. Sometimes the eldest may be set to teach the youngest some verse or hymn. Scripture prints also form a very good resource for Sunday employment. Children are so artless, that we can soon perceive what pleases them most; and whatever kind of religious conversation or employment seems particularly to interest them, should be brought out on Sunday, to make it as pleasant a day as possible to them.

'I hardly know how to say a word against Jeremy Taylor; he is a great favourite of mine; but I cannot help thinking his views of the doctrine of Christianity savour too much of monastic severity, and too little of the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus. The times he wrote in may account for these inconsistencies in the writings of so holy a man; but I think they are calculated to increase the melancholy of any one who is unhappy about religion; because there is something so obscure and confused in his ideas upon many important points. I must now, my dear ——, bid you farewell; I need not tell you what pleasure it gives me to hear from you; nor how earnestly I wish, that you may find the peace and comfort you are seeking. My earnest prayer is that the promised "Spirit of truth" may be with you, to "guide you into all truth." The weaknesses you own to me are exactly what I have felt, and do feel myself; but God will overcome them for us, and enable us to "bring every thought into subjection to the obedience of Christ." I am sometimes afraid, that my using so much Scripture language, may appear like cant or affectation to you; but I do it, because, when I express myself in the sense, and as much as possible in the words, of Scripture, I have less fear of misleading you, or of mixing my own earthly ideas with the pure and heavenly truths on which we are conversing.'

Again—

Stoke, *Jan.* 22, 1827.

'Though I have not yet heard of you, I am sure that all things are going on well with you, since the very God of love is become your God, and will be your Father and guide for ever. May you know more and more every day of his forgiving love, and be led to feel that you are with Jesus, "who has loved you, and washed you from your sins in his own blood!" O my dear friend, my heart is full of joy, when I think that the Lord has taught you to seek happiness in Him. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness"—says this precious Saviour—"*for they shall be filled.*" Therefore from his own words I have a warrant to call you "blessed;" and if he has given you himself, I care not what else he takes from you; knowing, as I do, that you can want nothing that is good for you, while the Lord of life and glory is yours. What a blessed prospect lies before you! The same Spirit, that has been showing you the vanity and sinfulness of your own heart, will not stop short there. No: He will "guide you into all truth; He will take of the things of Christ, and show them unto you:" He will "shed abroad the love of God in your heart:" He will, in His own time, "fill you with joy and peace in believing;" He will bring you on "from strength to strength," and "from glory to glory," till at length He removes you hence, to that heaven, where you shall see Christ as He is, be like Him, and dwell with Him for ever. Now you have nothing to do but to live upon the fulness of Jesus, casting away your own righteousness, which is no better than filthy rags: your own strength, which is mere weakness; and your own wisdom, which is foolishness with God. You must put forth the hand of faith, and lay hold of the righteousness of Jesus, which He offers you as His free gift, Rom. v. 15, 21—His strength, which is sufficient for you. 2 Cor. xii. 9, 10. Eph. vi. 10. Phil. iv. 13. 1 John iv. 4—and his wisdom, which is also freely yours for Christ's sake. 1 Cor. i. 30. Only go on asking him for more, more, still more of his precious love. He cannot deny it you; for he has said, "that whatsoever ye shall ask in his name, he will give you." You cannot ask too much; for think of the great things the apostles asked, Eph. iii. 14—19. yet he concludes all by saying, "Unto him that *is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think.*" Dear ———, is not ours a happy lot? "If God be for us, who can be against us? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth: who is he that condemneth? *It is Christ that died;* yea, rather, that is risen again; who is even at the right hand of God; who *also maketh intercession for us.*" Here is our anchor of hope—Christ died; Christ is risen; Christ intercedes. When Satan, or our own evil conscience accuses us, we are too apt to look for comfort to something in ourselves. In this we shall always be disappointed; if we look to Christ, we never shall. May he teach us by his own Spirit how to live by faith in him. I long to hear from you, and to know whether you have yet been able to find peace in God. This precious gift will, I know, be bestowed upon you. Do tell me all you feel, and let me often have a letter from you; for, believe me, scarcely any thing can afford me greater pleasure.

'I pray that your communications may always bring me the happy news, that you are more and more devoted to our dearest Lord, in whom, may we, my dearest friend, become daily more united. There is a common friendship which is very delightful; but there is a communion of spirit, peculiar to those who love the Lord Jesus; and this is what I trust He will grant to us; for it will last, when common friendship has been long withered by the hand of death. May you be blessed with every spiritual blessing, and rooted and grounded *in love*. This is the prayer of, &c.'

The next letter exhibits accurate discrimination, and a high standard of Christian Experience.

'I was much interested, my dearest friend, in what you said about mingling earthly with heavenly feeling. It is a difficult question, and one which I am sure I am not fit to answer. Only I think, we may in some degree know whether our love is of the right kind or not, by asking ourselves whether it really is God that we love in our friends, and in our communion with them: whether we love those that are in Christ, incomparably more than those who are not in him; and whether after all we could give up the society of the very best and dearest of them all, rather than lose one particle of God's favour. Surely we may love our friends, and that most dearly, for God requires it of us; but then "he that loveth father or mother *more than him*, is not worthy of him." Love to our friends seems the purest earthly feeling. Yet I think, if we find ourselves enjoying devotion in its social privileges, more than in personal communion with God, our devotion cannot have been altogether of a spiritual character. But while we lament over the weakness and inconsistency, which spoil our holiest actions, and defile the sweetest affections God has given us, let us take comfort in the thought, that "we have not an high priest, who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities." "He knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust;" and (what should raise our gratitude to the highest pitch) he himself has been made dust, like unto our miserable dust in all things, except sin, on purpose that he might be able to "have compassion on the ignorant, and on those who are out of the way." There is such a clear view given to us in the Epistle to the Hebrews of the twofold nature of the Lord Jesus, that I derive unspeakable comfort from studying it. Scarcely any book makes me see so clearly that he is the Lord God, "dwelling in light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen or can see;" and yet that he is "bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh;" able to enter into my feelings, to pity my weaknesses, and to sympathize with me in my temptations. O if we could but dwell upon this wonder more! it is "the wisdom of God, and the power of God." "Angels desire to look into it;" "the spirits of the just" are for ever learning more about it; and I know of nothing so likely to make the souls of God's people here like those who are above, as the continual contemplation of this marvellous love of God, in manifesting himself in the flesh. Dear M., how soon we shall see him face to face, "whom having not seen we love!" Let us seek to become intimately acquainted with him here. Let us be often conversing with him, and always near to him, that he may not have to say to us; "I never knew you." He will never say this to us; but our watchful enemy may in some dark hour suggest such a thing to us; and then how delightful to be able to refute such a suggestion, by the memory of all the intimate communion we have enjoyed with Jesus; to be able to appeal to this dearest friend himself, that so far from never having known him, we have known, desired, loved nothing else in comparison of him. Would that this were my case now! But I feel as far away from Jesus, as if he were quite a stranger to my soul. My heart seems but to backslide; and I cannot help continually thinking of that bitter complaint of Job's: "O that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me; when his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness." Still I know that God "will heal my backsliding, and love me freely;" for though I am changed, "he changes not." But how strange it is, that our hearts should ever be so alienated from God, after having once known how sweet it is to love him! Surely the character of long-suffering, so often given to God in the Scripture, has never been manifested by any one in so many instances as to me. Let us not forget, dearest M—, to pray for one another, "that our hearts may be knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding," that we may daily increase in the "knowledge of him, whom to know is life eternal."

The interesting tone of Christian simplicity which the following letter breathes, is worthy of remark.

August 4, 1825.

'You will perhaps be surprised to receive a letter so soon after my last. But I feel this morning an irresistible wish to write to you, to which I was moved whilst praying for you; and in the strength of Jesus I will speak to you only of him. Perhaps I shall to-day receive a letter from you: I shall be very glad, because I am so anxious to know that you have devoted yourself in the fullest manner to him, who gave up his life for you. My dear ———, I do not know whether you are feeling with me; but it is a cheering hope to me, that I, who have so often encouraged you in the greatest sin which a redeemed soul can commit; that of indifference to the service and love of the Redeemer may now be an instrument in his hands to animate you to very different feelings. We have given way to a very unfaithful spirit in our fears, and in our repugnance to speak in his name. Let us only believe, that when he grants us the inestimable privilege of carrying to any one the blessed news of his gospel; "it is not we that speak, but the Spirit of our Father which speaketh in us." This feeling that we are nothing, but that he is every thing in us, would give us a confidence full of joy, and at the same time without pride. It is indeed the height of happiness to follow him like a little child, to live in Christ and out of ourselves. Oh! had I but a constant sight of his love! but he "is faithful, who will stablish us, and keep us from evil." Let us confide in him; let us tell him that we are not able to move a single step towards him, that we cannot love him, nor believe in his name. His goodness will allure us, his power preserves us, his strength will be given us in exchange for our weakness, and we shall find an indescribable delight in being able to do all in Christ.'

To her cousin she writes in this affectionate and encouraging strain:—

November 27, 1827.

'Let me tell you, my dear friend, how sincerely and affectionately I sympathize with you in the feelings you express with regard to the most important of all subjects. My dearest cousin, go on seeking. There are pleasures, rivers of pleasures, whereof the true Christian drinks with unspeakable delight; and in his own time Jesus, the good Shepherd, will lead you to these fountains of living water. Already he, who "called his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out" from the world of sin, has called you by his own word, speaking to your soul. Do but be willing, as Levi, "to rise up, leave all, and follow him;" and you will find that he will lead you in the pleasant and peaceful way. For every vain pleasure that he calls upon you to give up, he will give a thousand solid and real pleasures, which it hath not entered into the worldling's heart to conceive.'

The next letter, written to her cousin, marks the instuction, obligation, and encouragement connected with the hour of "trouble," that time "to which man is born," and, when to the unhumbled and unsanctified mind, the resources of the world often aggravate suffering, instead of contributing support.

March 20, 1825.

'Our meeting, my dear friend, must be deferred to a future time, if ever it takes place in this world. But there is another meeting, to which we may safely look forward, if we are the children of God through Christ Jesus; and this will be in the presence of our best and dearest friend, who so loved us, as to "purchase us with his own blood." How happy, how very happy it would make me, to know that my much-loved cousin was making it the grand object of her life to seek for salvation through the all-sufficient Saviour; and that we were united, not only by the strong ties of relationship and affection, but also by that bond of the Spirit, which makes all the redeemed people of Christ to be of one heart and one soul! Let us pray for this one thing, to be devoted to the Lord Jesus; it is heaven begun on earth. The severe trial with which it has pleased our gracious God to afflict us, has given us an additional reason to write vanity upon all human hopes and expectations: and I hope I may say, that it has driven us to seek for comfort in those things which alone can give any real relief to a mind under the pressure of grief. Painful indeed it is to speak about any thing, which brings with it such afflicting recollections. Yet I feel, that I cannot and must not leave it till I have entreated you, my beloved friend, to join me in seeking a "friend that sticketh closer than a brother," whom no length of time, or adverse circumstances can take from us. Into his gracious ear we may pour all our complaints; "in all our afflictions he will be afflicted." And one glimpse of his love will enable us to rejoice in the midst of tribulation. But there is one condition: "Give me thine heart." He must have all or none. A divided heart he will not accept. A heart that indulges in any one sin, that cleaves to any one worldly vanity, can never be the residence of his pure Spirit; he must have the whole heart; every thought, every faculty, every affection must centre in him. And who is able to perform this condition? I am sure neither you nor I can; for we are carnal, and "the carnal heart is enmity against God." Well then, my dear ——, let us simply believe on him to effect all this for us. Let us come to him as sinners; for "His blood cleanseth from all sin." Let us come as wretched, and poor, and blind; and he "will fill our minds with joy and peace in believing," will give us "gold tried in the fire, that we may be rich," and will cause his Spirit to shine into our dark hearts, "to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." True, we cannot love him of ourselves; but he can compel even our hearts to love him. O may he reveal himself to your soul, and give you such discoveries of his amazing love, as may constrain you to make him your "all in all."

In another letter on the same subject, we find her taking her chair by the side of her afflicted friend, and, like a true daughter of consolation, "comforting her with the same comfort, wherewith she herself had been comforted of God."

January 18*th*, 1828.

'My very dear Friend,

'A letter from —— informed me of the very heavy trial you have sustained. I did not like immediately to intrude upon your feelings; and since then, illness has prevented my writing. How I have longed to be with you, and share your grief, though I am sensible of my inability to afford you any consolation. But I could at least have mingled my feelings with yours, and told you, what however you need not be told, that your losses and afflictions must ever be in a measure mine. My beloved friend, would that in partaking as I most sincerely do, of your sorrow, I could in any way lighten or alleviate it! But I rejoice in the thought, that faith has united you to one, who is the God of comfort; and his Spirit is the Comforter. May he shed abundantly of his precious influence into your heart and your dear sister's at this trying time! May he "lift up the light of his countenance upon you" both! and that will turn your mourning into gladness. Perhaps this bereavement will lead you nearer to Jesus; for we have an unfailing promise, that "all things shall work together for our good." "Whom the Lord *loveth* he chasteneth, even as a father the son *in whom he delighteth: as many as I love*, I rebuke and chasten." And then how sweet to be assured, that "in all our afflictions he is afflicted," that in all our troubles he is near to help; that in all our bereavements he is ready to fill up with himself the painful dreary void, which is made in our hearts. My beloved friend, I do not say these things to you, "because you know them not, but rather because you know them," and are, I trust, at this time living upon them. How vain were it to speak to you of earthly comfort under the heavy loss you have sustained! But this is the very time, when God's children often drink deepest of heavenly consolation; and I trust it is thus with my precious friend. I know that our heavenly Father has afflicted you in very faithfulness; and though for the present your chastisement must seem "grievous" indeed to you, yet hereafter it shall bring forth in you "the peaceable fruits of righteousness." In the mean time may you be taught to lay hold on the gracious invitation to "call upon God in the time of trouble!" Make David's words your own—"From the end of the earth will I cry unto thee, when my heart is overwhelmed; lead me to the rock that is higher than I." "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee." "My soul trusteth in thee, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast." "In the day of my trouble I will call upon thee; *for thou wilt answer me*." And may you, my dear friend, be able to apply to yourself the words of our God —"Behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver: I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction." "I, even I, am he that comforteth you—as one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you." "In *a little wrath* I hid my face from thee *for a moment*; but with *everlasting* kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer." I would not obtrude my own words on you upon an occasion like this. But I may hope that the Spirit of truth will bless his words to your comfort; so I fear not to tire you with the repetition, for they are always new—"O God, thou art my God." Here is a balm for every wound; yes, he is your God. Wisdom and tenderness shall form the basis of all his dealings towards you; and he, who is so wise and so tender, is engaged to do you nothing but good all the days of your life. I did not mean to have written so much, knowing that even the sympathy of friendship may sometimes be an interruption to our own feelings. But I now leave off, begging you to accept the warmest affection of, &c.'

How delightful is the confidence which Miss Graham here expresses in the support of the simple word of God in the hour of affliction! Though her letter affords some of her own beautiful thoughts, yet her main effort is perceptible throughout; not to strain her mind to force out something original or striking, but to bring forward the encouraging promises of Scripture, as far more powerful than the product of her own thought. *This is honouring the word of God.*

The next letter relates personally to herself, and gives a lively description of her state of mind, with a happy transition from her own playful spirit, to a more serious and edifying strain.

April, 1827.

'I am sure that I am very old for my age. It is not common at twenty-four, to live upon the past as I do; most people would rather feed upon pleasant hopes of the future, but that is a thing I never do without trembling. It is not that I have the least doubt of every thing being ordered for my happiness; but I dread passing my life in this painful uncertainty, and I think this requires more faith than to pass it in the most severe affliction. Besides, I am afraid of living in a kind of tertian fever; for either I am very hot or very cold. I am incapable of an equal temperament in any thing. A person who knows me this month, would not know me the next. I do not know myself; God knows me; he knows all my weakness, all my vanity; however, all this does not cause him to forsake me. When I stray, he seeks me; when I return, he receives me with tenderness; when I doubt, he assures me; when I am unhappy, he consoles me. Surely he can give me strength to devote myself wholly to him, and not to turn away again from his ways.'

Another letter affords a beautiful illustration of her spirituality of mind connected with the recollection of her literary pursuits.

Chudleigh, Sept. 1827.

'You are then at ——, where you lead a very pleasant life, but where you are not happy, because he who is your happiness no longer cheers you with his presence. I also am very gay. I am here to my heart's content; and I am not happy, because I cannot find my God—my beloved. I find that we "are the salt of the earth;" but that this "salt has lost its savour, and is no longer good for any thing, but to be thrown away and trodden under foot of men." But the infinite compassion of Jesus will not suffer it to be so with us, and therefore he causes us to feel incessantly bitter inquietudes, which will not suffer us to rest without returning to him. In the meantime we are both in a new place, which we shall perhaps never see again. Shall we quit this place without leaving there some savour of the name of Jesus Christ? It is delightful to be able to create recollections as exquisite as those awakened by the beautiful images of Petrarch and Tasso. But it is much more delightful to remember every place, where we have seen some soul converted to God; this recollection will solace us at a time when all the delights of our Tasso will appear but a vain dream. I do not say this, because I feel as I speak. I see it in my understanding, but it does not reach to my heart. However, I speak, because I desire to feel it, and that you should feel it too. I wish to love Tasso, and other studies, only for the love of God, and to give all to his service. But I love them too much for myself; and yet I do not think it would be right to give them up, since they may one day be of use to me.'

We will now present a few letters, which will introduce us to a nearer view of the exercises of her own mind. She appears to have been deeply harassed, in common with the great Apostle, with that painful conflict, which his own inspired pen has so graphically described in Rom. vii.—a chapter, which—though unintelligible to the world, and even to the merely external professors of the gospel—unfolds more or less of the secret history of every Christian's heart. The following letter, of an early date, marks her mind exercised in the painful sense of her own deficiencies, while anxiously engaged in the pursuit of that knowledge, which was the basis of all that was valuable, both in her intellectual and spiritual character.

June, 1823.

'No—I have not yet regained my peace of mind. It is a guest which will not dwell in a soul so weak and vain as mine. I have again read a passage in Mason. But I find, that although self-knowledge is the most excellent kind of wisdom a man can possess, yet there is a sort of self-knowledge, which only debases and hardens the soul; and this is exactly the kind with which I am furnished. And whilst true self-knowledge introduces order and light into the soul, as when the sun enlightens the earth; the self-knowledge which I possess rather resembles the lightning which shines for a moment, and shows all the desolation which the storm has produced, and which itself increases the desolation. To know oneself miserable, but not to be willing to use the means of being happy; to know oneself a sinner, but to flee from and abandon the Saviour of sinners, has been a true description of my feelings."

To her cousin she expresses some grounds of thankful recollection for Christians, who are called in "the days of their youth," to the service of their God and Saviour.

'My dearest ——,

'I seem to have so much to say to you, that I scarcely know where to begin. I am not now afraid of indulging in a little effusion of my feelings to you, as they begin to sit less heavy upon my heart. I begin to feel a sort of assurance, that it will ere long be "with me as in months past, when the candle of the Lord shined upon my head." Yet I cannot tell you that I enjoy any thing of really spiritual feeling. Oh! that has been too long stifled to awake at once to anything like life and vigour.* Dear ——, let us be more careful than we have hitherto been, not to quench the spark of Divine life in our hearts, not to suffer the love of the world to enter where the Holy Spirit has deigned to erect a temple to Himself. I must tell you the thought which struck me yesterday, and roused me more effectually than any thing for some time past has done. It was a sense of the blessedness of being called in our youth to the knowledge of God, now that our feelings are fresh, and our habits unformed; before we have entered into the pleasures, company, and temptations of the world. It seems as though we had through the mercy of our Saviour, been turned into the broad path of destruction while yet upon the threshold—before we could have a long and weary way of sin to retrace. Are not these mercies, which call for our warmest gratitude? Shall I tell you another light, which then struck me more forcibly than I had ever felt it before? Is it not a blessing to have been enabled to enter decidedly upon a life of religion, before we had formed any connexion contrary to it? Now every thing seems open before us. The narrow path has been for us divested of half its difficulties; and great will be our sin and misery, if we walk not in it with a cheerful devoted resolve, that every future step may be for his glory, who first led us into it.'

The next letter displays the jealous though exquisite enjoyment of her sources of legitimate pleasure in the work of God.

Hastings, July 1823.

'I am no longer sad, unless a pleasure too profound for laughter or gayety can be called sadness. There are times when I feel unhappy, because I am so happy—because I can derive such exquisite enjoyment from objects which pass away in a moment, whilst the things of eternal duration make only a light and free impression on my soul. I cannot however forbid myself from enjoying the delights, which here present themselves every minute to my mind; and you must pardon me if I fatigue you with many absurdities.'

The following allusion to her early attainments cannot fail of interesting the reader.

'There are periods in the life of every person, which have respect only to the intellect, but which affect however all the rest of the life, and to which may be traced up almost all the intellectual qualities which that person possesses. It appears to me, that the period to which my mind recurs with the greatest pleasure is that, when I began to learn Milton as a simple act of memory. What a low and unworthy motive! However, when my soul began to open, to understand a little his noble ideas, so entire a change was made in my inclinations and taste, that I can hardly believe myself to be the same person.'

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* The writer feels it right to notice this sentence as a subtle form of legality, very prevalent with young Christians, and not unknown to exercised Christians in a higher stage of maturity. The chastisement of the rod is indeed numbered among the rich provisions of the Everlasting Covenant; and usually the Lord makes the backslidings of his children the instruments of his salutary correction. [Jer. ii. 19.] But let us never seem to dictate to him the mode of his discipline, and especially let us not limit the absolute and unbounded freedom of the gospel, which opens *the way of immediate and complete acceptance* to those who deserve a more protracted banishment from his favour. The expectation of an indefinitely distant return paralyzes the present effort; while the freeness of mercy opens the door of instant hope for the most hopeless. [Isa. xliii. 23, 25,] and indeed produces the constraining motive to the first step of penitence. [Ib. xliv. 22.]

The next letter gives a profitable application of Scripture, together with an interesting train of remark.

June, 1823.

'One text of Scripture has lately dwelt much upon my mind, and seemed like a sentence of condemnation upon my worldly-mindedness and inconsistency. It is that short but expressive description of the conversion from sin—"And he rose up, *and left all*, and followed him." Oh! what a warning, and yet by me unheeded warning! does it seem to rise and shake off these fetters of sloth and inactivity—to leave all, even the dearest friends, the most deeply-rooted habits, which can come in the way of this grand end, and to follow Jesus through affliction and difficulties, in all the meek simplicity and lowly dependence of a little child. May he give us strength thus to follow his loved footsteps! May he enable us to walk hand in hand, mutually encouraging and supporting each other, till we come to the presence of his glory, there to abide for ever! I well know the feeling you mention with regard to another world. But when thinking of this, I am unfortunately apt to reverse it, and to consider the past as a painful dream, and the present something too disagreeable to be real; while I look forward to future hopes and schemes, till the dreams of my imagination assume the shape of delightful realities: and in stretching forward to them, I forget, that it is only in the sober and continual routine of present duties, that I can hope to attain those delightful expectations.'

Her seasons of prayer appear to have been, in common with all Christians, times of severe conflict. The following extract, after alluding to the blots that too often deform the profession of the Gospel, alludes to this point:

Torquay, *April* 12, 1825.

'How many ways there are of dishonouring the Christian profession! some by ill humour; we by coldness; some by immoderate zeal; others by the fear of man. Oh! my dear friend, let us seek to ornament our profession; let us seek in the unlimited compassion of our good Shepherd pardon for our past extreme lukewarmness, and Divine strength to shake off the drowsiness which oppresses us. Not only the prayers which I offer for myself, but those which I offer up for you, seem to be covered with a cloud, through which they cannot penetrate. My prayers did I say? I do not pray—I am frightened when I think of the state in which I am. If you are in a more spiritual frame, when at the feet of the Saviour, remember her who is gone so far away.'

To another of her correspondents she thus writes.

April 30, 1827.

'I can hardly tell you what a strange state I am in—one minute longing after holiness so intensely, that I feel as if I should die if I did not get it: the next so full of vain thoughts, that I hardly know what real spiritual holiness is. I never had such clear views of the extreme depravity of my heart and life. Every day I learn something new about my helplessness, blindness, and dreadful wickedness. But though I can spread these things before God in prayer, I cannot mourn over them; or if I do, it is from a sense of my misery—not from a view of him whom I have pierced. Well! I know this hardness of heart is a part of the complaint under which I groan, and which will be removed by the great Physician. But I am sometimes confounded by the seemingly contrary answers I receive to prayer, though in the end I feel the dealings of God with me to have been wise and just. For instance; after having prayed much for a sense of sin, I seem to have been left to the power of it. I feel left to strive with a great enemy, who tramples me with the greatest ease under his feet. Let me not unjustly murmur against my dearest and wisest Saviour. For he leaves me not long at the mercy of my cruel adversary, but appears on my behalf often when I have the least expectation of it. One thing distresses me very much. It is so strange. I have for some time past scarcely ever enjoyed a spiritual sabbath. I often enjoy a sabbath on week days; but when Sunday comes (I mean the last three or four) all my spiritual feelings go; religion seems the dullest thing in the world, and vain thoughts the pleasantest; I cannot tell you how the comfort of the day is destroyed. It was the case the whole of yesterday till quite night, when the accidental opening upon this little verse of Toplady's brought back the loveliness of Christ to my thoughts with such sweetness, and filled me with such longings after him, that for some time I could not sleep:

> Less than thyself will not suffice,
> My comfort to restore;
> More than thyself I cannot crave,
> And thou canst give no more.

O to be "filled with all the fulness of God!" to have "Christ dwelling in our hearts by faith!" to be temples of the Holy Ghost! To know that this is mine; and yet for want of faith I so often make my heart as a cage of unclean birds. My dearest friend, I have chosen this verse for my portion, my treasure in this world and the next. I recommend it to you; and I know God will give it to us, and abundantly fulfil our wishes above all that we can ask or think—Ezek. xliv. 28. What a glorious portion! Hard as my heart is, and blind as my eyes are, I see and feel a little of its excellency: but then so often my soul forgets her joy, looks back upon the world, and shrinks from the choice, which a few minutes before seemed so unutterably desirable.'

At another time she writes in the same strain.

May 15, 1827.

'I think I would give up every prospect of worldly happiness that I have, or ever can have, to have these vain thoughts crucified and nailed to the cross of Jesus; and yet often, the more I want to be delivered from them, the more obstinately I cleave to them, and I am so tired of praying against them. But the everlasting covenant fills me with hope and comfort, "I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me. I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts."'

The next letter shortly afterwards is of a similar character. The spirit of tender carefulness that marks the closing allusion is worthy of special remark:

Stoke, *June* 2, 1827.

'I never wanted something to awaken and alarm me so much as I do now. I think I could be content to have some very great affliction, if it would but restore me to communion with God. I told you how much vain thoughts had tempted and annoyed me. When I last wrote to you, I felt confident of being soon made "more than conqueror through him that loved me." But I have lately left off striving against them; and now having turned "the house of prayer into a den of thieves," I know not how to cast them out again. Oh! that Jesus himself would drive them from his temple, though it be with a scourge. With regard to ——, I feel it more and more my duty to send my letter. But what I have written has been given to me, and I am afraid to finish it, lest I should in my worldly and unbelieving frame, mix something of my own with it.'

Yet her deep self-abasing apprehensions were not—except, possibly, at seasons of temptation—tinctured with despondency. From the tone of many of the preceding letters it is evident, that she knew the fulness of her resources in the promises of the Gospel: and in her prostrate humiliation of soul she did not cease to plead them to the uttermost of her warranted expectations. Thus she writes to her friend:

'—— and I, and all took the sacrament yesterday. I never felt so much—"the remembrance of these our misdoings is grievous; the burden of them is intolerable." Is it not great and free love, which has made that a burden to us, which was once our delight; and that intolerable, which we once drank up like water? But what puzzles and alarms me is, that it should be sometimes intolerable, and yet not forsaken; and sometimes at the moment when I feel it to be intolerable, the struggle to give it up is *more* intolerable. The only thing that makes me feel a *holy* hatred of sin, is the thought, that, even when it seems sweetest to me, the eye of Jesus beholds it as an evil and a bitter thing; and I shall soon look upon it as he does. It is "that abominable thing which he hates." It is that abominable thing which my wretched abominable heart loves. But then I do hate myself for loving it: and I do not know any thing I would not thank God for depriving me of, if it would tend to make me see sin as he does. I know this is the way you feel. Then let us take comfort in the thought that Jesus has done something for us, and to us who have (though so little) more will be given. "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it;" this often gives me comfort, (as indeed the whole of the eighty-first Psalm does:) but then we can no more open our mouths than we can fill them. God must open them wide, and fill them too. I feel so much comfort in thinking that we cannot open our mouths too wide; we cannot be too greedy of heavenly food, nor too grasping of heavenly riches. It is not presumption, but faith and humility, to expect that God for Christ's sake will fill our earthen vessels with an eminent measure of his heavenly treasures; and the greatest eminence in Christian grace is to lose sight of self, to be willing to be least of all—to be nothing, and to look upon others as nothing, except as they are in Christ, and to look upon Christ as every thing. But oh, how far am I from this! Yet I do not despair, I have had glimpses of it. I trust it shall one day be the settled temper of both of our souls. Pray for me, and pray that I may be enabled to pray for you.'

The darkness and conflicts of her mind, were doubtless much increased by the active power of the enemy operating upon her enervated health. It is delightful, however, to mark the cheering irradiations of sunshine breaking in upon her, as marked in the following letter.

November 21, 1826.

'My beloved Friend,

'I can almost say in the words of Scripture which you love, that the winter of my soul is gone, and that the sweet season of the springing of flowers, and of the singing of the birds is come, and that the voice of the celestial dove makes itself heard. I again begin to know what it is to walk, "as seeing him, who is invisible." But do not suppose that I am in a very spiritual state. But the least ray of the light of his countenance appears immense, after so many weeks passed in darkness and rebellion. Oh! my ——, let us exert every effort to find again the lover and the beloved of our souls. Who knows but his own time may come, in which he will fully reveal himself to us? Let us pray for each other, that we may be wholly separated from the world and from ourselves, and more closely united to Jesus, in whose strength we shall be able to do all things. I cannot feel that deep repentance that I ought to feel for my repeated transgressions. But even in this I see the Divine love, because every strong emotion affects my health.'

Her views of the power of faith in prayer were most enlivening. 'I never pray' said she one day to a dear friend 'without a promise.' On that promise she was enabled to rely with entire confidence. Referring to the fulness and power of the Apostle's prayer, Eph. i. 17, 18, and to that sublime doxology, chap. iii. 20, 21, she added, 'What a prayer was this! How comprehensive! How much are we encouraged to ask for! Why then do we receive so little, but because our hearts are not sufficiently enlarged? We are wanting *in faith.* We do not expect enough from God. We are straitened in ourselves. We are not straitened in God. How much more should we receive, if we "continued instant in prayer," and "prayed without ceasing." We are like the king of Israel, who, when commanded by Elisha to smite on the ground, provoked the wrath of the man of God, by *smiting only thrice, and then staying.* Whereas, had he smitten five or six times, he would not only have gained a temporary advantage over his enemies, but would have utterly destroyed them. Thus in our prayers we are contented with *small success.* We do not continue enough in the exercise. Even when our hearts have been *somewhat enlarged,* we have been too ready to desist, and rest satisfied without persevering, till we had received yet larger supplies of Divine grace.'

To another friend she wrote in the same enlarged spirit of Christian expectancy:—

May 15, 1827.

'I see something of the love of Christ, which I would not lose for worlds. But neither do you or I see half that may be seen of it even in this world, *if we ask in faith.* Only let us not be afraid of expecting too much. Let us stretch our prayers and expectations to the very uttermost of what "we can ask or think;" and as sure as God is truth, we shall receive "exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think." We shall receive all that Jesus can ask or think.'

Her views of Christian assurance, as set forth in the following letter, were clear and scriptural.

July 4, 1827.

'My mind is in a state of declension and deadness to spiritual things, which is the more awful to me, from having enjoyed much communion with God a few weeks ago. I know not how to describe this state better than by saying, that prayer seems to be my burden; and evil thoughts my element; and that, instead of maintaining a continued conflict against this inclination, I feel a kind of obstinate hardened disposition in my mind, leading me to yield rather to Satan than to God. But even during all this time, my evidence of being a child of God, though not brought with any realizing sweetness to my heart, yet remains quite clear and unclouded to my understanding. But my evidence is this—not that I am now in a spiritual frame of mind (though that would be a delightful confirmation of it)—but that—let my state be what it will,—still I cannot forget, that I have cast myself a thousand and a thousand times upon the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. I have committed my soul to him; and, though I am unfaithful and unbelieving, yet I know that he abideth ever faithful, to keep that which has once been committed to him. Besides—I have told him again and again—and *that* with agonizing earnestness,—what a weak backsliding heart I have entrusted to his care; and that, if he does not hold me up, I shall fall. And now can I think that he has forgotten all my prayer for keeping, and all his promises of keeping me, and that he means to let me fall for ever? Oh! I cannot think so. I cling to my assurance, and cannot but think, that as Christ—*and Christ alone*—is the foundation of it, it must be well-founded. I must think (I would say it with reverence) that God would cease to be "a faithful Creator," if he could give up a soul that has been so often confined to his keeping. There is one verse, that in the darkest and coldest seasons comes with comfort to my mind. I know that I have often asked my Heavenly Father for bread. Shall I think he has given me a stone? I have asked him for the Spirit of truth. Shall I think he has put me off with the spirit of delusion?

This letter illustrates the true character of Christian confidence, as exclusively based upon the word of God. It is independent of external excitement. It is the reliance of faith upon the immutable engagements of Divine faithfulness. Much that passes under this name is the assurance of feeling, rather than of faith. The consolations of the gospel *are believed, not because they are declared, but because they are felt.* Hence, when the comfort is lost, the ground of confidence is destroyed. This, however, is an inversion of the Scriptural rule—walking by sight, not by faith—unlike a tried saint of old, who, when "walking in darkness, and having no light," had learnt to "stay himself upon his God"—"Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

Any encouragement however to be drawn from a past operation of faith must be carefully connected with its present exercise. Its first effort indeed linked the Christian's heart in indissoluble union with his Saviour. Yet the principle must not be confined to a single act, by which at some former time *he came* to Christ. It is rather the continued habit of the soul, by which *he is "coming"* to Christ in constant motion. In Miss Graham's case, the earnestness and intensity of her mind clearly marked the active though unconscious influence of the habit of faith, even while her recollection was fixed—perhaps too exclusively—upon some former and determinate exercise.

But was Miss Graham warranted in her strong assurance, in a state of conscious and acknowledged backsliding? When we consider the character of her religion—self-suspicious, jealous of declension, earnestly longing for communion with God, content with no *ordinary* measure of conformity to the Divine image, we shall not be disposed to accuse her of presumption, or of a loose and careless profession. Hers was not a paralyzing security—a self-indulgent repose—but an habitual quickness of spiritual discernment, and dutiful watchfulness. It was probably her intense solicitude for higher conformity to her Lord, that induced her, like holy Bradford, to pass this severe judgment upon herself, in the deep consciousness of her infinite distance from the ultimate point of attainment, and her sometimes apparent contrariety to it. Iniquity felt and iniquity allowed, are essentially different. When allowed, the soul is benumbed and blinded in comparative unconsciousness. When hated, the sensibility of its defilements is so keen, and the apprehensions of its guilt so afflicting, that even in a state of conscious acceptance, the soul is constrained to "write bitter things" against itself. The prostrate humiliating confessions of that holy saint of the Reformation just alluded to, in no degree hindered the peaceful rest of his soul upon the engagements of the faithfulness and love of his God.

We could not indeed but strongly discountenance an assured confidence in a state of open sin, or in any habitually allowed inconsistency with a Christian profession. Yet we are persuaded that a personal assurance has often proved the only chain of love that has restrained the backslider from total apostacy—from saying—"There is no hope—for I have loved strangers, and after them will I go." Often too has it been the appointed means of conviction and recovery from backsliding. A realized sense of a Father's love in the tenderness and wisdom of merited chastening has pierced many a rebellious child with contrite sorrow, and has brought him back to his Father's feet with simplicity, gratitude and confidence. He is humbled and encouraged under the most distressing consciousness of backsliding by the remembrance, that the principle and warrant of assurance is not in himself, and that his ground of confidence is unchangeably the same. 'I see,' said Miss Graham on one occasion, 'that God is my God in covenant. He is unchangeable, though I continually vary.'

The duty and importance of an elevated enjoyment of scriptural privilege, are delightfully inculcated in the following letter.

'What a privilege (she observes, speaking of a blessed saint now in heaven), has Mrs. —— to be walking so closely with God, and enjoying so much of his presence! "Oh! that I" thus always "knew where I might find him, that I might come even to his seat!" But I never had so little of his presence as now, and if it sometimes returns for a moment, the emotions of my mind seem almost more than I can bear, so that I dread, even while I long for, their recurrence. The true remedy for all this would be, that settled quiet peace, which is the effect of the righteousness of Christ. But this I want faith to lay hold of as my own. I have been surprised lately at the slighting and almost suspicion, with which friends appear to look upon spiritual peace and joy, as if it were rather a snare to be guarded against, than a privilege to be sought after. Yet surely—"Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, rejoice," is as much a command as—"Thou shalt not kill—Thou shalt not steal." And I know nothing except this "joy of the Lord," which is said to be "our strength," that can so *fill* the heart, as to leave no room for rejoicing in self or in the world. And do you not think, that the more of this holy joy is "shed abroad in the heart," the more godly sorrow will dwell there? At least I find it to be so. They seem to me to be inseparable companions in our experience on earth. Were I to mention the sweetest ingredient in the cup of joy or sorrow (I scarcely know which to call it), that we are permitted to taste of here; it would be the melting of the heart, which springs from that immeasurable unworthiness, which gives us some faint conception how low Christ has stooped to save us! Why then should it be thought presumptuous to desire an abundant measure of the very thing which we are commanded to have? Why should this desire for "the peace of God which passeth all understanding," be construed into a dependence upon frames and feelings?

'Sometimes I think we might have almost as much joy as there is in heaven, if we had but a holy boldness to ask for it, and to receive. We are not straitened in Christ; "but we are straitened in our own bowels;" so that, because joy is an undeserved guest in a heart defiled by sin, we dare not receive it as a lawful guest, though this heart has been cleansed with the blood of Jesus. But what will it be, my dearest friend, to open our eyes upon *that* world, where "perfect love casteth out fear" for ever! I try to conceive it sometimes, but I cannot. There is nothing I find so difficult, as to imagine entire deliverance from the spirit of bondage. What will it be, to be "face to face" with Christ; to "see him as he is;" to "see the King in his beauty," in "His own glory, in his Father's glory;" *and yet to look upon him without fear!* We had need have these earthly tabernacles taken down first; as they never could sustain it. And yet this is that death, at which even renewed human nature shrinks; though, if we could view it aright, it is but the shutting out of fear, and the letting in of perfect love for ever.'

It is indeed to be feared, as Miss Graham has observed, that there is a class of professors among us, who depreciate the glowing exercises of Christian feeling. Their religion is rather of an intellectual, than of a spiritual character. They reason, explain, demonstrate, vindicate. But they are cautious of extremes. They realise the seriousness, importance, and restraints of the gospel, rather than its high privileges and constraining obligations. The exercise of their judgments, from this defect of a *deep* influence of spiritual religion, materially checks the healthful and animating glow of their affections. Their views of the fundamental doctrines are generally orthodox, and they maintain a correct external deportment. But they appear to have a scanty enjoyment of that new-created taste and element of pleasure, which is connected with the revelation of the glory of God to the soul. They seem to be little conversant with the varied exercises of a devotional habit of mind—such as holy delight in communion with God, lively contemplation of the Saviour, spiritual meditation and enjoyment of the sacred word, and heavenly aspiration of soul. Their ordinary Christian conversation is restrained from that intimate and free communication of spiritual sympathies, which infuses mutual warmth, refreshment, and energy in the endeavour, like Jonathan and David, "to strengthen each other's hands in God;" to unite in a closer intercourse with our Divine Saviour, and to invigorate our purposes of consecration to his service.

Such persons seem too little to consider the strong and important connexion of religion with the affections. But it is only their lively and powerful exercise that is at all proportioned to the vast expanse and grandeur of the subject. We find, therefore, religion in heaven, where it exists in the most refined purity and perfection, is much engaged in the delightful affections of joy and love, and in the fervent expressions of these feelings in everlasting praise. The scriptural exhibition of religion in the records of the most eminent servants of God, and in the rich display of the promises of Christ, is of the same glowing character.

The religion of the "man after God's heart" was a religion of the affections. Every natural affection of his soul was filled with God. In his book of Psalms, written with the pen of inspiration for the public use of the church, we behold him—not describing the proper individualities of his own experience; but leading the worship of the universal church in the expression of deep humiliation, holy admiration, fervent love and joy in his God, earnest thirstings and pantings for his presence, delight in his ordinances, devout acknowledgments for his unbounded mercy, and exulting triumph in his faithful love. The book of Canticles also—however we may refrain from a minute consideration of some of its imagery—exhibits those vigorous exercises of spiritual affections, which are consonant to the experience of the lively Christian, and which excite in him no common measure of admiring, trusting, and grateful love to his Divine Saviour. The corresponding New Testament development of Christian privilege embraces those high and heavenly blessings, which draw out the affections of the soul into exciting employment—such as "peace with God," constant "access" to his presence and favour; rejoicing in hope of his glory; glorying in tribulations, as the path-way thither; "the love of God, shed abroad in the heart; and the enjoyment of God through our Lord Jesus Christ;" all of which are presented to us in a single view, as our present portion and source of happiness.

If therefore we acknowledge the gospel in its faith and obligations, while defectively apprehending and estimating its privileges—if our judgment has been informed and established without a full and habitual exercise of the affections, we stand convicted of an imperfect reception of Christ, and of possessing only a partial interest in his unspeakably rich enjoyments. The class of professors, to whom we more immediately allude, are little aware of the extent of loss to their own souls, or of evil to the church, from their neglect of seating religion more deeply and powerfully in their affections. The spiritual tone of their religion is materially deteriorated. The refreshing influences of the ordinances is weakened. The Holy Comforter is restrained in his intimate communion with their souls. A want of tender sensibility for the most part characterizes their profession. The careless but discerning world mark no perceptible elevation of heavenly character, and are led to think that the promised privileges of the Gospel are a delusive paradise. And professors of their own class gladly take shelter under this lower standard of the cross, as a respectable Evangelical religion, precluding them from many inconvenient sacrifices, to which a more decided exhibition of Christian devotedness might have subjected them.

This restraint upon the affections, brings us therefore into a lower atmosphere of the gospel, unvisited with *the full power* of its holy influence. This may readily account for that conformity to the principles, habits, and conversation of the world, which to a considerable extent is connected with an Evangelical profession. The enlivening power of faith, *operating through the medium of the affections*, would secure a triumphant victory in every form of worldly conflict, and enable the disciples of Jesus boldly to confess their Master's name, to glory in his cross, and to delight in his service. But this is the "one thing" that is too often "lacking:" and for which, as a principle of entire consecration to Christ, no substitute can be found.

Let us not however, while insisting upon the connexion of the gospel upon the affections, be supposed to advocate a religion of impulse or sensation. We are aware that excited feelings are no proof of holy affections. Much that passes under the name of religious feeling, is the ebb and flow of the animal emotions, wholly unconnected with the spiritual principle. Those emotions alone are of Divine origin, on which practical holiness are engrafted; and which are not sought for the pleasurable excitement of the moment, but as a medium for the exercise of heavenly affections, and for the exhibition of self-denying obedience. We remember also, that the first excitement of a religious feeling, is very different from that feeling as a fixed habit of the mind under the controul of a sound judgment. The example of the primitive Christians lead us to combine intelligence and energy with feeling, and therefore to suspect the most delightful emotions, which do not bring the steady light from heaven into the daily path, which do not communicate vigour, activity, and decision to the character, and that are not connected with a dedication of the whole man to the service of God. Religion is the dominant practical principle in the soul; and its practical results are the legitimate evidence of the genuineness of the principle. Any encouragement from the past exercise of the affections, *irrespective of their present practical influence*, must therefore be discountenanced. And even this influence satisfactorily ascertained must be controlled by the dictates of a *spiritually enlightened* judgment. We would call the judgment into constant exercise, under the influence of Christian motives. We would regulate "the Spirit of love," under the controul of "the Spirit of a sound mind." We would have "love" always to "abound in knowledge and in all judgment." Only let it "*abound yet more and more.*" Let it not be chilled, damped, fettered. Let us guard against that frosty elevation of intellect, which seems to regard religion as an Alpine plant, the growth only of a cold climate. Let us not separate it from that exciting glow of love, in which we are quickened to a sense of our obligations, sustained under our daily trials, and are raised in our present privileges and prospective anticipations above the baneful influence of "the course" and spirit "of this world."

Constitutional causes must however be well considered—while insisting upon the strong influence of religion upon the affections. Intellectual character is not always embued with natural sensibilities; while on the other hand a sympathetic tone of character is easily excited. It is obvious that both these require larger measures of Divine influence—the one, that the man may enter into the delight of Christian feeling —the other, that natural tenderness may be braced up to firmness and stability: in both cases—that they may judge each other charitably. But "*the love of God must be shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost*," or we are not, we cannot be, Christians.

We would beg however shortly to advert to depreciation of scriptural privilege of a very different character. There are some who stand even upon lower ground than intellectual professors. They are satisfied with a small portion of spiritual enjoyment, and even that this modicum should be occasional, not constant. They have no conception of any internal religion answering to the wrestling vigilance, by which "the kingdom of heaven is taken by force." The warmth of first impressions subsides as a matter of course; not however into a matured and solid effectiveness, but into luke-warmness and inertion. If they be the children of God in a Laodicean state, they will probably be roused by sharp afflictions, to a zealous and penitent profession of their Master's name, and by this wise and loving dispensation, be quickened to hear the voice of their Lord, and introduced into the full enjoyment of communion with him. It is however evident, that every form of the indulgence of sloth, every allowance of unbelief, and the influence of obscure apprehension of the gospel, operate prejudicially to the interests of the church and of true religion. For thus religion is presented to the world in a false and unattractive garb. The standard of holiness is lowered in the defect of that enlivening sense of redeeming love, which conciliates, engages, and captivates the heart. Little is known of that support of the promises of God, which over-balances all difficulties, real and apparent, and adds more to the enjoyment of life, than suffering can take away. This evil will be generally traced, except in cases of moral delinquency or constitutional weakness, to the secret root of self-righteousness. The simplicity of faith in the contemplation of its great object is obscured by an undue and unevangelical dependence upon evidences. These, *though they have their legitimate use as the confirmation of our hope, must have no connexion with its foundation.* When the perception of clear evidence is deficient (as in times of temptation especially is often the case), faith, leaning upon his ever-changing support, becomes uncertain, unsettled, and unfruitful. Whereas under the darkest destitution of internal sources of comfort, the offer, invitation, encouragement, and promise of the gospel, *addressed to sinners* is an unfailing and sufficient warrant, such as nothing in ourselves can make more complete. Let then faith be distinctly and explicitly exercised. Let clear apprehensions of the ground of comfort be diligently sought. Let the testimony of the word, not the feelings of our heart, be the foundation of our hope. Let Christ be regarded as the only fountain of life, light and consolation. Thus will "Grace and peace be multiplied unto us through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord."

We close this section with giving at some length, and with interesting variety of illustration, Miss Graham's sentiments upon *Conformity to the World;* a subject of vital moment to the integrity, consistency, and fruitfulness of the Christian profession.

The first letter commences with a few remarks, not immediately relevant to the subject, but which will be read with interest.

Stoke, Feb. 21, 1827.

'It seems to me that all the Lord's dealings with his redeemed children speak this language—"Cease ye from man." Put not your trust in any earthly comforter. Lean not on any arm but the arm of your Beloved. "For the hearts of the people" of this world "are full of idols." Self is the great idol, that is loved and honoured more than God. Then comes a multitude of lesser things, all subservient to this one; and if some little corner in the heart is reserved for God, or if the shadow of a throne is set up, where he may sit on solemn occasions, at the pleasure of the great idol, then they think all is going on well; and God loved as much as he could reasonably expect to he loved by creatures who have such a press of business on their hands. But, my beloved friend, we may not do so. God has purchased us for his own inheritance, will have our whole heart and our whole dependence; and though we must rejoice in the friends he gives us, yet we must not think we cannot do without them; or that we should go on better, if we had more of their help. Christ is all-sufficient, and teaches, comforts, and reproves in his own time and way, and by his own means, without any need of our direction. In looking back to every event of my life, since I have known something of the grace of God, I find that there never has been any thing on which I very much depended, but God has straightway removed or embittered that thing, or in some way made it useless to me, till I returned to place my whole dependence on him. But let us not accuse our dearest Lord of acting unkindly towards us in sending these disappointments; for he only takes away other helps and props, to make room for himself. He loves us too well to suffer any rival in our affections.

'I have read your letter over and over, and scarcely know how to answer it, or what to make of it. O that you had some better counseller than I! for I know not how to advise you. I fear lest you should think me strict and gloomy, if I tell you all I think; but I will tell you, since you desire it; and I know that God is able and willing too to give you joys so much superior to every worldly amusement, that you will wonder you could ever think them worth a thought. I must say then, that the world and worldly amusements, appear to me quite inconsistent with the character of a real Christian; and that we never can enjoy happy converse with God till we give them up. The Christian is described in the Scriptures, as "the temple of the living God." Now where the holy God takes up his abode, surely that heart must be sanctified and set apart from every common use, wholly devoted to his service. But can God and the world reign in the same heart, or as it were reign by turns? Shall we admit the Lord of glory in the morning, and shut him out in the evening, while we are going to a ball or a play? for we may be well assured he will not go with us there. The spirit of the world, which reigns in such places, is quite opposite to his Spirit; and "the friendship of the world," which is there sought, "is enmity with God." I know this would be called uncharitable; but I do not wish to be more charitable than the Bible: and surely experience proves it to be true; for go into any fashionable assembly whatever, and there begin to speak of those things of which we ought to talk, "when we are sitting in the house, and when we walk by the way, and when we lie down, and when we rise up;" and see if politeness itself can suppress a smile at your strange and unwarrantable impertinence, in forcing the attention of the company to subjects, which they are met for the very purpose of forgetting.

No, my dear friend, that cannot be a proper place for a Christian, where religion is the thing that must not be named; and where even something in our hearts will tell us, that such subjects are out of place. Neither can you say, your own heart may be as well employed there as elsewhere; for the very sweetest meditation on heavenly things (if we could thus meditate in the midst of vanity) would be spoiled by the thought, that there were none who enjoyed like communion with ourselves; and we should soon have to "seek with Joseph a place to weep in," to weep over our companions and friends, who are thus "feeding on ashes," delighting themselves in things which cannot profit. The fact is, when Christians are at a place of worldly amusement (if Christians are to be found who will venture themselves so unguardedly into Satan's strong places,) they must either have heavenly thoughts (and then the amusement would appear so vapid, disgusting, and uninteresting, that they would never be able to stay it out:) or else, if the amusement is an amusement to them, it fills their hearts with a crowd of vain thoughts, shuts out Christ, and lets in self and the world, and so prepares room for doubts, and fears, and much bitter repentance, before the Spirit will again shine upon a heart which has so wantonly despised his grace.

But many will say—'All this may take place if we stay at home;' our worldly hearts may let in many intruders there; and we may be compelled to own, that we should have been as well at any place of public resort, as in our own room, with no one to talk to but our own heart. This, I confess, is our shame and misery, that we are so often entangled in vain and worldly thoughts. But surely it does but make the argument stronger against indulging in any thing which tends to foment such thoughts. If we are so weak, why go into temptation, against which the strongest have not been able to stand? We may fall into a worldly frame of mind in the absence of any worldly pleasures; but, because we have got a cruel enemy within, shall we go and expose ourselves to the attacks of the enemy without? Let us at least have the comfort of not having gone in quest of our misery. Temptations enough will come to us; let us not go to them. Besides it seems to me but mocking our Father which is in heaven, to say one hour—"Lead us not into temptation"—when we have coolly made up our mind to rush into it the next. From the evil of such a temptation, can we hope that he will deliver us? Let me draw your attention to the sweet precept of our Lord—"Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open to him immediately!" Now, dear ——, I am sure you would not choose, that your Lord should come for you, while engaged in worldly amusements; nor would you feel, that he found you watching; nor would you be ready to "open *immediately;*" but would rather ask time to collect your scattered thoughts, and trim your wasted lamp. If we were to ask the blessed in heaven, or the tormented in hell, what they think of such employments, would not the one smile with pity at the question, and the other exclaim with rage—'O that I had but one of those hours you are thus throwing away! You should see whether I would let the precious moments pass in such vanities as these!' Forgive me, if I have said too much. Indeed I should tremble for you, going into such a difficult situation, if I did not know, that God can take as much care of you there, as in a more retired place.

'I do earnestly desire, that the blessing of a single eye and undivided heart may be yours. There is no comfort in being an undecided Christian; and Christ himself has declared that such a character is hateful to him. But this will not be the case with you: He who has helped you thus far, will go on leading you by the hand, till he has brought you to glory. You ask me—'How we are to wean our hearts from the world?' I know no other answer, but that which the Scripture gives. A believing view of Jesus must make the world look dark and insignificant: and whenever we begin to love it too much, we have only to apply to him, who has said to us—"Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world;" and his mighty power shall be put forth to enable us to overcome it also. I used to make many resolutions against a worldly spirit, and try many ways to break myself of it; and these resolutions were repeatedly broken; but now I have but one way; I try to take my heart to Jesus, believing that the victory is already mine for his sake. 'Lord, thou hast promised that "sin shall not have dominion over me." Thou hast said, that every one that is "born of thee overcometh the world." Fulfil thy gracious promise, and make me "more than conqueror" in thy might! Thou hast "given thyself for my sins, that thou mightest deliver me from this present world;" and wilt thou now leave me to be taken captive by this evil world? O dear ——, the faithful God must become like unto lying, promise-breaking man, before he can refuse to help his servants, who thus cast themselves on his word of promise; and disclaim all wisdom, strength, and goodness but his. The world and the things of the world, as "a strong man armed, who keepeth his goods in peace," must continue to have possession of our hearts, till Christ, who is "stronger than" the world, break in, and claims the house of the strong man, as a mansion for his Spirit to dwell in. Cast yourself then without fear upon the free mercy of God in Christ Jesus. The more worldly and wicked you feel yourself to be, the more he is concerned to show his power and faithfulness in saving you from your worldliness and wickedness.'

The next letter upon the same subject was written shortly afterwards to another correspondent, whom she regarded with the most lively affection, as having been made instrumental in communicating to her soul the knowledge and love of her Saviour.

March 22, 1827.

'You must, I think, have misunderstood my meaning about worldly company and amusements. Let us but have a right motive for doing so, and I think we may safely go into any company whatever. The word of God affords us two valuable rules for all our actions, and if we could set them always before our eyes, I believe we should seldom be at a loss as to the conduct we ought to pursue. "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, *do all to the glory of God.* And—whatsoever ye do in word or deed, *do all in the name of the Lord Jesus*, giving thanks to God and the Father by him." Let us then always ask ourselves, before we set about any study, or employment, or enter into any company—'Am I doing this "to the glory of God?" Is it my sole, or at least my principal motive? Can I "do it in the name of the Lord Jesus?" Can I boldly say—it is such an action as he would approve of? And can I look up to him all the time I am doing it, for his sanction and blessing?' If you can answer this question satisfactorily, the action, whatever it be, *must* be right; and there can be no danger attending the performance of it. If, on the contrary, your mind recoils from even asking such a question, be assured there is something wrong in it, and that you would do well to give it up. It is a hard lesson to our carnal hearts, but one which the love of Jesus can make easy to us; that from the moment we take refuge at the cross of Jesus, and are "washed from our sins in his blood—from that happy moment we are "no longer our own," and must make it our one business to "glorify God in our body and spirit, which are God's." This seems to me the great and marked distinction between the Christian and the worldling. The one lives to himself; the other "to him who died for him and rose again." The one consults his own pleasure, ease, and safety, "leans to his own understanding," and seeks his own glory. The other prays that his will may be quite swallowed up in the will of Jesus, "ceases from his own wisdom," and makes "Christ his wisdom." He no longer "receives the honour which cometh of man;" but desires that Christ, the Author of all his good things, may have all the glory of them. His fleshy nature, or—as St. Paul calls it, the old man—strives hard against this, and would lead him to please and honour himself again; and this is the great conflict between the flesh and the spirit, which makes the Christian life so truly called a warfare. This conflict has already begun in you, my dearest friend, and will never cease, till death takes you from sense and self, to where you shall see Jesus as he is, and wonder that you could ever prefer any thing to him. No wonder you find it a hard and strange conflict. Parting with self-seeking, self-honouring and-self-righteousness, is far more painful, than cutting off a right hand, or plucking out a right eye. "With man indeed this is impossible; but with" Jesus "all things are possible." Taking this consideration with us then, that Christ—not self—is to be the end of all our actions, and that "whether we eat, or drink," or speak, or go in or out, or are alone or in company, engaged in study or recreation, we must "do all to the glory of God," and "in the name of the Lord Jesus"—I think it will give us a very different view of our duty as to worldly company and employments, from any that worldly wisdom or policy can give us.

It cannot be, however, for the glory of God, that we should show ourselves morose and unsociable. The friends and relations we have are his gifts, and therefore must not be despised or neglected. Besides, we ought to bear in mind, that the redeemed of Christ are "the salt of the earth," "a peculiar people," created anew in Christ Jesus for the very purpose of "showing forth his praises;" and how can we do this, if we shut ourselves out altogether from the world? It is false humility, which makes us say—'I can never do any good,'—for the meaner the instrument, the more is the glory of God displayed in doing good with it; and as it is all God's doing and not ours, we have no reason to be proud of it, but rather to be abased at the sight of our own unfitness. I own to you, that I consider it the greatest blessing to a worldly family to have but one Christian among them (though I know they think it a sad interruption;) for who can tell but God may hear the prayers and tears of that one, and make him or her the messenger of peace to the rest? Thus far then, I think it must be right to go into worldly company, in the discharge of relative duties *not plainly inconsistent with the word of God;* or to avail ourselves of any providential opportunities of Christian usefulness. Let us however be careful, that our own spiritual state is not affected by it; for we can never be required to enter into any thing to the hurt of our own souls. But on the other hand, my dear friend, I think, if we really love Christ, this occasional mixing with worldly company will be rather a sacrifice than a pleasure to us. For think, what it is to go amongst worldly people "in the name of the Lord Jesus," and "to the glory of our God." Even if we do not feel ourselves called on to speak to them directly on the subject; still, if we keep this aim in view, in how many little things must we show that our sentiments are opposite to theirs! and if they know that we profess religion, we may be almost sure, that they view us with secret dislike and contempt; for "the carnal heart is" and always will be "enmity against God" and his people. I have seldom been into worldly company, without feeling either very uncomfortable all the time I was in it, or very unhappy as soon as I came out of it; for if God enabled me to keep his glory in view, the sight of so many souls perishing in a vain confidence of their own safety; the sense of my inability to speak properly to them; the consciousness that in many cases at least they would gladly have dispensed with my company, all these things could not but make me uncomfortable—*not unhappy;* because, *supposing that I was in the clear path of duty*—in the midst of vain company and sad reflections, I could still hold communion with Jesus. But when I lost sight of this great end, O dear ——, I wish I could point to you the anguish I have endured, that you might avoid dishonouring your Saviour as I have done! Very, very often this has been my wretched case:—'What will people think of me, if I set up to be so much better than others?' This ensnaring question has often made me put on a levity of sentiment and manner, which I did not at first feel, but which, persisted in, has become real; and I have been in heart as well as in appearance, the worldliest of the worldly. And when even I have returned home, God has often seen fit to visit this sin, by leaving me still to backslide in heart, and to be "filled with my own ways;" and when I have come to myself, (for he has never *quite* left me, nor ever will,) how can I describe the bitterness of thinking, that I had done dishonour to the cause of my only friend, lost the sweet sense of his redeeming love, missed many opportunities of saying a word which he might have blessed, and by my light and foolish conduct given occasion to the world to think, that religion was a thing in word only, not in power!

'I have told you my experience; but I believe it is more or less what every Christian feels; only few have been so very guilty in this respect as I have. Even now, though I know, that all these sins are washed away in my Redeemer's blood, I cannot reflect without the deepest self-abhorrence on the vain and foolish conduct I often indulged in at ——, particularly the sin of evil speaking, which I gave way to there more than any where. I might add that of sabbath-breaking. Do not think that I mean to lay it to their charge; O no, I only mean, that by going into the society of worldly people, if I may so say, without my armour on, I became as vain as they; and much more sinful; because I sinned against light and grace. Surely then, if we consider these drawbacks, worldly people will not be our chosen companions; and we shall go among them when we do, as a duty rather than a pleasure.

'With regard to the theatre, and amusements of this kind, Christians must have little to do, if they can find time for them. But if they could find time, I confess I am at a loss to see what business they can find there. Are not the sentiments usually uttered in such places quite in opposition to the pecepts of God's word? Are not pride, vain glory, self-destruction, hatred, dissipation, unlawful attachments held up to our admiration in many theatrical compositions, considered as trivial faults in most of them, and detested upon right principles in none? You profess as a Christian to make Jesus your happiness. What can you find here to bring you into communion with him? You profess to make his glory your aim. Can you then sit with complacency, and hear a company of your fellow-creatures, with immortal souls, uttering sentiments which only tend to make them despise Christ and his ways? But I will leave the subject, dear ——, only adding, that I do not wish you to give up this amusement from what I say, but from the settled conviction of your own mind, after prayer for Divine teaching. If then you find, that you can neither "do it to the glory of God, or in the name of Jesus," I will not try to dissuade you from it. I was once induced to attend 'Matthews at Home,' and shall never forget the sensation I felt, when he told us how his father, who was a good kind of man, but *too religious*, had tried to keep him from coming on the stage. When I looked round, and saw the merriment expressed in every face, I could not help saying to myself, 'This is no place for me; there are no lovers of Christ here; for "charity rejoiceth not in iniquity," as these poor deluded people are doing.'

'And now, my dearest friend, I have proposed many privations to you; and what have I to offer you in return? Nothing but the love of Jesus; nay, that is yours already; for if you are enabled to give these things up, it will be—not that he may love you, but because he has loved you. The blessed spirits above want nothing else to make them happy; and we soon hope to taste their happiness; but if it cannot make us happy here, then heaven itself would not make us happy. O let us pray for this love. Let us cast off the spirit of bondage, and not come to God as slaves *who must serve him;* but as his redeemed children, *who love to serve him*, and who find his "service perfect freedom." Let us pray that more of "the love of God may be shed abroad in our hearts." Let us beseech the Holy Ghost to "take of the things of Jesus, and show them to us." Let us study all the sweet relations, in which he has revealed himself to us in the Scriptures, Father, brother, friend, husband, lover. Here is perpetual and rational study for us; and the more we follow it, the sweeter we shall find it. It is but a little ray of this love that as yet has warmed my heart; yet I can tell you, dearest and most beloved friend, that it is worth renouncing ten thousand worlds for. The Lord Jesus has sometimes drawn near to me with such unspeakable sweetness, that I have thought all the lovely relations of life, father, husband, friend, had no beauty in them, except as they served to shadow forth the immense love of our reconciled God in Him, and the near and intimate communion to which he admits his chosen and redeemed people. O my friend, he has chosen you! What a wonder of love is here! He has redeemed you, at the price of his own precious blood, "from this evil world." Will you linger in it any longer? God forbid! May the Spirit of God "fill you with such peace and joy in believing," as may make the world and the things of it appear to you in their true light! Remember, this is not your home. We are "strangers and pilgrims" here. Let not the world see, that the joys of the love of Christ, and communion with him, are not enough to occupy us, without having recourse to the many vain and trifling ways they have invented of killing time, and driving eternity out of their thoughts. If we want strength, there is fulness of strength and grace treasured up for us in Jesus; and we have only to seek it by earnest prayer. I wish you would pray for more experience of his love to you. This would convince you more than all the arguments in the world of the vanity of every thing, which can tend to divert your mind from him. In seeking his love may you be able to say with Jacob—"I will not let thee go, except thou bless me." I shall look for your next very anxiously. Do not let the words 'affected,' 'precise,' 'hypocrite,' 'enthusiast,' 'fool,' 'madman,' and many other epithets, which perhaps you will hear lavished upon the followers of the Lamb, discourage you from making his cause and people your own. I cannot but remind you—that "all who will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution." Not perhaps open persecution now, but ridicule, dislike, sneering, either open or secret must be your lot, if you determine to "be not conformed to this world." We must not think it hard, or be angry or disheartened, if these things come upon us; for our Master was "a scorn and a derision to all around him."

'Do not cease to love me, and think of me always, dearest ——, as your most affectionately and entirely attached.

'P. S. I earnestly join in your wish, that this may be the commencement of a new and blessed period of your life. May every future year see us walking more closely and more humbly with God.'

In a third letter to her cousin about a month subsequent, she again reverts to her Scriptural Rules.

April 20, 1827.

'I feel exceedingly at a loss, my dear friend, how to answer your interesting question—"What is the meaning of giving up the world?" For I do not consider, that giving up the world consists in renouncing its amusements, its company, its pursuits, so much as in putting off its temper and spirit, that we may put on the spirit and temper that was in Christ Jesus. When the spirit of the world is thus exchanged for the spirit of Christ, the amusements and gaieties of the world, must (not perhaps all at once, but gradually and surely) come to be extremely vain and unsatisfying in our opinion. For though the word "communion with God" is considered as the mere creation of an enthusiastic imagination, yet if we will allow the Scriptures to be true, we must allow that there is such a thing as "holding fellowship with the Father and the Son," as "walking with God" day by day "in perfect peace," as "having Christ living in us," and "his Holy Spirit abiding in us;" for by this, and by this only can we know that we are in Christ, even by his Spirit which abideth in us. Now let us suppose a person enjoying —not the flights of a false and self-seeking devotion—but real, sober, scriptural converse with God, and that daily; must not this be a happiness superior to any the world can give? See what David thought of it—"As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: Thou, O Lord God, art the thing that I long for. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth I desire besides thee. My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto thy judgments at all times. In God is my salvation and my glory; the rock of my strength, and my refuge is in God. My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness, and my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips, when I remember thee," &c. &c. And so in a thousand songs of love has David left on record what he thought of "communion with God." What must have been Job's view of the subject, when he said—"My friends scorn me, but mine eye poureth out tears unto God. O that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat! I would order my cause before him, and fill my mouth with arguments!"—Isaiah's—when he said, "O Lord, the desire of our soul is unto thy name, and to the remembrance of thee! With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early!" But I need not multiply proofs of what seems to need no proof—that communion with his Creator is the best, and noblest, and happiest thing of which a creature is capable. Then will not they who enjoy this communion, very carefully avoid whatever may tend to rob them of it? They will soon find that converse with the world (*unless as far as duty or necessity lead them to it*) is not compatible with converse with God: for if they conform to this world's habits and opinions, they deprive themselves of all scriptural claim to hope that God dwells in them, and they in him. But if on the contrary, they are "transformed in the spirit of their minds," they will soon find that the world will dislike or ridicule them. But until we are delivered from the spirit of the world, I cannot see how we can reasonably be expected to see any harm whatever in the customs of the world. Let the world that dwells and rules within be deposed, and the world without will soon lose its undue influence over us. But, dearest ——, let us "stick to" the Scriptures as our rule and standard in every thing, (thus our doubts upon every subject will be quickly satisfied); and let us study them with prayer, that he, "who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, would shine into our dark hearts, to give them the knowledge of the glory" of the gospel of God. We shall not ask in vain; for "God giveth wisdom liberally, and without upbraiding." May he give you that "wisdom which is from above;" since not all the wisdom of this world can find out God. There are in the sacred word two rules, which, if kept in view, might be a lamp to guide our feet in the darkest and most perplexing moments—"Whether ye eat, or drink, or *whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.*" "Whatever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus." Now in going to a ball, or a play, merely to indulge my own vanity, or gratify my own inclination, I could not say—I am "doing this to the glory of God"—I could not set about it "in the name of the Lord Jesus;" therefore as a Christian, I think I have no right to do it at all. But if any one could go to the glory of God, I cannot dispute their right to going. In visiting my friends, and spending a little intercourse in social converse with them, I have no feeling of this kind to draw me back; for God has given us our friends, and therefore requires us to be active in every social duty; and religion has done little for us, if it has taught us to be more morose and unsociable; for the very soul of religion is to live not to ourselves, but to others. Still I think as far as we can, we should choose our friends rather among the friends of God, than among the friends and followers of the world. You mention music;—so far from thinking it wrong in all cases, I think in my own, it is absolutely a religious duty to pursue music, as far as my health will permit; and I think the same with regard to you. But supposing we had no particular object in studying it, still I think that music, as affording a pleasing and innocent source of amusement to ourselves and others, cannot be considered wrong, though I should think it wrong to give more than a very moderate time to it, or to let it encroach upon any other duty. For a real Christian—to say the least of it—has so great a work in hand; so many really important and interesting objects daily solicit his attention, excite his energies, and set every faculty of soul and body to work; that he or she can have very little time to throw away upon mere amusements. I have given you my opinion as well as I can, bacause you asked me, not because I wish or expect you to be guided by it; for I am persuaded, that if you continue searching the Bible with earnest prayer, God himself will lead you into every good and pleasant way. I have known many religious people, who have not seen the necessity of separating themselves entirely from the world at first; but I never knew any one who did not see it at last. Let me then close this subject, dearest ——, by calling to your remembrance that encouraging invitation in Corinthians: "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

These letters will, we think, be admitted to discuss this important subject with much Christian wisdom and spirituality. Here are no harsh sweeping denunciations, but a plain reference to the rules of Christ; to the general principles, taste, and spirit of the gospel; and to the test of conscience and experience. Two particulars are worthy of special remark—*her principle, and her rules.*

Her principle is the superior attractiveness of the gospel, as the only effectual opposition to a worldly spirit—'A believing view of Christ'—as she justly observed—'must make the world look dark and insignificant.' The merchantman would never have suffered his "goodly pearls" to be snatched from him; but the first sight of "the pearl of great price" was sufficient inducement to him gladly to relinquish them. The apostle would never have yielded up his good name in the church with all his other sources of gain to the persuasive power of argument. But "the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord" once manifested to his soul, made what before was his all, now "loss"—yea—"dung" in his sight. Thus in every case, simple faith is the principle of Christian decision.

It is often a ground of self-delusive complaint—'If we were less entangled with the world, we should reach to far higher attainments in the excellency of this heavenly knowledge.' This is doubtless a truth. Yet the converse is perhaps the most accurate and important statement. It is because we know so little of Christ, that we are so much entangled with the world. Here we have the radical principle of the evil laid open. General and superficial views of our glorious Saviour offer but a feeble resistance to the mighty, subtle, and incessant operation of a worldly spirit. Deep, self-abasing, and spiritual apprehensions of the gospel must be perseveringly sought for, and maintained in constant exercise under Divine teaching and grace. To the heart thus attracted to Christ by the active contemplation of faith—the world in its most alluring forms, will ever be a crucified object, an object of shame and revulsion. And if this heavenly contemplation be followed out in all his relations to us of infinite tenderness and love, how will it cover us with shame, that a moment should ever have been found for any other object of *paramount* desire, affection, and interest! We must however carry this powerful principle of faith into all the particulars of practical application. We must not forget the supreme authority of the Scriptural commands for non-conformity to the world; nor must we refrain from rebuking whatever appears to us in detail, to be inconsistent with these commands. But except our remonstrances are grounded upon the full and clear principles of the gospel, we shall—instead of "laying the axe to the root of the tree"—only prune the branches for more luxuriant fruitfulness. The worldly taste may be restrained—but not subjugated; and the heart, if it be even partially drawn from the world, will be turned to self-righteousness, not to Christ.

As to Miss Graham's rules, it is a vain attempt to fix precise limits to every particular act. Yet the Scriptural rules which she has adduced, may be brought to bear upon every difficulty; and if the application of them will not make us infallibly right, it will at least preserve us from being materially wrong. The force of relative obligation as an ordinance of God is in clear conformity with these rules, and as such is strongly inculcated by Miss Graham; while at the same time it is never made an excuse for overstepping the line of demarcation, and always placed in connection with faithfulness and decision of conduct. The point of worldly conformity commences, and the habit of it is strengthened, in the neglect of Christian simplicity of profession. Either these rules are not spiritually apprehended, or they are not conscientiously regarded, or there is a want of intelligent capacity to apply them. Many young inquirers of unformed habits and unexercised profession have lost their slight impressions of religion in an unguarded association with the world. And how many more established professors have by unspiritual habits become unconsciously conformed to the taste, maxims, or society of the world, even while they have "escaped its" external "pollutions." We would earnestly recommend the application of these rules to every step and point of contact with the world. Let them be the test for the daily "trial of our spirit." Let us cultivate that tender susceptibility of conscience, which impressed this devoted child of God with poignant sorrow and humiliation in a single instance of overstepping the boundary, or neglecting the rule, of her Christian profession. We are persuaded that this habit of mind diligently cherished, would issue in the conviction, that the points of necessary or hopeful intercourse with the world, are not so frequent as were imagined; that the rational pleasure of its society ill compensates for the painful loss that is felt in the secret retirement; that positive evil belongs to unnecessary communication with it; and that increasing circumspection is needed even in the path of duty. The responsibility of maintaining our profession will be more deeply felt; and a path of retreat sought for, where that profession seems to be impracticable. We shall walk not by expediency, but by rule. Self-indulgence will yield to the dictates of conscience, and double-mindedness to the simplicity of the gospel. "The eye being thus single, the whole body will be full of light." Religion will assume a different caste. It will be marked by a holy and heavenly stamp. It will be—not a system of restraints—but a religion of privilege—the strictness of its rules wholly divested of moroseness, and forming an effectual safeguard of its consistency and fruitfulness. Thus God will be seen in his true character, as "having pleasure in the prosperity of his servant," who needs not to be beholden to the world for that happiness, which it promises to its votaries in substance, but gives only in shadow and delusion.

The length and seriousness of this important discussion may be happily relieved by a sprightly effort of Miss Graham's imagination, bearing immediately upon our subject. It was written impromptu in her friend's manuscript book. The picture was probably suggested by her residence on the sea-side.

February, 1830.

"Thy people shall be my people."—*Ruth* i. 16. 'I have sometimes thought, that the Christian, who willingly casts his lot amongst those to whom the doctrine of the cross is foolishness, and sits down in the world as if he were of the world, is like the foolish little bird that should build its nest in the mast of some tall ship. At first it seems a place of security and peace; but soon the vessel looses from its anchor, and the little songster is borne away it knows not whither. The trees and flowery hedges, and bright sunny meadows, are fast going out of sight. Fain would the poor bird spread its wings and regain them: but how can it leave its nestlings, its treasures, which it has confided to that strange and troubled dwelling! No, no; its all is launched into the deep; and with anxious constant care it must hover round the dear nest, and seek for strange and scanty food for its young. And at first the vessel may glide smootly on, while the wind gently plays with its sails, and the sun lights them up to a snowy whiteness, and the gilded waves break in sparkles round the stately prow. Then the little visitant pours forth its sweet song, and gladdens the sailor's heart by the fond tale it tells him of happiness and home. Yet all the while it is only lamenting its desolation, and pining after the pleasant haunts in the green wood, and the dear companions, by whom its notes were answered from bush to bush, till the very boughs waved in joy to their merry strains. But O! poor bird, if a storm arise, how wilt thou flutter round thy nestlings, and tremble lest they should be swept away by the pitiless waves, or chilled into death by the piercing winds! Yes, little trembler, thou hast placed thyself and thine offspring in a perilous situation; nor is it thou that canst save them, but thy Father and ours, without whom not so much as a sparrow falleth to the ground. He it was that took care of thee, when thou wast safely lodged in thine own leafy branches; and he can take care of thee now, can teach the rude sailor to respect thy helplessness, and hush the stormy winds, that they ruffle not a feather of thy wing. And thus, Christian, if thou hast wilfully withdrawn thyself from the shadow of that tree, which spreads forth its branches for all the fowls of heaven to dwell in; if thou hast made thee a home away from the Lord's people; many a bitter hour of loneliness and desolation shalt thou have, while thou art "singing the Lord's song, in a strange land. Thou shalt rue thy folly, and be humbled for it. Yet be not utterly cast down, but still trust in thy God, who will not fail to rebuke and chasten, but will never leave thee nor forsake thee.'

4. *Her sentiments upon miscellaneous subjects.*

We now conclude this long series of quotation, with some extracts of a more miscellaneous character.

It is delightful to observe all her views of science, extensive and accurate as they were, to have been received and enjoyed through a heavenly medium. Whichever way she looked in this wide expanse, her eye was transfixed in the contemplation of the unsearchable mysteries of redeeming love. We may instance the following sketch of Christian Astronomy—extracted from her manuscript. Speaking of the withering influence of Mathematics upon the pleasures of the imagination, and having (as we have already seen) suggested the study of classical literature, as furnishing some antidote for this evil, she further adds on this point:

'It is scarcely possible to pursue mathematics to any extent, without being led by them into some of those sciences, of which they form the vestibule. *Astronomy*, for instance, presents a field for the largest and noblest exercises of the imagination. The stars, 'the poetry of heaven,' afford not only perpetual employment for the reason, but unbounded scope to the fancy. The objects of astronomical study display a sublimity, which exalts the imagination; a mystery which humbles the intellect, a wisdom which enlarges every faculty of the soul, and a loveliness which soothes every feeling of the heart. They have, like their Divine Author, "heights, depths, and breadths"—unfathomable—inscrutable. Here we may soar, as upon the wings of angelic intelligence. Here we may expatiate, till our minds are lost in infinity. But with what unutterable astonishment does the Christian astronomer gaze upon the innumerable host! He is conscious that God is all around him. His mind is possessed by one idea—the presence, the immense, the all-pervading presence of the God who made and upholds all these. For an instant he forgets his own littleness, and becomes vast as the objects of his contemplation; for there are moments when the human soul seems to expand into something of its original grandeur. But the humbling consciousness returns, as soon as his full heart will give him leave to think, and he shrinks into insignificance. It is nothing to be the least, the meanest of the creatures of God. But to be a fallen-creature—this bows him to the dust. Sin has made him an outcast from the beautiful creation, an alien from the creating God. An holy God is on every side; and he is not holy.

'But yet his thilling awe is cheered with joy, hope, and love. "The day-star arises in his heart;" and now every other star has a voice, "a still small voice; and tells a tale of love, which the angels delight to hear: a mystery, "which the angels desire to look into."

'He who made us is "the God of thy salvation." He is "thy Beloved and thy Friend." Thus hath the God who made the heavens, who ordained the moon and the stars, been mindful of man, visited him in his low estate, and "crowned him with glory and honour." '

"Praise him, ye heavens of heavens. Praise him, all ye stars of light." Christians! you can "sing praises with understanding." All ye that love the Lord, praise the name of the Lord. "Praise the Lord, O my soul."

While this sublime science has been perverted (as in the French school of philosophy) for man's contemptuous rejection of his Maker, it is most refreshing to observe the magnificent illustrations, by which "the heavens," viewed through the medium of Christian philosophy, "declare the glory of God." In this field of elevated contemplation the eye of faith "leads us up from nature," not only "to nature's God," but to the Christian's God—the God of his salvation. Here we discover what the "eye" of reason "has not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man," untaught by God. If, as our poet of the Night has decided, 'an undevout astronomer is mad,' even the *devout man of science* is not in the full possession of his faculties, nor in the enjoyment of the clear perception of the objects of his delighted observation, except he has been instructed in the higher school of Divine science, and enabled to trace in the Maker of the starry frame his God and Saviour—his faithful, unchangeable, Almighty friend.

We pass to another field of science of more general interest. Miss Graham's Musical Tract, already referred to, will, it is believed, be found to give an accurate sketch of the principles of its own department of the science. Its style is buoyant with life, beauty, and power. It occasionally mounts almost to the magnificent prose of John Milton or Jeremy Taylor. Take the following as a specimen:

Speaking to her young pupil of the importance of practising, she sends her to the woods and groves for a stimulating example of industry.

'I can tell you that the little musicians of the grove do not attain their wild and delicate modulations without practice. When I lay in bed last summer, unable to speak or move for many hours in the day, the song of the birds furnished me with an inexhaustible source of amusing observation. I could not but feel grateful to the melodious little creatures, who beguiled me of half my pain, and made the weary hours of sickness fly away upon wings as light as their own. As if led by an instinctive sympathy, numbers of blackbirds and thrushes came to build their nests round our garden; and the woodpigeons, which had been silent the year before, renewed their soft notes in the high trees by the parsonage lawn. However, they were shy, and I thought myself fortunate, if once or twice in the day their gentle cooing found its way to my ear. But there was one thrush, whose notes I soon learned to distinguish from all the other thrushes; indeed his skill seemed to exceed theirs as much as Cordoba's[*] exceeds yours or mine. Every morning I listened for his voice, which was sure to precede the matins of all the other birds. In the day time, his brilliant tones were mingled and almost lost in the general melody; but as soon as the sun was preparing to set, when the blackbirds had either sung themselves to sleep, or were flown off to keep up their festivities elsewhere, then was my thrush's practising time. He was kind enough to select a tree not far from my window, while the other thrushes placed themselves at a respectful distance, and edged in a note here and there as they could. He opened the rehearsal with a number of wild trills and calls, which I could not well understand; only they were very sweet and cheering to me; and he would pause between each, till a soft response was heard from some distant bough. But when he had fixed upon a little cadence which pleased him, it became a more serious business. Strange to say, I could always tell when this would be; for what pleased me particularly was sure to please him; so true is it that nature has given the same perception of melody to man and to birds. He would chant it over in a low tone two or three times, as if to make himself sure of it; then he carolled it out with triumphant glee; then stopped short on a sudden, as much as to say to his rivals—'Which of you can imitate my strains?' Their notes sounded most sweet at various distances during these little intervals; but they seemed conscious of their inferiority to my favourite, who would suddenly break out into the very same melody, upon which he had doubtless been musing all the while, enriching it by some little note or trill, the wildest and most touching that ever came into a thrush's heart. I needed neither concert nor music-master, while I could listen to the untaught, but not unpremeditated, harmony of this original professor; nor could I quarrel with the sickness which had been the means of developing another link in that mysterious chain, which binds me to the rest of creation, by opening my ear and my heart more than ever to the language of universal nature. But I often wished to have you with me, that you might hear how much pains the birds are at to charm us with their warbling. It is pretty also to hear the young birds commence their small and faultering strains, which grow clearer and louder, till they are no longer to be distinguished from the rest. True, it is their profession, and we have many other things to think of; but what time we do give to the study of music, we should give it with our hearts, as they do.'

For effective playing she gives the following sensible rules, interspersing them with her own happy illustrations:

'I have told you that to play a piece effectively you must comprehend it well. You must also *feel* it deeply. It is impossible to excite lively emotions in another's breast, while your own remains untouched. There are two rules, which may assist you to attain quick perceptions of what is correct and beautiful; and (with the help of the mechanical rules I have given you) to bring those perceptions out in your own performance. *The first is, to cultivate a constant habit of listening to natural sounds.* Every thing in nature has a melody which goes to the heart, and from which we may gain some new and delightful ideas. I have called your attention to the song of birds. Then there is the bleating of flocks, and the lowing of distant herds, and the busy hum of insects. Above all, the modulations of the human voice afford us a perpetual source of observation. From thence we may gather the expression of every stormy passion which agitates, and every tender affection which sooths the heart. Nor can we listen to the fairy tones of children, their light-hearted carols, their bursts of tiny merriment, their mimic griefs, and simply told stories, without imbibing some new and charming combinations of harmonious expression. If music brings no lovely thoughts and associations to your mind, you are learning it to very little purpose. If it does, an intimate acquaintance with the music of nature will invest the expression of those thoughts with a grace and refinement, which the most persevering practice will fail to impart. Take lessons of the winds and of the waters, and of the trees; of all animate and inanimate nature. So shall the very spirit of sweet sound and expression enter into your bosom, and lie there, ready to pour itself forth upon the otherwise low and mechanical music, which the pressure of your hands produces on the instrument. One of Handel's finest pieces is said to have been suggested by the labour of a blacksmith at his anvil; so successfully did he watch for the harmony, that lies wrapped up in the commonest sounds.

'*The next rule I shall give you, is to listen attentively to skilful performers;* noticing particularly what emotions are excited in your mind by every passage; and by what means they contrive to produce the effect which pleases you. The gratification we derive from listening to music, is similar to that which poetry imparts to us. Both these delightful arts call into being a thousand beautiful imaginations, tender feelings, and passionate impulses. But in reading poetry, we are delighted with the thoughts of another person; and though a beautiful idea will give us new pleasure every time we recur to it, still this pleasure is little varied, and depends on the conformation of the poet's mind, rather than of our own. The delights of music are of own creation. We become for the time poets ourselves, and enjoy the high privilege of inventing, combining, and diversifying, at pleasure, the images which harmonious sounds raise in our minds. The selfsame melody may be repeated a hundred times, and inspire each time a train of thought different from the last. Sometimes it will call forth all the hidden stores of memory—absent friends, voices long silent in the tomb, lovely scenes, pleasant walks, and happy hours, come back to us in all their freshness and reality. Then the future opens its dreary prospect, gilded by hope, and chastened by a mournful tenderness. The exile is restored in glad anticipation to his country; the prodigal sobs out his penitence on his father's bosom; the child of affliction is safely lodged in that mansion where sorrow and crying are unknown. Sometimes the past is forgotten, the future unheeded, the mind wrapped up in the present consciousness of sublimity or beauty. Forms of delicate loveliness, things such as dreams are made of, float before the mental vision, shaped into something of a walking distinctness. Thoughts too noble to last, high and holy resolves, gushings of tenderness, alternately possess our minds, with emotions all equally different, and equally delightful. The poetical inspiration of Alfieri seldom came upon him, but when he was under the influence of music.

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[*] An eminent musical professor among the Spanish refugees, to whom she expresses herself indebted for much valuable instruction.

Haydn's symphonies were all composed so as to shadow forth some simple and affecting story, by which the author excited and varied his own feelings, and wrought them up to that pitch of solemn pathos, or animated gayety, which to this day inspires all who hear his music with corresponding emotions.'

The Christian tone and descriptive beauty of the concluding paragraphs will be generally admired. They are in the style of her favourite writer, Jeremy Taylor.

'The expression of sacred music comprehends every emotion that can agitate the human heart, and must be felt rather than described. The subdued tones of awful adoration; the impassioned fervour of desire; the humility of prayer; the wailing of penitential sorrow; the glad notes of thanksgiving; and the loud chorus of praise; all these have their own peculiar utterance, and must be pervaded by a depth and solemnity which shall distinguish them from the meaner affections of humanity.

'I am fearful of touching too lightly upon this hallowed subject. Many young persons, when their feelings are excited by sacred music, imagine themselves to be bettered by such feelings, and to be under the influence of genuine religious sentiments. But if the plain majesty of the word of God does not suffice to kindle an equal fervour within us, when we are reading it silently and alone; we may be sure that the emotions excited by the lovely songs and pleasant instruments of men are the mere ebullitions of natural feeling, and have nothing to do with religion. Those who would sing the praises of the Lord, must "sing them with understanding." The undying torch of truth must be lighted up in that faculty, before it can set the heart in a flame. There exists not a more dangerous delusion, than to mistake the feverish excitement of the imagination for the cheerful and steady glow of a rational devotion.

'But while I so anxiously guard you against this pernicious error, do not for a moment suppose, that I would shut you out from the privilege which all creation enjoys, of sounding its Maker's praise. Oh! there is a harmony in nature, inconceivably attuned to one glad purpose! Every thing in the universe has a voice, with which it joins in the tribute of thanksgiving. The whispers of the wind playing with the summer foliage, and its fitful moanings through the autumnal branches; the broken murmur of the stream, the louder gushing of the waterfall, and the wild roar of the cataract, all speak the praises of God to our hearts. Who can sit by the sea-side, when every wave lies hushed in adoration, or falls upon the shore in subdued and awful cadence, without drinking in unutterable thoughts of the majesty of God? The loud hosannas of Ocean in the storm, and the praises of God on the whirlwind, awaken us to the same lesson; and every peal of the thunder is an hallelujah to the Lord of Hosts. Oh! there is a harmony in nature! The voice of every creature tells us of the goodness of God. It comes to us in the song of the birds; the deep, delicious, tones in which the wood-dove breathes out its happiness; the gracefully melting descant of the nightingale; the joyous, thrilling melody of the lark; the throstle's wild warbling, and the blackbird's tender whistle; the soft piping of the bulfinch; the gay carol of the wren; the sprightly call of the goldfinch; and the gentle twittering of the swallow. Even now, when every other bird is silent, little robin is pouring out his sweetest of all sweet notes upon yonder rose-bush; and so distinctly does he thank God, who made the berries to grow for him upon the hawthorn and mountain-ash, and who has put it into the heart of man to love him, and strew crumbs for him when the berries fail, that my soul, too often insensible to its own mercies, is warmed into gratitude for his. The very insect tribe have entered into a covenant, that God shall at no season of the year be without a witness amongst them to his praise. For when the hum of the bees and the chirping of the grasshopper have ceased to enliven us, and the gnat has laid by his horn, then the little cricket wakens into life and song, and gladdens our hearth with the same story till the winter is past. And so all nature praises God, and is never weary. If then you are able "to make melody in your *heart* to the Lord," let your hand and your voice make melody too; and let the faculty which infinite benevolence has created for your enjoyment, be converted, as all your other faculties should be, into the instrument of praise. To know that you make this worthiest use of your musical acquirements will indeed rejoice the heart of your affectionate Friend and Cousin,

MARY.

The following exercise throws out some additional thoughts upon the connexion of poetry and music alluded to in her tract. It was written in the form of a letter to her cousin, for the Italian master then in attendance upon them. As she wrote Italian with considerable spirit, and took some pains with the composition, it may have slightly suffered in a translation.

1824.

'My dear Friend—Yesterday I was told of an observation you had made in the conversazione of Mr. B., (where unfortunately I could not meet you,) and as I do not agree with you upon the interesting subject then discussed, I will make it the subject of this letter, begging you to excuse all the dulness, which you will certainly find in my composition. Is it possible, that you have conceived so low an opinion of the pleasures derived from harmony, that they do not appear to you worthy of being compared with those of poetry? I cannot let you rest in this opinion. Allow me to impart to my friend some of the delight which I find in this enchanting art! Not that I wish to say a word against poetry—that purest and most sublime delight of the human mind. Too dear to me are its sweet illusions, in which the usual sense of the ills of the present life is lost, whilst the soul lives in a world properly her own, and sports with beings created and adorned by herself. My intention is only to show you that the pleasures derived from music are not *inferior* to those of poetry, that both proceed from the same source, and mutually assist and heighten each other. You will perhaps remind me of the great antiquity of poetry, and that from the most remote ages it has been the solace of the wounded heart. But this I cannot yield to you. Indeed it appears to me, that music had an earlier birth, and was the mother of poetry. A shepherd one day discovered the flute, which nature has formed in the waving reed. Applying it to his lips, he is struck with the beautiful sounds which issue from it, and he endeavours to imitate them with his voice, in simple songs celebrating the beauties of his shepherdess. By degrees the cadences of the harmony suggest to him the idea of rhyme and metre, and thus these two beautiful arts are formed together, with so perfect a sympathy between them, that the one cannot be outraged without the other also suffering. Let us however leave this discussion upon the origin of these arts, (for it would be tiresome for us to search into the records of past ages,) and turn our attention to what is more interesting, the effects which in *every* age they have produced on the heart. I wish to search a little into your motives for giving to poetry so vast a superiority; and the secret spring appears to me to be this. The charms of harmony cause a pleasure perceptible to the senses, and for its enjoyment require a certain physical conformation, a fine and exact ear, and other things, which seem to have a connection with the material part of man. You have therefore persuaded yourself, that it is a thing delightful indeed to the senses, but which has little influence upon the mind and upon the heart. I flatter myself that I shall be able to convince you of the injustice of this idea. Not only does music give us many ideas, but they are of the same description with those inspired by poetry, and sometimes even more delightful to the soul. I allow that the sweet harmony enters by the ear. But thence it diffuses itself through every part of the mind. It moves every passion, softens every affection, and creates a thousand delightful imaginations, a thousand divine projects, which excite to all that is noble in resolve, and worthy in art. If I might draw a distinction between music and poetry, I should say, that the former brings us pleasure of a higher degree; the latter of a longer duration. Equally do they inspire soft affections and noble ideas.' Then, after following the same train of thought and imagination as in her Musical Tract, she adds in her fervent glow—'And shall not a science, capable of producing these sentiments, be reckoned among the noblest delights of the human mind? I have not time to continue this interesting subject. But I cannot conclude without observing, that the poets themselves owe their finest ideas to music. Do you recollect the power which it had over the mind of our favourite Alfieri? He could scarcely compose without its help. Many of his noble tragedies were conceived at the Opera. But do thou, divine Petrarch, come to my help, and show her who admires thee so much, that without the music of nature, the song of birds, the murmur of the stream, thou wouldest not have been able to enchant her with thy delicious rhymes. With these beautiful verses I conclude my letter, already too long, entreating you to yield to his representation of the effect of fine sounds upon the mind.

'Se lamentar augelli, o verdi fronde,' &c.

'You know the rest. I have only time to say, that I am always

'Your very affectionate

'MARY.'

Without pronouncing upon the contending claims, (which probably may still be a matter of dispute,) the exercise is not unworthy of the intellectual character of the writer, and is specially interesting, as a burst of that 'vehemence approaching to ecstacy,' which, as Mr. Cecil keenly observed—'the world will allow on almost every subject, but that which, above all others, will justify it.' If, however, Miss Graham seems here to contend for the precedence of music, she was no less warm a votary of poetry. Though she was no poet herself, and never till the close of her last illness did she exercise even a rhyming propensity, yet her perception of the true genius of the science was lively and accurate, and her enjoyment of its delights proportionate. We have already seen her high zest for Milton. Wordsworth was among her chief modern favourites; and even Lord Byron detained her for awhile the victim of his fascinating enchantment. We subjoin a letter of a very early date, descriptive of her feelings, with much discrimination of taste, and with all the glow of her characteristic enthusiasm.

July 15, 1822.

'I have not seen the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold. I am ashamed to say that I like Manfred. Diabolical as the sentiments of it are in many parts, yet there are some passages of such exquisite beauty and sublimity, that it seems as if a human pen could scarcely have traced them. All the time I was reading it, I felt I was doing something wrong, yet I read some of it over and over again, particularly the part where Manfred is upon the point of dashing himself over the precipice. The description of darkness did not please me. I thought it rather horrible than sublime. But I am just now in love with another poet, who is as fond of clothing his pictures with the sunny radiance of happiness and benevolence, as Lord Byron is of spreading over his darkness and desolation. If you have read any of his trifling poems, you will smile when I mention Wordsworth. But some of his poems are so beautiful! We have just now been reading the Excursion. It is tiresome in many parts. But every now and then you meet with something so strikingly fine, or so unutterably tender, that it is impossible to go on. You must lay down the book till the ferment it occasions has subsided.'

Should Miss Graham's delight in Lord Byron's writings be a matter of surprise, it may be observed, that her letter distinctly records the rebuke of conscience in her moments of self-indulgence; and we doubt not but her inattention to this rebuke subjected her to the secret frown of her jealous God. We may also add that shortly after the date of this letter, she readily made the sacrifice of her taste (which to her fervid mind required no ordinary effort) in the total relinquishment of this source of deleterious pleasure. Whatever weight may attach to her judgment will therefore decidedly be found on the side of self-denial, not of self-gratification. Indeed familiarity with works of poison, whatever be their literary charms, seems inconsistent, not only with Christian simplicity—but with a common regard to our personal welfare. To a pure mind we might have supposed that a rich and splendid fancy would be spoiled of all its attraction by its frequent connexion with licentious profaneness and impiety—moral deformities sufficient to cast the most exquisite beauties of power and genius into the shade; and the contemplation of which must be injurious to the best sensibilities of our nature. Even the instruction resulting from the unveiled features of human depravity is obtained—if at all—at considerable hazard. For let it be remembered—as Miss Graham has shown—that the direct influence of poetry plays upon the passions, and thus tends to produce a corresponding habit of the mind. The evil propensities therefore pourtrayed by this master-mind with such awful exactness, and embracing every form of malignity than can darken the heart of man, naturally excite the working of those passions, which it is the grand design of the gospel of Jesus Christ to restrain and mortify. Whether therefore the infidel poison acts with vindictive activity, or with searching subtlety, its pervading influence is equally to be dreaded. We believe that many Christians, especially in moments of temptation, are reaping the bitter fruit of former indulgence; and we are persuaded that none will ultimately have reason to regret the sacrifice of the high pleasures of taste to the far higher claims of their own spiritual interests.

We add one further quotation from Miss Graham's manuscript upon a subject not wholly unconnected with the preceding—works of imagination in a more legitimate, though still a questionable, form—*Religious Novels.* Observing, that 'the taste of the serious public is lamentably vitiated'—she adds,

'The press teems with religious novels, from the long eventful story to the ephemeral trifles which eke out the pages of the spruce magazine. The greater part of these are feeble to a degree that would render them harmless, were there not a large proportion of readers, whose sickly appetite hankers after such unwholesome food. A few of them, I own, stand out from the rest, and compel our admiration. Yet I must be permitted to say, that the very interest excited by these superior productions increases their bad tendency. How strange a medley of sensations agitates the heart, that is fluttering between the emotions excited by the well-pictured charms of religion, and the love-scene that is better pictured still! How shall the young and inexperienced distinguish between earthly and heavenly feelings! How shall they determine whether their agitation arises out of romance or religion; a heated imagination, or a heart warmed with divine love?

'I cannot conceive the use or propriety of introducing this kind of sentimental narrative into works professedly of a religious nature. Truth is not adorned but disguised, by being thus tricked out in false glitter and tinsel ornament. There are but two classes of readers; *the converted, and the unconverted.* Those of the former description would derive more benefit and pleasure too from praying over one verse of the Bible, than from reading a whole library of the above-mentioned performances. They will neither assist him to understand the word of truth himself, nor to explain it to others. It may be truly affirmed of the decided Christian, that for his own sake, the less he reads besides the Bible, the better. But for the sake of his fellow-men, his reading must be more extensive. He must seek to enlarge and confirm his general knowledge; must be prepared to meet inquiry, to cope with prejudice and error; to recommend the cause of religion; to "become," with the Apostle, "all things to all men." It is not, however, by giving his time to the works in question, that he will attain this desirable object. His mental character will only be deteriorated by their enervating influence. They will tend to impair both the inclination and capacity for solid intellectual exertion. It has been urged in their defence, that they will open to him a more extended view of human nature. But this will be much more effectually obtained by comparing the Scripture statement with his own daily experience and observation. Another argument in their favour is, that they afford an useful key to the character and manners of society. These, however, for the most part, are sketched with no very skilful hand. They might with greater accuracy and less expense of time, be collected from some of the master-pieces of authors not professedly religious. In short, considering that the Christian part of the community has so much to do, and so short a space to do it in, it must ever be matter of regret, that so large a proportion of their time and talent should be expended in making idlers and castle-builders.

But we turn our regard to the careless and gay. We are called upon to observe the effect of these publications upon their minds. We are reminded, that many young persons of lively imagination and warm feelings, who would scarcely look into a serious book, may be tempted to peruse these lighter works, and derive benefit from the perusal. I admit the first part of this proposition, but deny the conclusion that is drawn from it, except in a few, a very few instances, which are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as a general rule. Rare, however, as these instances are, they are by no means to be despised. They indicate that every narrative of this description must not be included in one sweeping condemnation, nor pronounced entirely useless, since the sovereign grace of God will occasionally use even them for its purpose. But they do not prove the necessity of sending forth such immense shoals of these productions, that one would think they were designed to supersede and swallow up every other. A few would answer the purpose just as well. Even while I concede thus much, I am inclined to ask—'Do you not in a measure create the taste, to which you profess only to accommodate yourselves? Will not this indisposition to all solid and valuable reading be exceedingly encouraged by your indulgent connivance?' I much doubt both the lawfulness and expediency of this mode of decoying people into religion. I fear that the quantity of good which flows from it is greatly overbalanced by the quantity of evil.

The religion inspired by such reading is of a doubtful nature. There is more of earth in it than of heaven. A young person, whose tears flow over a professed novel, is in no danger of mistaking the excitement of feeling for the fervour of devotion. Not so with these ambiguous compositions. Romance and Religion are so allied, that we may suppose the latter to be embraced, when in effect her presence is only tolerated for the sake of her fascinaiing companion. Dressed in the sober garb of truth, she will too probably be rejected by those who permitted her to court them under the bewitching veil of fiction. And is it for the sake of exciting this spurious devotion, that we run the hazard of destroying the correct and simple feeling of the rising generation, and encourage the prevalence of a style of writing which can never rise into genuine sublimity, nor fix itself upon a basis of native solidity and strength?'

This extract will be generally admitted to mark considerable power of writing and of thought. The subject demands much accuracy of discrimination to place it in its true light. To proscribe works of imagination in the mass would include a much wider sweep of condemnation than novels religious or irreligious. It would banish form our reading much that is not merely purely innocent, but intrinsically valuable; and seal up the fountain of much elegant and instructive literature. We might indeed adduce Dr. Chalmer's writings for the proof, that the corruption is in the application—not in the faculty—of the imagination, which was given, like every other faculty, for the service of God and of his church. But an infinitely higher authority meets us in the Divine parables of our Great Teacher, immediately acting upon this most valuable faculty for the illustration and enforcement of his important truths. And this example is the more to our purpose, as fixing the limit and direction, as well as legitimating the employment of fiction. The imagination is placed in immediate contact with plain and sober truth; while it derives its primary interest, not from its own representations, but from the truth which it was intended to exhibit.

With all these allowances, however, the general introduction of fiction into the cause of truth, is, as Miss Graham observes, of very doubtful benefit; or, even admitting the prospect of usefulness to be more determinate, it has proceeded very far beyond the necessity of the case. Minds formed for effective usefulness need to be conversant with the solidity of truth, not with the visionary atmosphere of fiction; while the indulgence of this artificial character fosters a baneful spirit of excitement; generates a distaste for well-regulated studies; creates a taste for moral reading of a more detrimental character; weakens the habits of self-controul, so essential to the strengthening of the intellectual and moral principles; and brings a habit of sentimentalism into the religious profession, in the stead of simple and practical spirituality.

The most effectual remedy against this existing and unfruitful indulgence, is to fill up the time with those solid pursuits which leave no room, while they mortify the taste, for works of doubtful utility; and to bring our intellectual recreations to the test of the Scriptural rule, which Miss Graham on a former occasion so justly inculcated, for the proof of the legitimacy of our principles and enjoyments: "Whether ye eat, or drink, *or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.*"

We conclude this selection from Miss Graham's writings and correspondence, with an abstract of 'Letters on the Duties of a Governess,' a series of which she had contemplated for the use of her young cousin, then looking forward to this important and most responsible situation. She commenced her plan during her last illness, and with great difficulty wrote two letters in pencil from her dying bed. Though too incomplete in thought and style for publication, yet her manuscript will afford some interesting illustration of Christian principle, and many valuable suggestions of general instruction for the use of those young persons, who are now filling, or who are prospectively anticipating, this interesting station in the domestic economy.

These letters appear to have been one of Miss Graham's last efforts for one, whose best interests formed one of her most tender ties to life. After commencing with the most affectionate expression of her deep-toned anxiety for her, she thus proceeds to remind her of her Christian responsibility.

'The great wish of my heart for you,' she writes, 'is, not that you may be a very learned or accomplished governess, (though these are highly valuable considerations in their place,) but, that, possessing as large a measure of these things as your means and abilities will allow, *you may be truly and decidedly a Christian governess.* For, oh! my dearest ——, *your's is a charge of souls.* The spiritual welfare of your pupils is subordinately committed to your care; and at your hands will the neglect of this solemn trust be required.'

In this first preparatory letter she is chiefly occupied in inculcating upon her cousin the Christian principle of faith in Christ, in all its detailed application to the circumstances, trials, and encouragements of the situation of a governess.

'I can only offer my advice to you as a Christian. I know but of two states to which children can be brought up; for heaven or for hell; for time or for eternity. I am departing out of time; and knowing that for you and them too, time soon shall be no more, I dare not go upon any system but one fitting for souls born for immortality. Every word then that I write, must be on the supposition, that the glory of God, and the eternal happiness of your pupils, are your first aim; and that every other object, however praiseworthy in itself, is only secondary and subservient to this one grand object of a Christian teacher's existence.

'I exhort you to enter upon the new and arduous duties of your situation, "*looking to Jesus.*" Remember that he is "the author and finisher of your faith;" that you cannot stir one step without his aid; and the moment you begin to look off from him to any other object, that moment will your steps begin to slide. Fix your eyes then steadily upon him. "As the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so let your eyes be upon the Lord your God," in all times, in all places, and in all circumstances.

'And first, I earnestly recommend you to "*look unto Jesus,*" *in your choice of a situation.* Pray constantly for Divine assistance and direction on this most important subject. This implies that you intend to seek for a situation among God's people; for I suppose you will hardly ask God to give you any other. You may deem it unlikely that you should obtain a situation in so limited a sphere. But your dying friend would remind you: "The God, who has led me all my life long," never forsook me upon any occasion, when I put my trust in him. The word of truth assures you, that "He has never forsaken *any*, who put their trust in him." Nor will he forsake you, if you commit your way to him on this important occasion. From Abraham's time until now, the Christian's motto has ever been: "The Lord will provide." Only "rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him; fret not thyself in any wise to do evil. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths." I charge it upon you, beloved ——, as my dying, earnest wish, that you take every proper means to obtain a situation among decided Christians; and that, *as far as it may be in your power,* (for I know that it may not be always possible for you to direct your own conduct,) you join yourself to those who "are not of the world," *and to no others.* An established Christian might go in faith under the clear guidance of providence, into a worldly or irreligious family; and (if the parent would allow of her interference) she might be made a blessing to the whole family. But such a step, *wilfully taken*, would be a serious, perhaps a fatal, injury to an undecided Christian. In a vast multitude of cases, the natural consequence of *choosing* a lot among the children of this world has been, that indecision in religion has become indifference; indifference has terminated in aversion; and the wretched professor has shown herself openly on the side of the world, tormented with the sting of her former convictions, and vainly contrasting her worldly mirth with "the voice of rejoicing and salvation," which she had heard "in the tabernacles of the righteous."

'On the other hand, a situation in a truly Christian family will cover you from many worldly temptations, and afford you many important opportunities of marking the beauty and happiness of religion. Under a kind Christian mother, you may be directed and encouraged in extensive usefulness to your pupils, while at the same time you are receiving valuable advantages for your own mind. Under all circumstances, be assured that you will find the blessing of taking this first great step of your life—"looking unto Jesus."

'"Look unto Jesus" also for strength to perform the duties of your situation. These you will find to be many and arduous, such as in your own strength you can never rightly perform. The more correct and enlarged your view of those duties, the more readily you will sink under them, unless you can "be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." But remember you "can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth you." His "grace is sufficient for you;" and his encouragement is—"Ask, and it shall be given you." Let a sense of your continual need stir you up constantly to apply to him for his aid, not only in your spiritual duties, but in your teaching, in your studies, in the very least and meanest of your employments. Thus "out of weakness you will be made strong." You will not soon "be weary in well-doing; for they that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength."

'Look to him for counsel in the difficulties of your situation. Remember that he is not only your strength, but your "wisdom." When your path is so intricate and perplexed, that you know not which way to turn, then ask the Lord to "lead you in a plain path," to "order your steps in his word." In every little as well as in every great perplexity, follow David's rule to "inquire of the Lord." The advice of friends is ever to be sought and valued; but that of the kindest and wisest may sometimes be insufficient or erroneous, or given in a harsh injudicious manner. But the Lord giveth not only advice, but "wisdom, liberally and without upbraiding."

'"Look unto Jesus" for comfort and encouragement in the trials and disappointments of your situation. The life of a governess is peculiarly subject to *little daily crosses and vexations.* These, as well as greater ones, are to be borne, by laying them upon Jesus. No burden is too great or too little to be cast upon the Lord. A cheerful looking unto Jesus, an assurance that he ever loveth and ever careth for us, will bear us through many petty annoyances, which sometimes wear health and spirits much more than real and great grievances.

'Lastly, "*Look unto Jesus*" *for a certain reward* upon your labour. You have a promise—"Train up a child in the way he should go, and, when he is old, he will not depart from it." Ask for patient earnest faith, to plead this promise importunately, incessantly with him. "All the promises of God are yea and amen to us in Christ Jesus;" and while we pray for, we ought to expect their fulfilment. "He is faithful that promised." The great Sower will assuredly watch over the seed that is sown in faith, and will bring it to perfection. You may labour day after day for the souls of the children under your care, and yet see them as careless and unconcerned as ever; but look steadily unto Jesus; tarry contentedly the Lord's leisure; "for in due time you shall reap, if you faint not."'

In her second letter she enters into a detail of some of the pleasures and discomforts of the life of a governess. Under the former head she remarks:—

'The life of a governess, however dull and monotonous it may sometimes be thought, has many pleasures of a very refined and superior nature. Among the first of these I reckon the *usefulness and importance of the task in which she is daily engaged.* Compare the recollections of a day spent to some valuable purpose, with the reflections which follow one that has been frittered away in trifling and vanity, or absorbed in selfish gratifications; and you will see at once, if you know it not already, how great the pleasure of usefulness must be to every rational thinking being. But to the Christian, this is not only pleasing but necessary. It is his pleasure and delight to lay himself out for the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. For this he is content to "wait all the days of his appointed time;" and much as he longs for the pleasures that are prepared for him above; yet if his abiding in the flesh be needful for the sake of one living being, he would not "depart," even "to be with Christ." I know of no employment in which a Christian woman can be more profitably engaged, than in watching over the spiritual and mental improvement of children. The young beings entrusted to her care may form the comfort and delight of parents, brethren, husband, friends, children. They may grow up to be happy in themselves, and blessings to society. Above all, they may be so many "jewels" added to the Redeemer's crown, and may themselves "turn many souls unto righteousness." To be the instrument, (under God,) of the smallest particle of this good, must be inexpressible delight.

'Nothing invigorates our progress so much as encouraging prospects of success. This is the undoubted privilege of a teacher of youth. Not to speak of those promises of God, mentioned in my last letter, and which of themselves suffice to make us "against hope to believe in hope;" the human probabilities of moral and intellectual improvement, from which God permits us to draw encouragement, are most enlivening. To reform the manners, to eradicate the prejudices, to correct the tempers, of those whom age has matured, and set as it were in the form which they must afterwards retain, is indeed a most difficult task. But with the young, where we have to form instead of to reform, to prevent rather than to eradicate: patient instruction, and unremitting watchfulness will in ordinary cases succeed to a very considerable degree. And though divine grace only can subdue their evil tempers and dispositions, human means may do much towards retraining that outward violence, which so often makes young people not only wretched in themselves, but an occasion of sorrow to all connected with them. The same advantage is connected with Christian grace and improvement. The minister preaches with holy earnestness to his adult congregation: but it is to the young of his flock, not yet hardened in sin or in worldly habits, that he turns with peculiar hope and encouragement. To this comparatively tender and unoccupied soil, he consigns the seed, in the cheerful confidence that it will spring up, and bring forth fruit to perfection. These are the hopeful beings with whom you will have to deal; and as youth is the season of hope and expectation, so is your task peculiarly one of hope and glad anticipations.

In the attachment of her pupils, a kind governess finds another perpetual source of pleasure. This you are almost sure to obtain by a habit of considerate and affectionate intercourse with them, especially if they come under your care at an early age. It is delightful te be beloved by those, whom we have thus bound to us by the cords of gratitude and love. For the justness and clearness of most of their notions; for their ability to discern what is good, and to enjoy what is delightful and intellectual; for all their knowledge and many of their pleasures, your pupils will probably (if you conduct yourself according to my hopes) be indebted to you. They will scarcely ever fail to manifest warm attachment to one, who has so many claims on their gratitude. They must love their faithful adviser, their kind and intelligent teacher, their cheerful entertaining companion, and their affectionate and sympathizing friend.

The improvement of your own mind is also a source of inexpressible delight. A conscientious governess will be perpetually and delightfully improving herself. While explaining subjects to her pupils, her own views become clearer; while she is teaching them facts or words, her own recollection of them is refreshed and strengthened. The arrangement of her knowledge for the use of her pupils is of the highest advantage to herself. She must learn to think clearly, that she may be able to express her meaning clearly to her young and ignorant auditors; and if her own acquaintance with the subject be obscure, imperfect, or superficial, the attempt to teach will soon discover it to her, and compel her to correct it. Thus her previously acquired knowledge will be more solid and permanent, while she will be continually adding to its store. Often she may not be able readily to answer her pupils' questions. Further researches therefore on her part are necessary; and thus the demands of her teaching stimulate to perpetual increase of her attainments.

I mention one more privilege connected with the life of a governess. Next to the improvement of her own mind, and indeed *because* of the improvement that it yields to her own mind, is the pleasure of gaining an insight into the minds of others, into the human mind in general. In cultivating a flower garden there are few pleasures equal to that of watching the tender buds, as they unfold one by one their beauteous petals. How delightful is it to admire the wisdom of God, who teaches them to peep in due season from their mantle of green; bids the sun to clothe them in all the colours of the rainbow; and endues them with shapes so varied and so perfect, that the little flower has been the joy and solace of man's breast in every age! But what is this to the pleasure of watching the mind of a little child, as those faculties which lay wrapped within its tiny folds, begin gradually to expand, each in its order; every day witnessing the drawing forth of some new idea, or the unfolding of some latent power? And at a later age to watch those powers and faculties, as they daily improve and strengthen: to see the unformed and untaught child, grow up before your eyes into the graceful, refined, and intellectual woman; to mark every step by which it is effected, and to be yourself employed as an instrument in effecting it; all this is a source of such continual and ever varying delight, that to my mind it amply compensates for the tediousness and fatigue of teaching. And then there is the pleasure of watching, not only different faculties, but different minds; of comparing their several degrees of development, and the peculiar combination of faculties, which constitutes the formation of each peculiar turn of mental temperament. You may probably find among your pupils many instances of this endless variety; the more quick and ready mind; the lively and imaginative; the clear and decided; the solid and steady; the strong, the deep, the energetic, the inquiring, the contemplative. You will find that each of these will develop itself in a peculiar manner, and put forth their several powers and faculties with different degrees of vigour and perfection. As an intelligent gardener, in order that his different flowers may open and expand to perfection, exposes them to every degree of air and heat, and treats them with every variety of soil; so will you find the most varied modes of treatment necessary in assisting the development of your mental blossoms, and in contending with the defects peculiar to each. These will be gradually suggested to you by experience; and will assist you much in combating the defects in your own mind, which the course of your teaching in a watchful habit of self-inspection will bring before you. And as the child is but the copy of the man, you will thus be better enabled to discern the intellectual beauties and defects of those with whom you converse. The dull prosy cease to be wearisome, while we are busily employed in inquiring into the causes of their imperfections, how they might have been, or might still be corrected.

'The advantages you will gain in watching the tempers and dispositions of your pupils will be yet more valuable and important. This, however, is a less pleasing task. The fall of man, though it has made shipwreck of every mental faculty, has still left the wreck as it were, the sadly obscured and mutilated remains of what was once so noble and beautiful. But our tempers and dispositions it has totally perverted. To study the varieties of the natural heart, is but to study selfishness and pride, in all the various forms of virtue and vice, which they have assumed for the delusion and destruction of mankind. Yet, the high importance of this study, with the word of God for our guide, will fully compensate for its painful disappointments. If God gives me life and strength, I shall again have occasion to touch on these points; I will, therefore, leave them now, and proceed to some of the disadvantages connected with a governess' situation;—not to discourage you, but to prepare you, if I can, in some cases to avoid, in others to meet them cheerfully.'

Her exhibition of the discomforts of the life of a governess shows much good sense and knowledge of character in the true spirit of Christian sympathy. The most delightful characteristic, however, is the habitual bent of her mind, ever turning, like the magnetic needle, to the point of attraction. Thus, in the first inconvenience that she mentions, the separation of the governess from her own domestic circle—she naturally draws out an application, which seems to say with the church of old—"Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?" 'The grievance' as she justly observes, 'is often lighter than is anticipated. Strangers cannot live long in the same house without ceasing to be strangers; and where there is a due proportion of encouraging kindness on the one hand, and of respectful confidence on the other; friendship will soon take place of strangeness and reserve. This is particularly the case, where both parties are sincere Christians. The love of their common Lord begets such feelings of union and sympathy between them, that the hand of fellowship is soon held forth and accepted, as if they had long known and loved each other. They know so much about each other, of which the rest of the world is ignorant; they feel themselves so much of "strangers and pilgrims upon earth," that they cannot but rejoice at meeting with a fellow-sojourner, who, like themselves, "has no continuing city, but seeks that better country," to which their own steps are directed. Added to this general feeling amongst the Lord's people, the Christian mother may surely be expected to receive with peculiar interest and affection, the young person, whom she has engaged to assist her in bringing up for God those dear objects of her love, for whose temporal and spiritual welfare she cries unto him night and day. Even should you fail of obtaining this privilege; should your employers be ever so cold and distant; still the affections of your pupils conciliated to you by affectionate and judicious treatment, will be objects of incessant interest to fill up the void in your heart, in the consciousness of loving and being beloved. And I think that a teacher of youth thus blessed and encouraged will seldom be inclined to reckon her condition very desolate or forlorn. But even should this comfort be denied you (a misfortune I hope and trust very unlikely to happen in your case), I have to remind you of another source of consolation, which can never fail or disappoint you. If you now give yourself to Jesus, you can never be wholly amongst strangers; for your best, dearest friend—one who is "born for adversity, who sticketh closer than a brother"—is with you, yea, and has promised to be "with you to the end of the world." And oh! what a friend and comforter is Jesus! How abundant in loving-kindness! How tender in sympathy! How rich in counsel! How "meek and lowly in reproof! How wise to direct! How mighty to help! How slow to anger! How ready to forgive! What a faithful, unfailing, promise-keeping friend!'

Against 'the feeling of afflictive solitariness,' a measure of which under the most favourable circumstances must belong to absence from the happy family circle—she suggests the following alleviating considerations. The Christian turn which she gives to the first suggestion is exquisitely beautiful:

'*Think first*, what a common privation it is. Almost every family disperses, as the younger part arrive at maturity. One son perhaps remains at home to support his father's declining years, and to fill his place when he shall be no more. The others betake themselves to distant parts, and are often content to look forward to a reunion in ten, twenty, or thirty years. The daughters probably marry, and accompany their husbands to remote situations, from whence they return once in a few months or years, to visit the still dear party at home. This you will say is an unfair comparison. For the happy young wife goes with her husband, who is more to her than all the friends of home; and she is soon settled in a new home; and surrounded by a family and friends still dearer to her than those she has left. True, my dear——; and this is what I wish you to bear upon your mind in every trial you may have to encounter. The happy wife misses not the home of her youth; because, wherever she goes, she carries with her, that which is better to her than home; and her pleasures now are superior to those she has relinquished. And thus the devoted Christian; whether married or unmarried, has with her wherever she goes, the cheering presence of one, who is far dearer to her than husband, parents, brothers, sisters, or friends. She has made her home in the bosom of her God and Saviour. Thither she flies for sympathy and direction. In that kind bosom she can pour forth her joys and sorrows, far better than to the tenderest relatives or friends. She has nothing "in heaven besides her God, nor on earth any she desires in comparison of him." She must feel as a stranger even in her own home, if it be composed of such as know not the name of Jesus; and wherever that beloved name is known and esteemed, there she is happy and at home. Go where she will, she cannot journey to the place where God is not; go where she will, she is still drawing near to that home, on which her thoughts and affections are fixed.'

Another ground of alleviation it very pointedly and sensibly set forth.

'This painful separation from home, is in reality (under present circumstances) the best and happiest thing for you. Were two situations equally eligible to present themselves, and were I asked to assist you in your choice, assuredly the one near home would not be the object of my preference. A continual recurrence to the comforts and liberty of home, makes every little restraint and discomfort of a situation doubly irksome and annoying. The poor governess, who has the misnamed privilege of perpetual access to her home, returns from it in no very favourable mood to a place, where she cannot (at least at first) be loved, caressed, and appreciated, as amongst her own friends. It is but too natural, that she should consider every little departure from the unlimited and perhaps injudicious indulgence which she has just experienced, as an actual deviation from the law of kindness and equity; that she should magnify every real or fancied slight into contempt, every expression of disapproval into a harsh reproof, and every degree of strictness in requirement, into an unreasonable exaction. Soon the very nearness of her home tempts her steps thither again. There the well-filled budget of petty trials and vexations, which few young person have the wisdom to conceal within their own bosoms, or to tell to none but God, is emptied out before partial relatives, who hear but one side of the story, and are too apt to take it for granted, that there is no other way of telling it. They cannot refuse to sympathize and console; and while they are wondering that such an attention was omitted, such a fault found, or such a duty exacted, they little suspect themselves to be the cause of the forlorn and disconsolate state of their dear relation. Nor does the evil end here. Her mind, divided between her pupils and home, cannot fully and affectionately employ all its energies in the service of the former. Too often will her absent looks and languid attention betray the fact so injurious for pupils to discover, that her mind can wander as well as theirs; and that their improvement and entertainment are objects which soon slide out of her thoughts, when occupied by subjects of more pleasant contemplation.

Nor have I yet made the obvious remark, that the time lost in these frequent visits, however short, must deprive her of many opportunities of private improvement; and thus prove in the end extremely detrimental both to herself and her younger charge. From these considerations, a moderate distance from home is far preferable, from whence at stated and proper intervals you are permitted to revisit your friends. And I think that such reflections as these might enable us to bear the discomforts even of a long separation from home, not merely with patience, but with thankfulness.

'I cannot quit this subject without strongly cautioning you, not too hastily to accuse the parents of your pupils of being unkind or unreasonable, because they are not willing to grant you leave of absence whenever you think fit to ask it. They, perhaps, with more justice, may think the unreasonableness to be all on your side. It is both right and natural that they should anxiously desire the improvement of their children in every branch of instruction, to which their attention has been directed; and they know that this is only to be attained by a steady course of persevering application. They know that every interruption to this course must have a pernicious effect, by weakening habits newly formed, and permitting old and bad habits to revive; by unsettling the mind in all its pursuits, and blotting out much of what has been already learned. If, therefore, they oppose your absence, it is because they value your services too much, to part with them lightly, or without sufficient cause. There are few cases in which you ought not to submit to their decision. But the best way to prevent any future misunderstanding or disappointment, is to make some arrangement before you enter upon your situation.'

The frequent change of situation, or the liability to this change, is well pointed out as a serious evil attending the life of a governess.

'Her duties'—it is observed—'are becoming easy and delightful to her; she is beginning to rejoice in the growing attachment of her pupils; she feels that she can look round on their little faces with a degree of maternal affection; when some unexpected cause induces or compels her to relinquish her situation. She has long been employed in clearing away the rubbish: in laying the foundation; and in collecting and arranging the materials of her intended superstructure, which was beginning to rise with a daily increasing order and symmetry. This state of things might probably appear rude and unfinished to the eye of others, but it was full of hope and interest to her, who had been watching its progress from day to day, and confidently awaiting the happy, though distant, completion of her labours. Her work must now pass into the hands of another, who neither witnessed its commencement, nor can be aware of many important points connected with its progress. The new teacher, however, succeeds to all the benefits of that preparatory drudgery, with which her predecessor had hoped to pave the way for her own future exertions. It seldom happens, that the children are not seriously injured by this change of system. The very act of changing has a tendency to unsettle the mind. The new comer's manners, her new modes of expression, and new system of teaching, must render her at first less intelligible to them, than the familiar voice to which they have been accustomed; and till this disadvantage is conquered, her services must prove less effective. Besides, too often the new governess, confident of the superiority of her own methods of instruction, hastily puts aside the rules and arrangements of her predecessor—not because they are not good—but as if they could not be good, because they were not her own. Then the children also are discouraged and thrown back in many of their studies, that they may be grounded in them on the new system. Perhaps ere long another change is determined—a new teacher comes—and the best methods are displaced by others that are newer and better still. The result of this broken and interrupted education will be a sort of clumsy patchwork, made up of a medley of fine and coarse materials, ill-contrived, ill-assorted, and loosely put together. These are some of the real injuries inflicted on children by the frequent change of demestic administration.

'My chief concern, however, is with the governess. In addition to these mortifying circumstances, she is again thrown upon the world. She must once more take up her abode amongst strangers: her pupils are again unfamiliar to her; she must study their tempers; conciliate their affections; examine and arrange their present acquirements: in short, she must encounter anew every former difficulty. And when all this is effected, and things begin to glide smoothly on, another change, another loss of time and labour may yet be in prospect for her. The web may be again unravelled; the stone, that had been heaved half-way up the mountain, may roll down again to its very foot. I have dwelt strongly on the evils resulting from a frequent change of situation—not by way of discouragement, but of warning. I am persuaded that in a large majority of cases, young people might and would retain their engagement in one family much longer than they do, if only they would calmly sit down, and count the serious cost both to themselves and to their pupils (to which I have alluded) in relinquishing it.'

It would be difficult in all cases to determine what might be deemed a sufficient reason for relinquishing a situation. A few decidedly insufficient motives are accurately specified.

'I need scarcely suggest, that a trifling increase of salary would be an insufficient reason for quitting a tolerably comfortable situation. Circumstances, such as some urgent family call upon your assistance, might indeed render a change not only excusable but praiseworthy. But without an imperative call, it will be equally your interest and happiness to retain your station. I consider the governess, who will abandon her young charge for the mere sake of a little paltry emolument, much in the same light with the minister, who will leave his larger flock, for the same base motive of "filthy lucre," without any clear providential call. This abandonment of present and certain usefulness for the sake of something new and uncertain, whether dictated by the love of gain, or the love of novelty, is not only sinful but imprudent. You are now more or less comfortably settled. You know not how many discomforts may await you in a new situation. You leave those, who probably are becoming attached to you, for those who at present neither know nor care any thing about you. This is not the way to lay up friends against the time of sickness, distress, or age. The plain path of duty is always the path of prudence. Here only can you expect the "blessing of the Lord, which maketh rich; *and he addeth no sorrow to it.*" When however any tempting offer occurs, the love of gain so common to all, the love of novelty so inherent in young minds, and the persuasions of older sordid friends, are too likely to prevail with a young person, who is not enabled to hold fast her integrity, by working with a single eye to the service of Christ.

'Nor do I think, that any trifling inconvenience should induce you to relinquish an engagement, which holds out to you a fair prospect of usefulness. Every situation has its trials and privations; and it is better, if possible, to put up with those which already fall to your share, than to run the risk of incurring others which may be worse. Besides, these petty hardships are always most severely felt at first. After a time they wear off, and at length cease to occasion any considerable uneasiness. When the temper of either parents or children is a trial to you; when the parents, through pride, avarice, or inconsideration, fail in a proper attention to your comforts; when the extreme retirement or excessive bustle of your situation makes it very unpleasant to you, &c.—in these, and many other similar cases, I should advise you to make as light of the evil as you can, and to bear with it as long as it can possibly be borne with.

'Again—*let not any sudden fit of despondency induce you to give up your situation.* There are few teachers who cannot recollect a time when every thing seemed to go wrong with them—'No children ever repaid the trouble bestowed on them so little; no situation ever possessed so few advantages; no parents were ever so exacting and dissatisfied. In any other family they should succeed better; here they can neither do justice to their pupils nor to themselves.' Such feelings, which may be expected to arise in times of difficulty and discouragement, mark something very wrong in your own heart, that casts a shade upon all the objects around you: something that needs, not the indulgent experiment of change of situation, but a special course of self-examination, watchfulness, and prayer, to restore a healthful tone of energy, cheerfulness, and satisfaction to your mind.

'I need scarcely observe, that *no offence, real or fancied,* except *the former* be of a very clear and aggravated character, *could justify you in quitting a family* in which you may have probably received much kindness, and may receive much more. A governess must expect to be told of her faults, and ought to be thankful for such information as may lead to their correction. Christians indeed too often perform the difficult office of reproof in a very harsh and grating manner; forgetting that the reproof of "the righteous should be like excellent oil," not to "break," but to heal, the wounded spirit. Yet the harshness, with which a censure may be given, forms no excuse for a defect of Christian meekness and love in receiving it. "Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry;" but remember that "a soft answer turneth away wrath." Indulge not that sensitive temper, which is always looking out for some ground of offence, over which it can brood, till it bursts out into open discontent; which bristles up at every light and unguarded expression, and is always on the defensive, even when no intentional slight could have been conceived. You will never long retain a situation without a forbearing spirit in respect to many little things, which are grating to a proud and self-conceited temper. Good sense and experience *will indeed help to depress this baneful temper.* For we can scarcely so far shut our eyes to the passing world around us, as to fail in discovering, that the good opinion we may have formed of ourselves is ill-warranted by the general estimation in which we are held; that we must expect our full share of inconvenience and neglect. *But true Christian humility can alone conquer the evil,* by "bringing into captivity every high thought to the obedience of Christ." The spirit and temper of which we have been speaking is ever ready to take fire at the least provocation, or even without provocation. It exacts not only due respect, but much more than, if it knew itself, it would find to be its due. It can bear with nothing; it can endure nothing. But do you follow after that "charity which suffereth long and is kind; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; *seeketh not her own;* is not easily provoked; beareth all things."

'To sum up what I have said in a few words—when you have taken up your abode in a family, and have fairly sat down to the performance of your duties, remember that you are in the station to which God in his providence has called you; and that nothing but a clear and explicit call of duty or necessity can justify you in quitting it.

'The causes that might induce your employers to dissolve the engagement (in which case you can have no alternative) very materially depend upon yourself. *Under any ground, just or unjust, of their dissatisfaction with you,* endeavour in a spirit of prayer to sift every part of your conduct, and particularly the part censured, to the very bottom. Put yourself in their place. Make every allowance for the feelings of an anxious parent; and consider what might fairly be expected from you, and how far you have answered those expectations. Under any error discovered, be not ashamed to confess your fault with all candour and humility, and (in a higher strength than your own) to promise amendment. To retain your situation by this "voluntary humility" will be truly honourable in the eyes of Christians, who know that "he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." But supposing that, after sincere self-examination, you cannot acknowledge the justice of the censure, still, as a Christian, strive to conciliate. Do not get warm or angry in your own justification; mildly profess your freedom from any intentional offence or omission; and declare your readiness to redouble your efforts to give satisfaction.

'*Should incompetency be alleged against you,* I should advise you, rather than give up your engagement in despair or in offence, to endeavour by redoubled diligence and application, especially in the particular ground of complaint, to redeem and establish your character. Christian gentleness and humility to explain and conciliate, and a willingness to correct errors, and to supply omission, will in many cases restore satisfaction and confidence in the minds of your employers.

'Should however—not any fault or caprice on either side—but some *unavoidable domestic necessity,* dissolve the connection, in this case many mitigating circumstances will present themselves to your mind. In the first place—"*It is the Lord;*" and not one of his appointments or disappointments is without some wise and gracious purpose. In the next place—all painful feeling of responsibility for any evil that may result from the change, is entirely removed. And thus supported by a sense of God's blessing, and a clear conscience, you may look cheerfully forward to your new destination, hoping to gain new friends without losing the old.'

The writer has been induced to quote so largely from these letters, because he is not aware of any work, that enters into the detail of the principles, characteristics, and sympathies of the life of a governess. Had Miss Graham been permitted to complete her design, her accurate and observant mind would probably have produced a valuable manual for this interesting and important class of society. In the defect however of an entire system of instruction, the preceding hints will be found to suggest much sensible instruction nearly connected with their comfort and usefulness.

An even balance must, indeed, be preserved in the adjustment of this important part of domestic economy. If th generality of instructors are too flimsily furnished for thei great task, perhaps it may be also said, that the generality o their employers are too niggardly. Though Miss Graham rightly inculcates upon her young governess not to consider stipend a primary matter, yet it is a part of Christian obligation to elevate her in a high rank above the menials of the house, and to consider the claims of aged parents or poor relations that often inconveniently press upon her. The same inconsiderate selfishness, and formal pride on the part of the parents, materially hinder the defective usefulness of the family instructors. It fosters in them a discontented spirit in the contrast with the tender sympathies of their own home. Their insulated station in the family throws them in irksome solitude upon their own resources; contracts their social affections; and paralyses that affectionate interest in their charge, which is the soul and energy of a fruitful system of instruction. Whereas a considerate tenderness would return to the parents an abundant recompense, in raising up for their children valuable friends in the persons of their instructors—attached to their interests beyond the prospects of sordid gain—wise, anxious, and sympathizing counsellors to the end of life.

On the other hand, the disposition in the employers to incorporate the instructor, as far as is consistent with her station, into the family circle, is too often restrained by hindrances, over which they have no controul—even where a well-furnished mind, and general consistency of conduct would have made her society an important consideration. Yet a want of knowledge or respect for the regulations of decorum—defect of manners—forgetfulness of the due reserve connected with her situation—pedantic tone of conversation—vanity of dress—self-importance—a disputatious spirit—a love of authority—affectation, or studied eccentricity of behaviour—these or some other failure in the domestic graces—repel the exercise of kindly confidence, and produce a natural, and in some degree a necessary, distance in the deportment of the parents.

Let each side form their mutual behaviour upon Scriptural rules. Let the one practise the injunction of love—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Let the other "be clothed with humility," and be found in the daily observance of "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." Thus Christian regard and happiness will be reciprocally diffused, without any compromise of their several obligations.

CHAPTER V.

Different views and features in Miss Graham's character.

The retired and uniform habits of Miss Graham's life scarcely allow of a detailed illustration of her natural character. That singular freedom from selfishness, remarked in her early history, appears to have been, by the common consent of all her intelligent friends, a most prominent feature throughout life. One of her young companions, whose subsequent opportunities of observation give weight to her testimony, thus confirms the general remark on this point.—'The situation which I have filled for some years (in tuition) has of course brought under my notice the various dispositions and peculiar tempers of children in general. From necessity, partly, I have studied them. But I have never met with one, who in any degree answered my recollections of Mary Graham. Warm and susceptible in her affections, she was tender to those of others; nor did she ever suffer any regret or disappointment in her own mind to interfere with the comfort or pleasure of her companions.' The testimony of her young cousin is to the same purport. 'I never saw any one so devoid of selfishness, or who took so warm an interest in the happiness of her fellow-creatures. There was not one of my amusements or childish sorrows in which she would not take her share. As I grew up, her kindness in this respect increased.' This lovely trait was combined with a sweetness and gentleness of disposition, and, being moulded under the influence of Divine grace, attracted the regard even of the thoughtless and unobservant. Indeed her young friend first alluded to does not hesitate to assert—'My earliest remembrance of her is connected with feelings of respect, which, I think I may say, I have scarcely felt in a stronger degree for any one I have since known.'

We have already given her parents' account *of her relative character* under their own roof. In its wider sphere of operation it may however be added, that her natural affection was enlarged in no common degree to all that belonged to her, and manifested in the most important and practical mode of constant prayer and effort for the salvation of their souls. She sometimes spent a great part of the night in earnest and persevering intercession; and on one occasion was known, after she had retired to rest, to arise from her bed to employ herself in special prayer, in behalf of her only brother who died in America about this time, and for whom she never ceased to cherish the hope, that her prayers were heard with acceptance.

The following letter full enforces the claims of natural affection upon the basis of the high principles of the gospel. In quickening her friend to a self-denying effort in this path of duty, she writes—

Stoke, Jan. 2, 1827.

'My dear ——, "freely we have received, freely let us give." If it does take up half-a-day once or twice a month to go to ——, surely God, who gave all your days, has a right to expect you should spend them in whatever service he will put upon you; and by making these individuals your near relations, he has given thema claim upon you. Jesus made himself as our brother, that sucked the breasts of our mother, on purpose to give us an everlasting claim to all that he can do for us; and surely those whom he has given us as near relations, have for his sake, a claim upon all that we can do for them. The more unpleasant the task, the more contrary to flesh and blood, the more reason we have to hope that we are not following our own fancy, nor working to please ourselves, but really following the example of Jesus, who, "came not to do his own will." At the same time, if after prayer, you really do not feel called upon to do something for them, and that speedily and perseveringly; and if you do not think you are guilty of great unfaithfulness, and selfishness in neglecting it, I will not mention the subject again to you; for I am persuaded you will be taught of God, and faith will be given you, if the Lord intends to make use of you to do them good. My great desire is that, we may be always faithful to one another, "provoking one another to good works."

In another letter to the same correspondent, she throws out a valuable hint of encouragement relative to a difficulty, which is often painfully felt in this course of obligation.

'I often think, dear ——, that if we could feel and carry in our memory those encouraging words of our Saviour, "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you,"—we should no longer suffer false shame to hinder us from earnestly pressing the subject of the gospel upon those who are dear to us. May not we, as well as the Inspired Apostles, hope for the indwelling guidance of that Spirit, who shall strengthen us in all utterance and in knowledge?'

One main feature of her *intellectual character* was the ardour, steadiness, and concentration of mind, with which she pursued every object of interest. This indeed distinguished her earliest and most unbended habits. Her youthful games were marked with the same intensity of feeling which she subsequently applied to her more important objects. She engaged in games of imagination, as one of her companions remarks, with all the earnestness of reality, and acted a fictitious character with an expression, that proved her to be totally absorbed in it. Thus it was with reading or with work. No efforts or entreaties could avail to divert her mind from the object which was then engaging her attention to any other employment or recreation. In the occupations of after-life, whether it was music, the languages, mathematics, or chemistry, it was still the same warmth and fixedness of mind. The early dawn not unfrequently found her (after she had girded on her Christian armour) deeply engaged in her studies. The spirit and result of her investigations often entered into her common conversation, whenever she met with a kindred mind—not however in any display of pedantry, (than which nothing was more removed from her temper,) but in the natural flow of her spirits, and with a lively endeavour to communicate a reciprocal interest. The simplicity and elastic spring of her mind was also remarkably illustrated in her peculiar faculty of drawing out the mental resources of those with whom she conversed; so that, though they could not but be sensible of her great superiority, yet they appeared to themselves often to possess a greater strength of mind, and variety of conception, than they had before been conscious of. Perhaps however the completeness of her intellectual character appeared in the well-regulated application of her mental powers. To subjects of taste—such as music and poetry—she brought a glow of feeling, and of imagination, that quickens the pulse of her readers, and plays upon the passions with an irresistible charm. On the other hand, matters of a graver cast, such as the highly valuable discussions of her Mathematical Manuscript, are drawn out with the sober accuracy of a reflecting and discriminating judgment. The illustrations that have been given of her musical excitement might almost lead us to suppose that this was the atmosphere in which she lived, and that she could breathe in no other; yet was this fervid enthusiasm disciplined by the apprehension of the preponderance of this indulgent taste above more solid pursuits. Thus was her fine imagination furnished with a proportionate counterpoise in the master-principle of her ever active mind.

As to her Christian character—this highest style of man—that energy of feeling and industry of habit, which gave the impulse to her intellectual studies, no less strongly marked the temperament of her religion. Though she had a clear perception that the blessing she sought was a free gift, yet she expected the attainment of it, like that of every important object of pursuit, only in the constant use of the appointed means. She was therefore led to cherish the principles of her Christian profession, in a spirit of earnest and prayerful searching of the Scriptures and thus was she enabled to exhibit the graces of the gospel in lovely combination and practical exercise.

In giving, however, a detailed sketch of Miss Graham's spiritual character, we would premise, that it was marked by that variation of feeling, which is so often alluded to in her correspondence, and which, though common to all cases of Christian experience, her remarkable elevation of spirituality rendered more visible than in most other cases. The difference of her feelings was often discernible in her countenance. On some seasons it was irradiated with a peculiar expression of heavenly feature. She was manifestly filled with the love of God, and "out of the abundance of her heart her mouth would speak. At other times it was with difficulty that she could be induced to converse upon religious subjects; and she would turn from them to enter upon topics exclusively intellectual. But this view of her character cannot better be described than in the language of her most intimate and confidential friend.

'I did not notice any infirmity in her Christian character, except the one she herself often mentions—*inequality*. The difference in spiritual feeling was more visible in her than in any other Christians I have known. When in a state of warm feeling, she was more entirely engrossed by the subject than any one I ever met with. Nothing else could interest her. When her mind was less under the influence of heavenly things, the difference was obvious. I do not mean by her giving way to any sinful temper or feeling, but by her conversing with pleasure and interest upon merely earthly things. Nor do I think that at these times she sunk much, if at all, below the usual standard. Ordinarily she rose, I should think, above it.'

The general tone, however, of her habit, both contemplative and active, manifested the habitual operation of a high measure of Divine influence; while her occasional depressions seem not to have sunk her below the ordinary level, and were doubtless connected with those exercises of humiliation described in her correspondence, which will find their response in the hearts of many of her readers.

We now proceed to the chief object of this work, a detailed development of the most prominent features of Miss Graham's Christian character.

In a compassionate concern for the unconverted, she had deeply imbibed the spirit of her beloved Master. 'I see,' as she writes to a friend, 'more need than ever to pray, not only for the souls of others, but for a spirit of love to souls, and for a sense of their inestimable value.' She had diligently improved the opportunities of her health, in pleading with the careless and unbelieving, and in every exercise of tender anxiety on their behalf. In the chamber of pain and sickness, their awful condition intensely occupied her mind; and the long and "wearisome nights appointed" her, were often engaged in intercession for their souls.

'When first I visited her'—observed the dear brother who was the privileged attendant upon her sick bed—'hearing of a poor woman in a dangerous state, and unconcerned about her eternal interests, she eagerly inquired of me respecting her soul, and begged me most earnestly to pray for her. She spoke with a peculiar interest, as if she felt what it was for a soul to be lost. Indeed her minister expresses himself to have been continually struck with her deep tone of anxiety on the state of the parish. If she heard of any that were awakened from a fearful state of stupidity and death, it was always with the most lively expression of delight. Often was she known to shed tears of joy upon any symptom of hope and encouragement respecting them that were brought before her. She felt the responsibility of every opportunity of addressing her fellow-sinners, whether rich or poor, upon the immensely momentous concerns of eternity; and when unable to seek after them, she longed to bring them into her sick room, within the reach of her solemn and affectionate exhortations; though a restless night was the expected consequence of this ardent excitement. It was her great desire to bring her whole family, all her friends and neighbours, to Christ and to heaven with her. Though suffering under excruciating pain, and her "soul breaking out with longing desires" for a sight of Christ in his glory: yet, when speaking of the perishing state of sinners, she would say—'Oh! I would gladly live a hundred years, if I might be the means of saving one soul.' Shortly before her death, when in a state of great exhaustion, she begged her minister to pray for an infidel, who had an opportunity of seeing her 'Test of Truth,' as it passed through the press—'Weak as the work is'—she said in her deep humility—'it may prove a blessing to his soul.'

A few extracts from her correspondence will afford striking illustration of the deep feeling of her Christian responsibility and love. The first letter relates to an unhappy female, who had been brought under her notice. Being unable personally to attend to her case, she thus warmly enforces it upon her friend, who was, jointly with herself, interested in it.

Dec. 18, 1827.

'My chief reason for writing to-day is, that this poor wretched girl dwells upon my mind. You make good reflections, but these very reflections ought to lead us to do something for her. She must be very young; and if we do not make an effort to save her from destruction, I think that we shall indeed have much to answer for. Her not belonging to us, ought to be no excuse for our not concerning ourselves about her. For does she not belong to the large family of lost sinners to which we once belonged? And may we not be the means of removing her thence, into the family of saved sinners, of which God's mercy has made us members? I cannot rest till something is tried. So young, and so brought up, what better could be expected from her? What should we have been under her disadvantages? I tremble even to think of it; and for very thankfulness we ought to leave nothing untried to save her. She has been also brought under our notice by a peculiar providence, which is, I think, a call to the work.'

To this wretched object of distress, she addressed a letter full of tender and awakening exhortations. To her great concern, however, this messenger of mercy never reached the hands of her for whom it was intended, and who was soon afterwards transported. Shortly afterwards she again stimulates her friend to this work of love, with the solemn impulse connected with the concerns of a never-dying soul.

Jan. 11, 1828.

'I beseech you to reflect, that on one hand this girl may be a subject of regret to you upon a bed of death. On the other hand, she may be to you a "crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus."'

The fervour that pervades the following letter, is deeply affecting.

March 18, 1828.

'But why should I say I have nothing to write about? I am really ashamed of the folly of the last sentence, and of the frivolous temper which dictated it. Yes, my dear friend, if we love the Lord Jesus, we have always a subject of the deepest interest—enough to employ our tongue and our pen, both morning, noon, and night. I would fain make him the subject of our communication here, as I trust he will be the theme of our songs and praises in heaven; and firmly believing, as I do, that there is neither praise nor lasting joy for those, who place their happiness in any thing short of loving him; can I do otherwise than tell you how very earnestly I wish, that you may be led by his grace to make him your all in all? May his Holy Spirit lead us, my dear M——; for in short, all are sinners, by nature as well as by practice, altogether alienated from God, to whom we can only be "made nigh by the blood of Jesus." Do not let us deceive ourselves in so important a subject. If we are walking in the same way with the world around us, we are not walking in the narrow way which leads to life; nor can we be the followers of that Saviour, "who gave himself for us, that He might deliver us from this evil world." There is a peace which the world knoweth not of, and a joy in which all its boasted pleasures are but vanity. This is the peace and the joy, which I would intreat you to seek after. But you will say to me—'Why do you recommend it? and why are you so uncharitable as to suppose I do not possess it already?' It is because I know what a great and entire change it requires in the whole heart and character. I am sensible, that such is the utter sinfulness of my own heart, that nothing but a Divine influence could have led me to see any thing in *Christ crucified* that was worth giving up all the world for. And may not the same Divine power snatch you as a brand from the burning, and lead you to the cross of Jesus for pardon and salvation? This is the hope that induces me to venture upon writing to you so freely; and the very affectionate interest I feel in every thing relating to you, must plead my excuse, if, when I speak of a thing on which your eternity depends, I speak in the strong language which my anxiety suggests to me.'

Some misconception of her correspondent gave rise to the next letter.

'Your letter occasioned me much pain, and—I will add—perplexity. I could not conceive from what part of mine you had discovered, that I thought holiness unnecessary to a Christian. My dear friend, I know (for God has said), that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord:" but I know (for God has said it too), that we cannot be holy of ourselves: "we are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves;" and, "without me"—saith Christ—"ye can do nothing." As this is not a matter of little importance, but one of life and death, let me most earnestly and affectionately entreat you to make it the subject of unceasing prayer. "If any man lack wisdom, *let him ask of God*, who giveth to all men liberally." "Ask, and ye shall have." The Scripture abounds with promises to those who make it the business of their lives to seek God. Allow me to mention one more, which always fills my mind with comfort and peace:—"Then shall ye call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me, and find me, *when ye shall search for me with all your heart.*" I have mentioned this way of prayer to you, because I believe we might write about these things for ever, without coming nearer to the truth. Prayer is the way of God's appointment; and I never knew any one *who really prayed earnestly and perseveringly* for Divine teaching, that was not brought at length heartily to subscribe to what are called evangelical doctrines. The Scriptures take away all hope of our understanding these things of ourselves, when they tell us, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him." Foolish indeed does the doctrine of the cross appear to the heart untaught by the Spirit of God; but let the heart be once taught to receive it, and it beholds in it, "the power and wisdom of God;" and a person thus taught will feel constrained to make it his great desire, endeavour, and prayer, that others may learn it too. Therefore if I could write volumes to you, the little word "pray" should be the burden of them all. By prayer I do not mean that cold thing, which worldly people call prayer; I mean such an effort, as a man dying with hunger, would use to beg for food; I mean begging as for one's life, being able to say as David did—"There is nothing in heaven, or in earth that I desire beside thee." Dear ———, I feel that I have spoken to you with great freedom and plainness; I cannot help it. If I saw a friend on the brink of a precipice, I would try to pull her away from it. I know that all who trust in any thing but Christ for pardon and salvation, are on the brink of eternal destruction; and can I rest, when any whom I love are in this state. I know, too, that unless God is pleased to bless what I have said, you will only think me a fool for my pains: but this is of little consequence. Before another letter can pass between us, one or both of us may have entered into eternity, when every man's foundation that he trusted in, will be tried; and it will be seen how miserably mistaken are those, who build upon the sand, upon their own imperfect righteousness: while those alone who build upon the Rock of Ages will be safe. May you be one of those! may you flee for refuge to Christ Jesus! trust him for every thing, follow him in every thing: take him alone for your guide and teacher, and cease to "lean unto your own understanding."'

The next letter contains a faithful and affectionate appeal made to a beloved relative under affliction. It cannot fail of interesting the reader, as a specimen of that natural affection, which we have before noticed under the constraining influence of the principles of the gospel.

Nov. 26, 1829.

'How very sorry your letter has made us! I can conceive nothing more heart-breaking than the situation you are now all in. I intreat you most earnestly, my dearest ——, to seek comfort in earnest prayer, for your dear afflicted ——, and to try by every means in your power to lead him to the same source of comfort. I know he cannot now bear to have much said to him; but a verse occasionally read to him, or a short and affectionate prayer offered up with him, might be blessed by our merciful God to his eternal good. I will endeavour to join my prayers with yours; if it should please God to lead him to the source of all peace, you may one day look back with joy upon this affliction. May it lead you all to flee more earnestly for refuge to the hope that is set before you! Tell my dear —— with my most affectionate love, that I beseech him to think of, and to pray over these words—"*Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*" Surely he may look upon this invitation as peculiarly addressed to himself. If ever there was one weary and heavy laden in mind and body, it is ——: O let me implore him to accept the offer, which infinite mercy holds out to him: let him cast his weary soul upon the love of Jesus; let him take all his sins and sorrows, and spread them at the feet of one who is *willing* to forgive, mighty to save, a *present* help in *every* time of trouble, to *every one, without exception*, who is willing to be forgiven, helped, saved, and abundantly comforted with the comfort which springs from his love, and which is, like himself, infinite and eternal.

'O my dear ——, with whom I have enjoyed so many happy hours, which will never fade from my memory; from whom I have received such repeated acts of kindness; and whom I love more as a parent than any other relation, suffer me to speak very earnestly to you; and take my words, I entreat you, as kindly and affectionately as they are meant. I cannot but long and pray, that you may "be comforted with the consolation wherewith I myself have been comforted of God." I have tried it, dearest ——; and I have tried the comfort which the world has to give; and I have found the one deep, and satisfactory, and lasting; and the other vain, and empty, and transitory. You are, as I am, a sinner, a miserable sinner; and, unless you flee to Jesus for refuge, you cannot escape the wrath of God, which is revealed against all sin. You have lived in the neglect of these things, and have cared too little what would become of your soul. But is this any reason for despair, or even for discouragement? Oh! no. Christ still *invites*—nay, even *beseeches*—you to come to him; and tells you in his word, that he is perfectly willing, and perfectly "able to save all that come unto God by him." The greatness of our sins need not prevent us; for his "blood cleanseth from *all* sin:" he died for sinners, even the *chief* of sinners. Our ignorance need not dishearten us; for "he teacheth sinners in the way." O come unto this "*meek* and *lowly*," this *strong* and *mighty*, Saviour! He is too meek and gentle to reject, and too strong and faithful to disappoint, any that come.

'Dear ——, my heart is full. What can I say to induce you to seek peace and happiness in the pardon of your sins through Jesus Christ? It is but asking you to be full of happiness and joy; for thus I know it will be with you, if you take the God of all comfort for your God. And do but think, how wonderful and unspeakable his condescension in offering to be our God, and friend, and father, "for ever and ever, our guide even until death," our "everlasting portion and reward." Only think, how dreadful, that he should be willing to save us, and we unwilling to give ourselves up to be saved and blessed by him! Can this be your case? It must not—it must not be so with you. You cannot reject the invitations of the gospel, and say to God, who *beseeches* you to be reconciled to him—'No—I will not be reconciled; I will not pray to the God of my salvation.' I am sure the thought strikes you with horror. You cannot rightly seek God without the aid of the Holy Spirit; but you will receive this aid upon asking; for "God will give his Holy Spirit to *them that ask him.*" May he both teach you to pray, and hear and answer your prayer! May he relieve your suffering body, if it be his will, and comfort your distressed soul. Amen and amen. If my dear —— can bear thus much read to him, you will show it, or read it to him; and let us both pray, that he may know and feel the joy of being united to Christ.'

To another friend she wrote from her sick bed, nearly in the same strain.

'I lie here sometimes, and think what a poor useless creature I am. But if I might be made the happy means of inducing my dear and kind friend to cast himself, and all his sorrows, and sins, and uneasiness, at the feet of the Saviour of sinners, then I should think I had indeed lived to some purpose. I have often wanted to write to you; but the fear that you would think me unkind or assuming in intruding my thoughts upon you, has prevented me. But what a foolish and wicked fear this was, when the salvation of your precious soul was in question! Yes, my dear ——, I will frankly own to you, that the sickness of your body, distressing as it is to me, afflicts me not half so much as the sickness of your soul. I greatly fear that you have not yet found peace in the pardon of your sins through Jesus Christ. I write to you as a sinner, saved by God's grace, to a sinner, whom the grace of God, and that alone, can save. I would not be so cruelly heartless as to flatter you, and to say, "peace, peace, while there is no peace." But I do know that there is pardon and peace too, for every one, who feeling his sins to be many and grievous, flies to Jesus Christ for refuge; and it is thus that I conjure you to fly to him.

'O my dear ——, how long has this gracious Saviour been knocking at the door of your heart! By his Scriptures, which you have read; by the sermons and religious books that have come into your hands; by the secret strivings of his Spirit with your heart and conscience; by the afflictions wherewith he was afflicted, and still afflicts you; by all these things he knocks, he sues for admission. He will not let you rest till you open the door; and why? because he loves you; he would make you happy in this world, and happy for ever. He would be to you a friend, on whom you might safely lean; on whose constant love you might safely confide; one who would never leave nor forsake you; never be weary of nor slight you; never for one moment be unable or unwilling to listen to you, bless you, and relieve you.

'Such a friend as Jesus Christ to all those who fly to him for salvation. May he be your friend and Saviour for ever! This is the sincere prayer of,

'M. J. G.'

The tenderness and consideration with which she enforced these supremely important subjects upon her young friends, is noticed by those who were experimentally acquainted with it. Her gentleness and self-command were often put to the test by the coldness, petulance, or dislike with which her exhortations were received. But there was no reproach or upbraiding on her part—no anger or contempt on account of the foolish things that were said; nor did she ever show the less interest in promoting amusements more after the heart of her companions. She was known sometimes to weep in tenderness, when a fault was confessed to her—but never at that time to reprove. Sometimes her humility and affectionate delicacy would rebuke the carelessness of her friend, by the acknowledgment of her own coldness and neglect. Thus she would lead her more thoughtless companion to unite with herself in supplication for pardon and grace. So truly was she a "fellow-worker with her God," in "drawing with the bands of love."

Connected with this was her tender and Christian faithfulness in giving reproof, where she considered it to be needed. The following is an instructive specimen of the mode and spirit, in which this high obligation will be most effectually discharged. After giving a slight sketch of some of the leading doctrines of the gospel, she brings them home in a direct and close application to the conscience of her friend.

'And now, beloved ——, let me turn from every other consideration to yourself, and the state of your own mind. For you have rightly judged that I cannot think that the state of your ——, or any other person ought to have the least influence in preventing you from seeking the salvation of your own soul. The question is not, what do others do to be saved? But "what must I do to be saved?" You tell me that I am severe. Indeed I would not willingly be so. A miserable sinner myself, saved only by the free mercy of God, what right have I to be severe upon others? But I am "affectionately desirous of you" in the Lord Jesus; and therefore, as my beloved friend, I warn you. I fail in my duty to you, unless I tell you the truth. It may seem harsh to appear to have any doubt of your state; but it is kinder to lead you to examine now, than to leave you to the bare possibility of finding yourself deceived when it is too late. If then what I am now going to say, should seem to you more severe than ever, I entreat you, dearest ——, to forgive me for the sake of the motive which impels me to do so. Consider that I am not now speaking of any trifling thing. The more I love you, the more impossible I find it to stand upon ceremony, while I am trembling for your soul. My fears then about your state are not excited by what I have heard. Had you become a very decided and devoted Christian, I think I should have heard of it from many quarters. In some it would have been noticed with delight; in others, with wonder; in others, with dislike and disapprobation. But my fears are drawn chiefly from the querulous and worldly strain, in which most of your letters to me are written. I know that "if you have not the Spirit of Christ, you are none of his." This spirit must be known by its fruits. "And the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Now I look earnestly, anxiously, for some of these fruits. I look for some sign that "the love of God is shed abroad in your heart by the Holy Ghost which is given to you." This love would show itself in love to others; in love even to your enemies, if you had any. But I fear you are indulging in feelings little short of hatred to more than one of your fellow-creatures. I fear that wrath, strife, disputations, envyings, jealousies, are too often more predominant in your heart than love.—Again, I look for some evidence of that "joy and peace in believing," that "peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," which form so great a part of the "kingdom of God" within us. Even mourning Christians must sometimes feel a little of this in their hearts. But sure I am, that if "the peace of God which passeth all understanding, did keep your heart and mind in Christ Jesus," you could not be so much fretted and discomposed by the petty discontents, and trials, and offences of a world, whose frowns and whose smiles you would feel to be equally beneath your regard.

'You would remember that your lot has been chosen for you by a wise and loving Father, and that the most vexatious events in it happen by his permission, and for your good. Whenever we feel inclined to murmur, dear ——, at "our light afflictions," let us think of those faithful servants of God, who "had trial of cruel mockings, and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonments; who were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, who wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented." Yet these "destitute, afflicted, tormented," ones, "in patience possessed their souls." "The peace of God kept *their* hearts and minds;" and shall it not keep *ours*, in our comparatively no-sufferings? Now if these "fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace," flourish in the heart, they must show themselves to be there: and if the contrary dispositions—anger, dissatisfaction, restlessness, appear in their stead, it proves either that "we have not the Spirit of Christ, and therefore are none of his;" or else that we have "grieved that Holy Spirit," and caused him for a time to withdraw his sacred influences. In either case we ought not to rest, till we have sought and obtained that "godly sorrow," for sin, "which worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of." Where we may apply for this repentance, we are told in Acts v. 31. I will go on no longer in enumerating these fruits of the Spirit; for my business is not to judge you, but to lead you to judge and examine yourself. This I earnestly entreat you to do, "that you may not be judged of the Lord." And should you now, dearest ——, feel offended with me, it will give me the less uneasiness—both because I know that you will not in the end love me the less for having faithfully discharged my conscience towards you before I die; and because I know that you will view it in a very different light at our next meeting, which will, I hope and trust, be around the throne of God and the Lamb.'

Her love to her Saviour must have been already prominently remarked by every intelligent reader. She lived much in distinct, deep, and fixed contemplation of him. Those parts of Scriptures were especially valuable, that brought her into closer contact with the subject nearest her heart—*the love of Christ.* The book of Canticles was therefore to her "a garden of delights." Her pure and spiritual mind enabled her to study this holy book with the liveliest and most profitable interest. Many Christians, in an over-scrupulous delicacy and unscriptural taste, seem almost to have proscribed this portion of the sacred canon from their private meditation. The book indeed is an exposition of the heavenly privilege of communion with our Divine Saviour. It can only therefore be understood by those who can say—"Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." The perusal of it moreover must be admitted to require a peculiar abstraction from earthly things. But the Christian's heart under divine teaching, will be a spiritual interpreter of it; and whenever it is approached with reverence, simplicity, and sanctity, it will tend much to the enkindling of holy affections in the endearing contemplation of condescending love; in a self-abasing sense of backslidings; in a heavenly enjoyment of the presence of the Lord; in commending his person to all around us; in a panting desire for a closer communion with him; and in a joyous anticipation of his coming.

But Miss Graham's *love to her Saviour* was not confined to spiritual contemplation. It was a principle of incessant activity, directing her daily Christian habit (to use her own beautiful language to one of her correspondents), to 'watch with the eye of love every intimation of his will, every leading of his Spirit.' Such is the difference between speculating upon religion, and feeling it—when the heart has "tasted that the Lord is gracious"—when the man is made—"a new creature"—when his eyes have been opened to behold the beauty of his Saviour—and he is anxiously cultivating every temper of the gospel, in which he may live above the world, and walk with Christ.

Miss Graham's happy anticipations of eternity were connected with this *love to her Saviour.* That which gave, in her eyes, emphasis and perfection to eternal bliss was—that it is all Christ—that the "Lamb is the light" of the heavenly city. Thus we find her writing a new year's congratulation to a dear friend in the heart-stirring remembrance—that "now is our salvation nearer than when we believed."

Stoke, Jan. 1, 1827.

'This time last year we were together. Does it seem as if a year had passed since then? Another year of sin on our part, and of mercy free and uninterrupted on the part of *our* Jesus! There is something very sweet in the thought that we are a year nearer to his bosom; that every year will pass as swiftly as the last, till he calls us to himself; and that nothing can happen next year, or any following year, which can possibly separate us one single moment from his love. Perhaps this time next year we may be like him, "seeing him as he is," joining in a song new indeed to our tongues, because it will be a triumphant song, and a holy and an everlasting song.'

Her love of prayer formed one of the main features of her character. Every habit of her mind appeared to flow in the spirit and atmosphere of prayer. The *playful exercise of her youth were in this sanctified temperament.* When her cousin visited her, the day was usually commenced with a chapter from her favourite Bible, accompanied with prayer, that they might both love and serve him, of whom that book testified. This service performed, she instantly turned all the warmth and animation of her affectionate temper, and all the powers of her highly-gifted mind to the amusement of her companion. We have already noticed *the connexion of this habit with her intellectual employments,* whether indulging her own gratifications, or superintending the instruction of her cousin. Hers was not the unsanctified study, which is glitter, not gold. All was consecrated to the supreme object of life, and directed to this object by the constant influence of that principle, which ennobles earthly occupations, and stamps them with a heavenly glory. *The occasional visits of her young friends* found her in the same spiritual habit. 'Seldom,' as one of her schoolfellows has recorded, 'did I enter her little room, but she proposed the reading of the Bible, and would pour out her soul before her God with holy fervour and simplicity.' *Her public exercises of Christian devotedness* were conducted in the same spirit. When engaged in the work of Sunday School tuition, she had her set times of prayer with her young cousin (who was at that time associated with her) for themselves, their fellow-labourers, and their responsible charge; and frequently she would offer distinct and separate supplication for each child in their classes. *Her reponsibility as a member of the ransomed family of God,* led her (as we find from a letter shortly to be adduced) in the true spirit of sympathy to devote an hour every evening mainly to the subject of intercessory prayer. Besides these constant occasions, *she set apart special times for secret dedication and communion with God.* New-year's-day and birthdays were among these privileged seasons. It was one of her favourite plans to set apart occasionally a certain time exclusively for prayer and Scripture reading; and for this purpose all her other employments were removed from her sight. This was her preparation for any special engagement that was prospectively before her; and this course she recommended to her friends with beneficial effect. Another custom of somewhat similar character (and one that is happily making advance throughout the church in our day) was to prevail upon her confidential friends to set apart definite hours, when distant friends could meet together in one heart and one soul at the throne of their common Lord. Thus in the most extensive meaning of the Scriptural precept, she might be said to "pray without ceasing;" and, like the man after God's heart, "to give herself unto prayer."

Love to the whole word of God was also a prominent feature in her character. Indication of this holy pleasurable taste were visible in her childhood, in the large portions which she committed to memory. In an early excursion with one of her young friends, we find her reproaching herself for the small proportion of time which she had consecrated to the study of this precious volume. Whatever might be the ground for this self-accusation, it was however intended as a hint to her less thoughtful companion, and to introduce before her a plan that might be useful to them both—that of repeating portions of Scripture to each other when they met. Thus she made her own self-condemnation the vehicle of instruction to her friend. Generally speaking, she read the Sacred Book as a pleasure, not as a task. It seemed to be her constant food and study. She did indeed "esteem the words of God's mouth more than her necessary food." They "were found, and she did eat them; and they were to her as the joy and rejoicing of her heart." They were to her what Melancthon calls 'that sacred manna of the soul, to which St. Paul alludes, when he speaks of spiritually discerning' the sacred pages. Often under protracted bodily and spiritual trials, the promises were to her "as cold waters to a thirsty soul;" yea, as "life from the dead." So eager was her appetite for this heavenly manna, that, not satisfied with her own gathering, she was always longing to feed upon the fruits of the industry of her friends. Thus we have found her intreating her confidential correspondent to communicate to her any additional and interesting light which had been found in the course of her Scriptural research. Even in those seasons of special consecration just alluded to, when she found her mind indisposed for spiritual reading, she would still cleave exclusively to the Scriptures, and give up her time and mind to learning large portions of this holy book. It was her practice to read through different books of Scripture with a close and persevering habit of meditation and prayer, always keeping in mind her Master's stimulating motive to the search—"For they are they which testify of me." Hence she was delighted in the course of her study of the Book of Proverbs to have Christ so much and so frequently brought before her mind; a recollection of great moment for the spiritual discernment of the Divine wisdom treasured up in this store-house of practical instruction. The encouraging promise held out to diligent investigators of the Sacred Volume on one occasion fixed her in intense meditation for upwards of two hours. She appeared to be lost in astonishment and gratitude at the condescension and kindness of God, *in giving* a promise so rich, so free, so encouraging. She grasped it, as if determined not to let it go. She frequently employed herself in the profitable exercise of "comparing spiritual things with spiritual"—Scripture with itself; thus making God his own interpreter. Much light and heavenly unction she conceived herself to have obtained by this means, which were manifested to others, unconsciously to herself, in her striking remarks and apt illustrations of passages presented to her. The *wholeness* of her study already noticed is worthy of careful consideration. There was no exclusive regard or undue prominence given to portions of the sacred book. "All" was regarded as "given by inspiration of God," and therefore profitable for the specific purposes for which it was written, and which it is the exercise of prayer and diligence to investigate.

But we will state her admirable views of the temper requisite for the study of the Sacred Book in her own words.

'We shall never'—she remarks—'become perfectly reconciled to all parts of the word of God, until He himself bestows on us the spirit and temper of a little child, to receive, without murmuring or disputings or carnal reasonings, whatsoever *Jehovah the Spirit* is pleased to say to us. That Spirit alone can take away the evil heart of unbelief, which prevents us from embracing the *whole* counsel of God, as revealed in his word. It is he that must open our hearts to attend to *all* the things written in his law. *Then* we shall perceive a connection and a harmony between every part and every doctrine of the Scriptures, which will fill us with ever-increasing wonder and delight.'

Her childlike simplicity was the spirit of the most profound reverence. It is most edifying to remark her humble adoring search into "the deep things of God," as contrasted with the unhallowed boldness with which these unfathomable depths are too often explored. After noticing objections to her views of the doctrine of election, she checks herself—

'But I stop; "he that reproveth God, let him answer it." All these mysteries can be accounted for only by referring them to the inscrutable mystery of God's predestination. To the eye of carnal reason they lie involved in the thickest obscurity; but the eye of faith sees in them no darkness at all. For faith, instead of vainly striving to pull these things down to the level of reason, soars far above reason; resolves every difficulty into the *gracious will* or *wise permission* of God, and *seeks to know no further.* How many things are there which I know not, nor "can by" any "searching find out to perfection!" But *Jesus knows them all.* With this assurance I sit down fully satisfied. He will teach them to me hereafter, as I am able to bear it. In the meantime "I will trust, and not be afraid." All that my God says to me I will implicitly believe, for I know that "every word of God is pure." "All the words of his mouth are in righteousness: there is nothing froward or perverse in them: they are all plain to him that understandeth, and right to them that find knowledge." When I come to see God as he is, and to "know even as also I am known," I shall find that all these mysteries of his word and will were only 'dark with excessive light.' In the meantime, till I have the eagle eye that can gaze undazzled at his glories, I will view them at humble distance through the glass of faith which he has given me for this purpose; nor will I dare to repine, because I can only see them in a glass darkly. Thus faith removes every objection, stills every murmur, and silences every doubtful thought.'

This "trembling at God's word," is the spirit which our Lord "delighteth to honour" with special manifestations of his favour. "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and he will show them his covenant." This temper will stimulate to an earnest and diligent search; while it will repress a presumptuous intrusion. It will lead to the reception of every truth upon this formal reason—that it is the word of God. Every truth, though it should not be considered of equal importance, must be regarded with equal reverence; never fogetting that God is the author of every particle of revelation. Therefore to reject any one 'jot or tittle of it'—as Dr. Owen has excellently observed—'is a sufficient demonstration, that no one jot or tittle of it is received as it ought. Upon whatever this title and inscription is—'The word of Jehovah'—there must we stoop and bow down our souls before it, and captivate our understandings to the obedience of faith."

Her love for the ordinances of God—is worthy of special remark. And this indeed is the pulse of the soul—not attendance on them, but delight in them—fellowship with the panting desires of the holy Psalmist—when he envied even the birds who inhabited the pinnacles of the temple, and the priests who were always employed in its service; and for himself counted "a day spent in God's courts better than a thousand" spent elsewhere. The house of God had been to her in the time of health "the gate of heaven." In her time of affliction, ministers and ordinances were to her "wells of salvation," from whence she "drew water with joy." "Beautiful" in her eyes "were the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." She loved the messengers of the gospel "for their work's sake," and for their Master's sake. She always expressed the deepest anxiety to receive through them "a message from God" to her soul. 'Pray before, as well as after your visit'—was her solemn entreaty to her beloved minister.

We must not forget to mention her "love to the brethren"—that conscious and unequivocal mark of a transition "from death unto life." She longed to see, converse, and enjoy fellowship with all, who bore the image of her Lord; and whether absent or present, she seemed to hold communion with them. Speaking of an absent friend, who appeared to enjoy a deep sense of 'the love of God upon her heart'—she said—'I long to see her, that she may impart to me some spiritual gift.' On this subject she appears to have been drawn out with remarkable warmth and liveliness of Christian feeling in her correspondence with her friends. To one of them she wrote thus—'It is a great honour for us, who have been made partakers of the tempter's work, to be made partakers of the Saviour—for us who have been made a curse, to be made a blessing. But when I write to you in this way, it is not so much because I feel it, as because I want to feel it, and desire to be made the instrument of "stirring up this gift of God in you."'

What reader but must long to imbibe the blessed spirit of the two following letters?

April 9, 1827.

'I intreat you to think more of the privilege of intercession, and to make more use of it than ever. I find an indescribable delight in using these words—"Our Father"—and in praising, confessing, and praying for myself as one of this large family—in praying for myself as one with them, and in feeling their joys and sorrows as my own. And indeed if we wish above all things that the name of Jesus be glorified, is it not glorified in the spirituality of others as much as in our own? And if we wish to be one with Jesus, should we not be also one with his elect? Tell me your difficulties and necessities, that I may present them to Jesus with my own. I do not say this, because I think that I have the strength to do it. But Jesus, our God and our Lord (who is with me whilst I write, and who will be with you whilst you read this letter) has said to you and to me—"My grace is sufficient for you." 'Oh Lord Jesus! see what I have written, and show that I do not expect too much from thee. Cause every affection of ours to be absorbed in thee; and may all thy sheep love thee above all, and love one another as thou hast loved them!' Say—Amen to this prayer. And if you wish to know what to ask for me, ask that a spirit of perfect love, "which seeketh not her own," may be given me.'

Again, about a month after, to the same—

May 5, 1827.

'I beseech you to seek earnestly "the communion of saints." This is the only progress I have made in the Divine life. I have received as a most precious and unmerited gift the power of feeling the things of the flock of Christ as if they were my own. You cannot imagine the happiness of this feeling. The means through which the Father has given it to me, has been the Lord's prayer. I dedicate (not always, because I am so light and unstable, but generally) an hour every evening to prayer, and principally to intercession. I generally begin with the thanks due to God, for having made himself known to us as our Father, for all that he has done for every one of his sheep on that day. It is impossible for me to tell you the great delight of thus mixing myself up with the people of Christ, and of considering their benefits as my own. The thought which transports me the most, is that of how many souls have been perhaps this day joined to the church! how many succoured under temptation! how many recovered from their backslidings! how many filled with consolation! how many transported by death into the bosom of Christ! It delights me much also to consider that all the elect, who are not yet converted, have been and will be preserved, till they are called by the Divine Spirit I then try to pray for that sweet "we," and to think of the necessities of my Christian friends. Besides, I have a list of unconverted persons for whom I wish to pray. I do intreat you to study with prayer the thirteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians. I am most anxious that you should enjoy this happiness; and if you ask, you will do so.'

In the next letter we find her mind exercised upon this interesting subject.

'It seemed to me when I last wrote to you, that the law of love to the brethren was engraven on my heart. But I feel little of it now. It was like writing on sand. Oh! that all the flock of Christ had more, very much more, of this law. O that thirteenth of Corinthians! Do read and pray over it. There is love—such love as we want—the whole law written in our hearts. I wish the Lord would give me to say something to stir you up to pray more for love; and then, when you are quite full of love, that he would make you the means of conveying it to me. I would have you pray over 1 John iv. 16—21. as well as 1 Cor. xiii. We must first "know and believe the love which God hath towards us." That will make us love.'

To another beloved friend she expresses herself with similar warmth and intensity.

'How shall I, who am so full of sin, think to say any thing that may be useful to you, my dear friend? Yet perhaps, "the comfort, wherewith I have been comforted of God," in trying to spread your sorrows before him, may be communicated to your soul, while I am telling you of it; for —blessed be Jesus—we are all one—members of the same body. "It is given us in behalf of Christ to suffer" and rejoice with one another. When I was trying to pray, I endeavoured to think of a verse, which I might plead with God, and which might encourage myself. The Lord put this into my heart—"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also, which shall believe on me through their word—(*for us*;) that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, *that they also may be one in us*." But oh! the comfort that filled my soul, when I thought Jesus had lifted up this prayer for you long before you were born! that he has had it in his heart for you (and for me too, and all God's people, who all need it as much) ever since! that he is praying the same thing for us now! and finally, *that "the Father heareth him always!"* Therefore, the Father has heard, does hear, and will hear, this most gracious petition, which the Lord Jesus offered in the midst of his disciples, and which God the Spirit brought to their remembrance for our encouragement—"that we all may be one, as he is one with the Father." Yes—and we all shall *be one*, though Satan and all his angels conspire to divide us. He can no more separate us from the love of one another, than he "can separate us from the love of Christ." Truly, we have fellowship one with another; and "we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." May you be enabled to use more boldness at the throne of grace, to "draw near in full assurance of faith," and claim what Jesus, *who cannot ask in vain*, has asked of the Father for you—a full and abiding enjoyment of that love to the brethren—that fellowship—that oneness with the saints, which is just as much yours as Christ is yours! It is a part of your purchased possession; and nothing can keep you out of your right, but your own want of faith to plead that right with a God, who is more ready to give than we to ask.'

Would that these enlivening sentiments of Christian love were universally diffused! Our Lord's wonderful prayer on this subject is indeed, as Miss Graham observes, an answered prayer—that is, in its incipient and progressive results. Yet, it is only a specimen of that intercession, with which he has pledged himself, that "for Zion's sake he will not hold his peace, and for Jerusalem's sake he will not rest," until his Father shall make his "Jerusalem a praise in the earth." The plenary blessing is yet in store for us. We want increased exertion and expectancy as a means of preparation for it. We want to change our indolent anticipation of this union perfected in heaven for the immediate personal exercises of faith, patience, forbearance, and humility, by which "our hearts may be knit together in love," even in the midst of the incessant conflicts of the church; and we shall then be ready to help each other's labours, and hail each other's success.

The present aspect of the church is indeed most afflicting. We would not narrow the necessary breach between the church and the world by any compromise of principle or of conscience. But how painful is it to "see the breaches of the city of David, that they are many!" When will our Zion appear in "the perfection of beauty?"—as "a city compact together?" "For the divisions of" *one tribe* in Israel "there were great searchings of heart." How careful, therefore, ought the scrutiny to be, when the evil spirit appears to be spreading throughout the whole camp! It is not an ideal prospect that we picture to our imagination—but that "good and pleasant sight" to behold of "brethren dwelling together in unity." Such was the church in her primitive glory, when "the whole multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul"—when 'the church'—as Chrysostom observes—'was a little heaven.'

The motives to attempt, as far as in us lies, the restoration of this glory to the church are most constraining—such as fellowship with the spirit and prayer of our glorious Head—his honour in the world exalted by this heavenly spectacle—the Church in every part "edifying itself in love"—the Christian profession established—and the consoling privileges of the gospel manifested and enjoyed.

The strength to promote this union in the Church will be found in deep self-abasement and wrestling intercession with our God. Let us enter in the spirit of the earnest pleadings of the "man after God's heart" for his people. "O God, thou hast cast us off; thou hast scattered us; thou hast been displeased; O turn thyself to us again. Thou hast made the earth to tremble; thou hast broken it; heal the breaches thereof, for it shaketh." Impossible that "the Lord should" *long* "be angry against the prayer of his people!"

The *Scriptural rules* for maintaining this union are most simple and explicit.—"Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule; let us mind the same thing." "Him that is weak in the faith, receive"—not cast off. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." These rules are enforced by the example, no less than by the authority of our gracious Head, and directed to the highest end—"Receive ye one another, *as Christ also receiveth us, to the glory of God.*" Great indeed is the difficulty of holding conscientious differences in brotherly love. We are too apt to magnify the points of difference, while the due proportion of the points of agreement is somewhat obscured. We are more ready to dispute upon the points of controversy, than to strengthen each other in brotherly communion upon the principles of Christian love and unity. Thus our inordinate love of our own opinions leads us to press them beyond their legitimate bounds, and even beyond our sober intentions; and from this defect of connecting humility and forbearance with faith, many schisms arise in the body.

Would that there were among us one heart and one purpose, to exalt our Divine Master—to let every name be lost in his—to desire no name to be great but his! But the canker of the church is that party spirit—more or less common to all—which unites the several communities upon their own private grounds, instead of forming a rallying point for the whole body. A tame compromise of conscience is indeed greatly to be deprecated. Yet, unless private selfishness, (sometimes cloaking itself under the garb of conscience,) and party Shibboleths be merged in Christian love, no holy brotherly communion can exist. We do not expect brother to yield to brother, but each to submit his conscience to his great Head—each member to grow up into him, and to recollect, that he has some individual sentiment to forbear, from a considerate regard to the unity of the body. It seems to be forgotten, that Divine truth in all its parts and connections is fully revealed to none—that the degrees of attainment in Scriptural knowledge are indefinitely varied—that every difference in religion is not a different religion—that there is a want of perfection and singleness in the clearest eye, that is an inlet for the partial introduction of darkness—and that all of us are, more or less, criminally warped by the school in which we have been trained, by the atmosphere in which we live, or by the difference of our own tempers and habits of thinking. Hence it is evident, that a sincere reception of the first principles of the gospel lays a solid basis; and that in lesser points "forbearing one another in love," is the only satisfactory means of "keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Indeed, 'substantial harmony, combined with circumstantial variety,' (as Paley remarks of the evidence of testimony) is the only practicable catholicity; and to attempt a more entire agreement in detail would be a certain breach in the concord of the universal church. Yet, though unity of opinion is impracticable, unity of faith is to be constantly aimed at; and this may be consistent with a great diversity of individual character, and even with many shades of doctrinal differences.

But let us not be "ignorant of Satan's devices." Too successfully does he succeed by division among the friends of Christ, to prevent the united assault upon his own kingdom. Let us descend from our lesser disputes to the field of the conflict between the great powers of light and darkness. Let us "come to the help of the Lord—to the help of the Lord against the mighty." The voice of God to his Church is—"*Love the truth and peace.*" We love neither, if we love not both. If, in the professed cause of "truth" we tear the consciences of our brethren, and wound the "peace" of the Church, perhaps we may expect one common storm, one uniting bond of suffering—to be the Lord's appointed means of humbling and chastising his Church, and accomplishing his gracious purposes by the instruments of his loving correction.

CHAPTER VI.

Her illness and death.

The period of her illness embraces a large portion of what in her case, as her father observes, 'might be not untruly called, "that long disease—her life."' From her childhood, her health was very delicate; and the long illness which occasioned her leaving school, left a debility in her constitution, from which she suffered more or less to the end of life. Violent pains in her head, chest, and side, appeared however to be the commencement of that disease, which gradually developed a fatal character. For some years she was indeed able to exert herself, too often much beyond her strength, both in bodily and mental activity. She continued her intellectual studies with her usual vigour, till about a year after her settlement in Devon, when increasing illness constrained her to send her young pupil to school, and she was never afterwards enabled, though she much wished it, to resume the care of her education. From that time she became a decided invalid, and, except in the year 1827, when she changed the scene for the benefit of her health, she never moved beyond the garden, and only two or three times ventured into the outward air.* For the last two years she was entirely confined to her room, and unable to be dressed. During the whole of this period, her anxious mother slept in her chamber, watching over her with the most unremitting tenderness. She generally kept her bed, till within the last seven or eight months, when a violent cough, and spasms in the heart, prevented a reclining position, except when she was compelled to return to it by fainting and exhaustion. The only resource was a chair well supported with pillows, in which she sat up day and night, and from which the assistance of three persons was required to remove her during the last few weeks of her life. She appeared however to suffer less from debility than many invalids. For though she was wholly unable to stand, yet a change of medical regimen appeared to give her temporary relief from distressing helplessness.

In this state of wearisome languor and pain, her mind however was always vigorous and full of energy. She never seemed to know an idle moment. During the whole period of confinement to her bed, she was always surrounded with books, or other objects that engaged her attention. It was her habit to have her table placed by her bed-side every night with her books and writing materials, that she might commence her operations with the earliest dawn of light. Her beloved Bible was always under her pillow, the first thing in her hand in the morning, and the last at night. Subordinate to this object of supreme interest, her diligence and perseverance in study were most remarkable. When reminded that such intense application must be injurious to her health, she always replied, that she considered these diversified sources of interest as among her greatest temporal blessings, in diverting her mind and attention from her bodily ailments. Her studies in the sick room were as varied as in the time of health. Sometimes the languages were taken up. At other times the more engrossing study of mathematics fixed her mind. This in its turn was exchanged for chemistry or botany. Occasionally, when her mind was less equal to exertion, she would amuse herself with lighter employments. In the spring of her last year, she attempted to dry flowers which her parents procured for her, with the intention of forming an herbarium. But increasing indisposition frustrated this plan. Cutting out paper was also a favourite amusement, in which she early excelled. Her skilful use of the scissors had attracted in her young days the admiration and interest of her school-fellows. She was also a beautiful netter, and sent a number of purses to a bazaar, to be sold for the benefit of her dear Spanish friends, which produced upwards of three pounds to their fund. Thus in these various employments did her mind maintain its ceaseless activity, both in intellectual indulgence, and in all the exercises of practical devotedness. No opportunity of usefulness appeared to be forgotten. When detained from the house of God by her protracted indisposition, her time and interest were employed in explaining the Scriptures to the servant who was necessarily occupied in attendance upon her; and in one instance it was hoped, as well as in a former case of much earlier date, that her simple and spiritual instructions in the household were applied with Divine unction and sovereign grace to the heart.

As, however, her illness evidently approached its termination, her employments assumed a character more exclusively spiritual. She was occupied in girding up her loins, and trimming her lamp, in constant and delighted expectation of her Lord's immediate coming.

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* Of one of these times the following memorandum occurs in a letter to her cousin. 'To-day, I know not how, all my illness seems to have disappeared, and I feel much better, so that I have been out in the garden the second time since you left me. Ah! how delightful the weather was: what pleasure I felt in breathing the fresh air, in seeing the trees which begin to bud, the spring-flowers which are appearing, and in hearing the song of the birds, who seem to rejoice no less than myself in this new season.'

And now it was, that the Christian graces which had been matured in the school of affliction, and under the influence of habitual communion with her God, displayed more manifestly their holiness, beauty, and consolation. This was (as an excellent clergyman before adverted to wrote to her father) the fiery chariot, her vehicle to heaven, in which—the more it shook her mortal frame, until it left it all behind—the stronger and more full of faith and triumph in Christ Jesus she grew in her immortal spirit.'

A detailed account of this last period of her mortal career will, it is presumed, be found generally interesting. In these solemn seasons is every feature more accurately defined; while the colouring is heightened by the impressive manifestation of the love and faithfulness of our God and Saviour.

To the last, her habits of active employment were predominant. Her thoughts and time were much occupied in preparing her two small, but valuable, works for publication; and she continued to correct the proof sheets of them as they were sent to her, till within a few days of her death. At first her mind was divided between the completion of her projected Series of Letters to a Governess, and the work—On the Freeness of Divine Grace. But mature deliberation decided her in favour of the latter, as being calculated for more extensive usefulness. She was indefatigable also in her correspondence with her friends, upon the principle of duty, in using every opportunity of setting forth the grand and inviting subject of the gospel to her fellow-sinners. She continued to write even after she was unable to use her pen; and when having had just power to direct a pencil, her wrist had been bound up to give her a little strength. The following extracts form her letters, during this solemn season of daily expectancy, marks the character of her mind. We select an illustration at some length of the intense anxiety, with which she regarded the spiritual interest of those that were dear to her, and of the earnest, awakening, and yet encouraging application of the privileges of the gospel, to fix them to an entire devotedness to their eternal concerns.

Stoke Fleming, Sept. 28, 1830.

'"Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God!" This love should be enough for us. Come pain, sickness, poverty, affliction; and still the Christian must rejoice, when he considers "what manner of love the Father has bestowed on him." Reconciled to God; redeemed by Christ Jesus; sanctified, taught, and comforted by the Spirit; what is there in the world that can rob him of his joy? "Who shall separate him from the love of Christ." And as long as he has this love, how shall he not "rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory?"

'My dear ——, I would stir up your heart to make this joy your joy. O that my God would give me words of power and persuasion, and send them by his Spirit to your heart! "Awake thou that sleepest;" awake, awake. Time is passing—eternity is at hand. Thou must soon receive a crown of glory, or "cover thyself with thine own confusion as with a mantle." "Behold *now* is the accepted time. Seek the Lord *now* while he may be found, call upon him *now* while he is near. Draw nigh unto God, and he will draw nigh unto you." O let me remind you, not in a spirit of reproof, but of the most anxious, earnest affection, how long "the goodness of God has been leading you to repentance." I believe it is now ten years, or nearly so, since we were confirmed together. Then you seemed resolved to make the Lord indeed your God; to be no longer "conformed to this world," but to "come out from the world, and be separate;" to walk as "a stranger and pilgrim upon earth." Often since then have you appeared to be affected by the same feelings and desires. The time you spent with me here was marked by one blessed season, during which the word of God seemed to be your delight; prayer to God your chief comfort; and you expressed your entire renouncement of your own righteousness, and a simple trust in the atonement and righteousness of God your Saviour. Recall that precious time to your mind, my beloved friend. You were then beginning to be happy. Inquire how it was, that, instead of "going from strength to strength," from "glory to glory," from faith to faith," you relapsed so soon into your old uncomfortable state of mind, and have since found so little comfort in religion. Remember that now, even now, Christ is willing to receive you, to give you strength and peace, grace and glory; that he is able to save to the uttermost, and *more* willing to give than you to ask, more ready to hear than you to pray. Consider what an awful thing it is, to go on for many years, "halting between two opinions;" knowing your Lord's will and not doing it: visited by repeated convictions, yet those convictions producing no decided appearance of conversion. Consider all these things, and again I say unto you, Awake, awake! May God of his infinite goodness arouse you to a sense of the importance of eternal things! May he enable you to wait upon him in incessant and importunate prayer, till he has "blessed you," as he is most willing to do, "with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus."

When you come to die, all the trifles which now vex and disquiet you, will seem less than a drop of a bucket, than the small dust of the balance. But the concerns of your soul, of what immense importance will they appear! Why should they not now assume their real weight and value in your eyes? Death may either snatch you away suddenly, or be preceded by such violent illness, as to render you incapable of reflection. At such a time, how delightful will it be to be able to lean upon Christ, as an *old* friend, not to seek him as a new one! O my dear ——, you MUST find time to die, why will you not find time to prepare for death. You must shortly be in Heaven or in Hell! must feel the happy consequence of being pardoned and accepted in Christ, or the dreadful consequence of remaining in a state of guilt and condemnation. "There is now no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus; who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," who "mind not the things of the flesh, but the things of the Spirit, who "look not at the things which are seen and temporal, but at the things which are unseen and eternal," who "live not to themselves, but to him who died for them, and rose again," who have "their conversation, their treasure, their heart, in Heaven."

'Examine yourself, my beloved ——, whether you answer to this character. I can write no more now, but as long as I continue in the flesh, I hope I shall not cease from time to time to remind you of these things, to beseech you to give yourself to Christ.

'My health continues much as when —— last wrote. I suffer much at night, as I can never lie down in bed, but am obliged to be propped upright in an easy chair. But they do not seem to consider me now in any immediate danger, and if no sudden attack takes place, they seem to expect that I shall live over the winter, or even some time longer. All this is very uncertain; but I hope that I am willing to wait till my Saviour's time is come to call me home to himself. He doeth all things well, and I may truly say, that he has "made all my bed in my sickness." "His comforts delight my soul," and "in the night his song is with me, and my prayer to the God of my life is"—"Precious Saviour! Tender Father! Thou wilt cast out none that come to thee."

The following letter, written in the immediate prospect of eternity, is valuable as an exhibition of those views of the gospel, which will alone stay the soul in perfect peace at that awful juncture. It is salvation, rich, free, full, finished—not a matter of uncertainty, dependant upon our own efforts or righteousness; but ordained, wrought out, and applied by God—not connected with faith, repentance, and love, as our previous fitness for the reception of it, but including these graces as component parts of the inestimable gift, "afore prepared of God, that we should walk in them."

July 5, 1830.

'I find, my beloved friend, that in death no past good works, no holy endeavours or desires can give the least comfort, except as evidences that we have been accepted for Christ's sake. My sole confidence is—that I have cast my poor guilty soul entirely, and without reserve, on the free mercy of God in Christ Jesus; casting far from me every other hope. My good works—where are they? I can remember none. They are too poor to think of without the profoundest humiliation. My desires and endeavours—O my dear friend, I feel I should insult my holy God, by even naming them. They are, indeed, "coverings too narrow for any one to wrap themselves in," at the moment of entering into the presence of God. But my Saviour hath clothed me with his own perfect righteousness, and I wrap myself round in it with unspeakable feelings of security. I examine it on every side, and find it "perfect and entire, wanting nothing." I am not afraid in this my wedding garment, to appear even before the King of kings. I think I hear my Saviour perpetually saying to me —"Not for thy sake do I this, be it known unto thee; be ashamed and confounded for thine own ways." A sinful worm. May Jehovah, my Righteousness, my Tower and Strength, my Rock of defence, my Sun and my Shield, my complete Salvation—O may he be your God and Guide, for ever and ever.'

She was usually favoured throughout the last months of her life with a remarkable sense of the Divine presence. During times of extreme agony, 'Christ,' she said 'is with me, "touched with the feeling of mine infirmities." Her intercourse with God at this solemn season, while it was most intimate, was yet *most hallowed.* One evening, after a day of great bodily suffering, her cousin went into her chamber to take leave of her for the night. The room was darkened, and perfectly quiet; and the state of her soul seemed to accord with the outer tranquillity. She said—'I can scarcely speak to you. The sense I have of the presence of God is so powerful, that it almost overcomes me. He has often manifested himself to me; but never in such a manner as this night. Indeed I feel ready to exclaim with Job—"I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee." She said very little more, being evidently too deeply impressed to converse; but—her cousin adds—'I shall never forget that night.'

Yet this sacredness of feeling was mingled with *cheerful delight.* It was truly Hooker's 'reverend gaiety'—'Oh!' said she one day to a friend, 'he gives me to speak to him "face to face;" and sometimes, when I am so weak that I cannot utter words, his "Spirit helpeth my infirmities, and maketh intercession for me with groanings that cannot be uttered." I love to feel my weakness, that I may experience "his strength made perfect in weakness." I delight to lie low before him.'

She loved to speak of the character of God. Her mind appeared to be much expanded in the contemplation of his unsearchable nature and glorious perfections. 'How delightful' she observed on one occasion, 'to think that "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all." All his dispensations are light; and though now they seem dark to us, hereafter, all clouds will be dispelled.'

Her desires for a clear and full knowledge of God were most intense. 'What'—she exclaimed one day—'are ten thousand worlds compared with one ray of the knowledge of God!' The ardour of her soul, unsatisfied with former manifestations, was continually stretched out for higher and deeper views of the Divine glory. She was not afraid to offer that prayer, which seems scarcely befitting an archangel's lips, and which only the clear warrant of the gospel preserves from the stamp of presumption. "I beseech thee; show me thy glory." Often did she intreat her minister to pray, that more might be revealed to her in this world. Nor was the petition unheard. For, in reply to her dear mother's question a day or two before her death, her answer was, 'I could not feel happier.'

The concentration of all her thoughts upon eternity was peculiarly striking and edifying to those around her. This main concern for the last few months of her life absorbed her entire interest. Nothing unconnected with it seemed to possess any claim upon her attention. The engrossing delights of intellectual study were relinquished for ever. She had no enjoyment of any train of conversation, except that which directly led her mind and contemplation heavenward. Communion with God was the one object of her desire. The word of God now occupied her whole attention. All other books—even her favourite authors—Romaine, Leighton, Milner—seemed comparatively uninteresting. This heavenly absorption of mind is finely depicted in the following short extract from one of her late letters to a friend:

Stoke Fleming, Oct. 1, 1830.

'My dear ——, knowing that my life hangs upon a thread, I dare not delay answering your letter: I pray God to enable me to speak the truth to you in love, and to dispose you not to think me "your enemy, because I tell you the truth." But I *must*, as long as I continue to live, continue to urge you on the subject of religion. I speak not now willingly on any other subject; I desire to have no more to do with earthly things, but to turn my whole joyful expectation to that blessed Saviour, whom I believe I shall soon see face to face, through that infinite undeserved love and kindness of his, which has taught me to put my whole trust in him for salvation.'

Connected with this feature, we may add, that she seemed so perfectly weaned from the world as scarcely to have an earthly wish. Several times she took leave of her beloved relatives. In parting with her young cousin about three months before her death, she writes—'I have not one earthly care or wish; for even my cares for her are now all cast upon God, whose tender love will, I trust, lead her all her life long, as it has led me. She is going one way, and I shall soon depart in another way; but I would wait patiently.' One day earnestly recommending a friend to "cast all her care upon God"—she gave the same expression of her mind—'I have no earthly cares—no earthly wish. But' added she—'I have spiritual cares—spiritual wants; but I cast even them all upon God.' Christ and eternity filled up the whole vacuum, and left nothing else to be desired.

Resignation to the will of God was prominently marked during her illness, and was to her the source of much heavenly enjoyment. After meditating upon her Saviour's words—"My meat is to do the will of him that sent me,"—she observed,—'Though I cannot now do the will of my heavenly Father, I can suffer his will.' She looked forward with great calmness to a protracted life of suffering, when the medical attendant gave his judgment, that she might probably live for many years, but would never regain her health. As she was naturally of an energetic disposition, ardent in forming and executing her plans, this state of acquiescence to so inactive a life appeared manifestly to be the effect of Divine grace. Once indeed she remarked with tears, that the prospect of lying on that bed for many years—of seeing her friends die around her, and those whom she loved remove away (alluding to the anticipated removal of the Rector's family, which, however, she did not live to see) was a melancholy thought. But the passing cloud was soon dissipated, and she regained her usual cheerfulness.

The same warm temper of love to the Lord's people that had distinguished her general profession was ruling to the last. Even in her state of distressing weakness, she could not be satisfied without seeing some of them round her bed, that she might enjoy sensible communion with them. However weak they might be in faith, or low in condition, her heart was fervently drawn out in union with them. In referring to some refreshing intercourse with two eminent Christians—she observed—'How good my gracious God is in thus sending his saints to commune with me upon those deep and precious things which now form my only consolation—my "joy and the rejoicing of my heart." But'—added she—acknowledging the supremacy of her heavenly Friend—'after all, his presence is the only unfailing source of happiness. "With him is the fountain of life; in his light shall we see light."'

The expressions of her deep humility, were peculiarly striking during her illness. All her attainments in the Christian life were never thought of, but as dross and dung. Her sense of unprofitableness kept her low in the dust, while the recollections of faith, exercised in habitual application to the blood of her Redeemer, upheld her from despondency. When her minister ventured to express the advantage which his own soul had derived from attendance upon her, she exclaimed with vehemence—'How should *such a dead dog* as I am, be of any use?' She sometimes seemed, as if she could scarcely conceive the possibility of being the Lord's instrument for the good of his people, while at the same time she continued to employ her every power of body and mind in their service.

This self-abasing apprehension was, however, combined with ardent gratitude to God as the author, and to her friends as the channel, of all her mercies. Every attention, every act of kindness from her parents and nurses, excited the most lively emotions of thankfulness. Speaking one day of the kindness of her nurses, her minister observed,—'But oh! how kind, how much kinder *is Christ.*' 'Yes'—she replied—'but even all this kindness of the creature flows to me *through his love, his kindness.*' Thus did all her earthly comforts receive a double relish—thus also were her bitterest trials sweetened by being traced up to their Divine source, and by flowing into her soul through the delightful channel of the mediation of her Saviour.

The same flood that had nourished her throughout her journey, continued to supply strength and vigour for the last efforts. Her Bible was more invaluable than ever to her. It was her constant practice before she went to rest, to repeat a text to her beloved mother, and to require one in return—assigning as a reason, that she might have them to think upon after she was gone.* She pursued the same habit of Scriptural repetition with her affectionate cousin—the constant attendant upon the last months of her illness—adding to it the privilege of social prayer, except when attacks of illness prevented it. "Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full"—was her favourite text to the last.

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* A few months before her death, she presented her little Bible to her mother, having obtained from her the assurance, that she would read a chapter every day with prayer. In order to keep this promise in mind, if the precious treasure was at any time out of

As in health, so especially in her last sickness, she had great delight in communion with the Holy Spirit. She used to address her prayers much to him, thought of his personality, and found the contemplation of it most refreshing to her soul. She would often speak with comfort of her experience of his distinct influence upon her heart.

Hymns were also a source of much refreshment to her soul. She used to repeat many to herself, especially during the night, and was thankful to the last to have them repeated to her. The last that her cousin read to her two days before her death, was one by Madame de Fleury, beginning,

'Ye angels, who stand round the throne,' &c.

and Gambold's beautiful hymn,

'That I am thine, my Lord and God,' &c.

was a great favourite. Cowper and Toplady also, were a source of great delight to her.

She expressed to her minister her strong desire to receive the sacrament, the mention of which had been refrained by her friends on account of her great weakness and sudden attacks of violent pain. She feared, however, that she had too long neglected it, and could not be satisfied without the refreshment of this holy ordinance. When speaking of it before the administration—she said—'Oh! I desire a full communion. I long to see as many as possible of the dear children of God to partake with me of this blessed ordinance.' She expected, as she was justly warranted to do, a rich blessing in the fulfilment of the last command of her dying Lord. Nor was she disappointed. Twice she received the sacred emblems from the hands of the venerable rector of the parish (since departed to his rest); and in the following affecting letter written in pencil with great difficulty immediately after one of these occasions, she expressed to him her grateful acknowledgment of the consolations which he had instrumentally imparted to her soul.

'My dear Sir:—I thank you very affectionately for the comfort I have received to-day through your means. When I saw you, I regretted that I could not tell you so myself. But it is the Lord, who hath both dulled your power of hearing, and weakened my power of speaking; and he does it with both of us, to warn us gently, that these frail bodies must soon be quite taken to pieces, and lie till we are "clothed upon" with "a body like unto his glorious body." It will give you pleasure to know, that, while you administered the bread and wine, I was enabled to cast my whole soul as a miserable sinner on the free mercies of him, who died that we might live; and to rejoice in the thought of our meeting ere long, through the same free grace, at the marriage supper of the Lamb.

'I wish to write these few lines to explain my own feelings to you. For my dear mamma, in her anxious love, so much fears my seeing one, to whom she thinks I could not talk without exertion, that I fear it has never been properly explained to you, that though I feel unable to talk to you, I should be most happy to listen to you.

'Accept, my dear sir, the Christian love and thanks of your truly and gratefully attached,

'MARY GRAHAM.'

The support which was vouchsafed to her in the midst of her intense bodily sufferings, was such as might have been expected from the known and tried faithfulness of her God. Such was her enjoyments at some seasons of agony—that her 'pains,' as she said on one occasion, "were sweeter than honey or the honey comb." At one of her times of distress she remarked—'I am a child lying in the arms of Christ, and he treats me with more than a mother's tenderness.' Truly, indeed, was she "strengthened with all might, according to the glorious power of God, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness."

It is almost needless to add as the concluding article of detail—that the sting of death was removed from her.

'It is not death to me'—she would say—'Jesus hath tasted death for me, and hath drunk up all its bitterness.' The prospect of eternity was entirely divested of its terrors, and beamed with the bright anticipation of everlasting joy. We may take the following glowing view of her hopes given for the conviction of one of her young friends.

Aug. 7, 1830.

'I am going to mention a sentence in your letter which grieved me; not as it regards myself, but as it leads me to fear, that you are not fully acquainted with those things, which can afford real and solid satisfaction on a near view of death. You speak of feeling satisfaction in death, as it affords a cessation from all pain. Dearest ——, did you remember at the time, that death is something more than a cessation?—that it is an entrance into an eternal world, and that to those who have "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," this is an entrance into eternal glory. Bear with me, while I tell you from my own actual experience, what it is that ransomed sinners rejoice in at the approach of death. I have stood lately more than once on the very brink of eternity, and thought myself on the point of taking the awful step. This makes heaven and earth, temporal and eternal things, appear in their strong and true point of contrast. And now that I am called back to the things of time for a little longer, if I can be of the least use to one of my fellow-sinners and sufferers here, I shall not regret the delay. It is not the cessation from pain, that can make Christians view the approach of death with satisfaction. For, believe me, they have not *one* pain too many. Not that they love pain, or are not glad to be freed from it, when the Lord pleases. But they know that every one of their sufferings is necessary and good for them, and that they come from the hand of a kind and tender Father. They are willing to bear as much pain as his love sees fit to inflict. Their pains are very sweet to them, as they come from him. And, O dearest ——, could you know how he "strengthens them upon the bed of languishing, and how he makes all their bed in their sickness;" you would almost envy them even their pains, sweetened as they are by "the peace of God which passeth all understanding!" Wherein do they rejoice? In the hope of being "for ever with the Lord!" of seeing him, "whom having not seen, they have loved; in whom, though now they see him not, yet *believing*, they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." Oh! to behold this "King in his beauty" and beholding, to be transformed into his glorious likeness! and then to cease from sin! this is the blessed cessation after which real Christians pant. To love their holy and reconciled God without any coldness or unfaithfulness; to offend him no more by one unholy, or rebellious, or selfish or unbelieving thought; to be pure as he is pure; to be "without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing;" and then to praise him, to give him glory, to cast our blood-bought crowns at his feet, through the countless ages of eternity! Pray, my beloved ——, that in the hour of death you may be so filled with these causes of joy, that the mere escape from a few bodily pains may seem not worthy to be mentioned in the comparison. The Bible tells you, that "except *you be born again*, you cannot see the kingdom of God," and that "if any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a *new creature, old things have passed away*, behold, *all things are become new.*" Examine, I beseech you, whether you have undergone that mighty change in all your views, tempers, and sentiments, which these expressions imply. If you die without being born again, and made a new creature in Christ Jesus, I shall never meet you in heaven; for God, who cannot lie, hath said it. But pray, pray, O pray to him, that he would thus convert your heart. He will hear and answer you. There is nothing else worth living for, but that, living or dying, you may be the Lord's. May this be your happy case.'

She would sometimes speak of herself as a disembodied spirit, as if she realized in the fullest perception and assurance, her entrance into the world of blessedness. Her frequent reference to her departure was in calm composure—like making preparation for a short journey, or a temporary absence. At other times it was in joyful hope. On one occasion—six months before her death—when she was thought to be dying, she unexpectedly revived, and, seeing her weeping friends around her, asked her dear mother why they were all in tears—adding with great animation—'Do you think that I shall be with Jesus to-morrow?' At another of these times, she exclaimed—'If the Lord should come and take me this night—but, oh! that is too much to hope for.' After a violent attack of coughing and spasm, a friend observed—'I fear you suffer much.' 'Oh, no!—she replied—'I delight to feel the pins of the tabernacle taking out.' She

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reach, she would playfully ask for it, 'You know, dearest mother, it is not mine now; but do you read it to me while I am here.'

burst into tears, when a physician who occasionally saw her, informed her, that the disease had not made the progress he had supposed. This, however, was but a momentary feeling. For, upon her mother's reminding her—that she was only not quite so near home as she had expected, she replied—'Oh, no! this is wrong;' dried up her tears, and returned to her usual serenity and cheerfulness. Writing to one of her friends in reference to a beloved saint, who had died in the triumph of the gospel—she remarked—'Well; I shall have one friend more to welcome me, when the Lord's time shall come to "administer" to me also "an entrance into his everlasting kingdom." Oh, blessed hope! happy sinners saved by the blood of Jesus.' Then she adds this affectionate exhortation—'Oh, my dear, my beloved friend, I charge you so to devote yourself to the Lord, that "the full assurance of hope" may cheer you now, and at the hour of death.' Upon receiving the intelligence of the sudden death of another Christian friend—she exclaimed—'I have heard the good news. She has rent the veil at once. Mine is taking down piece by piece. By and by I shall find a chink large enough to get out of; like a bird confined in a cage, and fluttering about to extricate itself in vain, till at last, the door being open, the happy prisoner wings its flight towards heaven.' There might probably be an occasional mixture of infirmity in these intense desires for her home. It is indeed the dictate of Christian wisdom to prefer the gain of death. But it is equally the part of Christian obedience to embrace the service of life; and the desire to depart, so far as it is not subjugated to the readiness to wait, partakes of the nature of self-will more than of holy affections. Generally, however, the ardency of her desires appeared to be subdued to a resignation to the Divine will. Thus in reference to her dissolution she writes to the aged minister who, during her residence in London, had been the means of communicating established peace to her soul—'Blessed be my all-sufficient Saviour, that, accepted in him, a few months more or less can make no great difference; "Neither life nor death can separate us from his love."' On one occasion, after expressing her earnest longing to depart, she checked herself, and added—'But I am willing to sit here a hundred or a thousand years, if it be the will of God.'

Her mind maintained its vigorous character in the midst of her protracted sufferings. The subjects of her conversation were usually of a highly interesting character. She would often speak with considerable clearness combined with deep humility of the more mysterious parts of Revelation, such as the distinct persons of the Holy Trinity; the Person and glory of Christ; the ministry of angels; the state of separate spirits; the prospects of the church of Christ. It is much to be regretted that no particular details of these conversations are preserved. The resurrection and future glory of the body were favourite subjects with her. She delighted to dwell upon 1 Cor. xv. 'What a wonderful change'—she observed on one occasion—'takes place in nature in the acorn; which from so small and insignificant a seed afterwards expands and grows into a noble tree, the glory of the forest! What a remarkable transformation also is that of the caterpillar; which, after having been changed into apparently dead matter, at the appointed time bursts its shell, and becomes a beautiful winged insect! Had we not witnessed such changes, we should not have believed them possible. But having seen them in nature, shall we doubt the possibility of that great change, which will take place at the resurrection day, when "this vile body shall be fashioned like unto the glorious body" of our Lord?

For a short time, however, before her death, the enemy was permitted to harass her soul, and her lively apprehensions of the gospel were occasionally obscured. At one of these times she said to her minister, 'Christ is not so precious to me as he deserves.' 'No,' it was replied, 'he is so to none.' 'But' she added, 'he "feeds me with food convenient for me," though I do not experience those spiritual enjoyments I so ardently long for.' Of a distressing season of temptation which happened about this time, her minister writes, 'I shall never forget the state of her mind. It seemed as if "a horror of great darkness had fallen upon her." 'Oh' she said, 'I cannot pray; I can only utter words. It is mere wind.' She earnestly called upon me to strengthen her, by repeating the promises of the gospel. God at that time seemed to give me words. For when I scarcely knew what to say, words of effectual consolation were put into my mouth. Once in her impatience to hear the word, she exclaimed, 'Oh! say something to me from God—whether a word of comfort or reproof.' I think of that proverb, "The full soul loatheth the honey-comb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet." At these times of "needful heaviness, through manifold temptations," while "walking in darkness, and having no light," she was, however, manifestly enabled to "trust in the name of the Lord, and to stay upon her God." She could not enjoy the full manifestation of her God, which she had known in times past—'Yet, though' she said, 'I cannot love God with that warmth which I so earnestly desire, I can act faith upon Him.' She complained much of deadness in prayer. Yet her faith was in exercise, upholding her soul upon the sure word of promise, that her Lord would return to her in his own best time. She would at such seasons cheer her soul by repeating suitable promises. "When the poor and needy seek for water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth them for thirst, I the Lord will hear them; I the God of Jacob will not forsake them." On this encouraging promise she rested in one of her seasons of distress and desertion. At another time she would say—"Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise: when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me." And again—"The Lord my God shall enlighten my darkness." At these times of trial, the book of Canticles was much upon her mind." "By night I sought my Beloved, but I found him not." Then she added, 'but I sought not in vain.' She appeared at this time much enlivened in speaking of her Saviour as represented under the figure of the bridegroom. 'He loves us to such a degree, that he seeks after us, he desires, he delights in us, all which is to be seen in this wonderful portion of Scripture.' At another of these times she remarked, that often in the experience of the Lord's servants, a season of darkness had preceded some special manifestation of his love. Thus, as she observed, 'Jacob wrestled *a whole night;* and it was not until the break of day that the angel revealed himself. Thus for a while our Lord seemed to disregard the cry of the Canaanitish woman; but "the trial of her faith was" eventually "found to praise, and honour, and glory." Thus also the disconsolate state of the disciples in their journey to Emmaus was the prelude and harbinger of a blessed display of their Master's light and love.'

The dark clouds which "for a small moment" had been permitted to spread themselves over her soul, were however shortly dispelled; and "at evening time it was light." Her extreme weakness indeed prevented her utterance; but the few words that could be gathered from her, were descriptive of the peace and joy that reigned within. 'My weakness' she said, 'reposes on his strength—my folly on his wisdom.' When her minister, in allusion to her late painful exercises, observed, 'God was "leading her *by the right way* to the city of habitation"'—she replied—'Oh! yes—but how different is the case of those, who "wander in the wilderness in a solitary way, and *find no city to dwell* in!"' In the last visit of this beloved attendant—'God'—she said to him—'is the rock of my salvation.' Then speaking of her being detained in her earthly tabernacle—she added—'It is a comfort to think that "Christ has the keys of death and of hell." All is well. May God be with you, during the remainder of your pilgrimage! I can only lie as an infant in the hands of God.'

Her bodily sufferings at the last period were most severe, arising from a complication of diseases. Her lungs, which had been supposed to be sound, were discovered after her death to be fatally diseased. Her heart also was found to be enlarged. Her weakness and inability to recline for so many weeks, produced dropsy in her feet and legs. This was, however, from time to time relieved by incision. Her life terminated at last by a rapid mortification in one of her legs. The last day of her life was a day of intense agony. She was obliged to take doses of opium, which before, she could not touch, so that the day and night, till she expired, were passed in a doze, or in the most violent suffering. A few words only were preserved at this affecting crisis. A day or two before her death, she cried—'Come, Lord Jesus; come quickly; "nevertheless not my will, but thine be done."' At another time, speaking of "the glory that shall be revealed"—she exclaimed—"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard; neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Alluding to those who watched by her side, she said—'What a comfort that we are not watching alone. "He that keepeth Israel, shall neither slumber nor sleep." Then again, shortly after, "I know whom I have believed." Then again, in a moment of excruciating suffering to her mother, 'Pray for me, that my patience may not fail me at the last.' The last words she was heard to utter before her death in a moment of deep agony, were, 'I am come into deep waters; O God my rock, "hold thou me up, and I shall be safe." The next morning, on Friday, December 10, 1830, without a sigh or struggle, she entered into her eternal rest.

Thus upheld by the good hope of the gospel—thus having displayed in lovely concord the diversified graces of the Christian profession—thus having been abundantly refreshed by the consolations of Christ, this blessed sufferer, this ransomed sinner, this victorious believer, fell asleep in the arms of her Saviour and her God. She heard, and gladly obeyed the call of her Lord—' "Come up hither." Lay down the cross, and take the crown.'

"*To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and set down with my father in his throne.*"

CHAPTER VII.

REMARKS.

The writer, in bringing this interesting sketch to a close, ventures to crave further indulgence of his reader in drawing out a few points of important and suitable application.

First, *The review of Miss Graham's painful, though temporary, apostacy marks the great moment of being well-grounded in the elementary principles of the Gospel.* A few hints may be here suggested to the inquiring and serious mind. First, *the danger of a cavilling temper.* Here lurks the first rising of the spirit of infidelity. Miss Graham's natural character was especially open to this temptation. Indeed this is the fleshly indulgence of every intellectual mind undisciplined by the principles of the Gospel. It gratifies the love of distinction. It is the worship of self, that worst idol, that most subtle enemy of vital religion. "*Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt,*" is the Divine and pointed illustration of the folly and littleness of this natural principle of the heart. Solid satisfaction and rest in the Scriptural revelation will only be found in cultivating what Calvin calls—'a kind of learned ignorance,' a well-instructed contentment to be ignorant of what God has foreborne to declare. But to begin with the speculative instead of the practical truths of Revelation, and to insist upon an explanation of its difficulties as a pre-requisite to the acknowledgment of its authority, and personal application of its truths—this spirit resists faith, the appointed medium of Divine light; and thus gives to infidelity all its force, and leaves the heart the unconscious victim of its own delusions. The more we are disentangled from speculative inquiries, and occupied in the pursuit of Scriptural truth, the more settled will be our conviction of the genuineness of the testimony, and our consequent enjoyment of its privileges. Let us not therefore trifle with temptation, by suffering the objections of a cavilling infidelity to "lodge within us." Let us instantly bring them to the test of conscience, "to the law and to the testimony." Thus let us "resist the devil, and he will flee from us."

Secondly, *We would inculcate an implicit faith in the Divine Record.* And here we trace the source of all the sin and misery that have deluged the world for nearly six thousand years. God's unchangeable declaration, "Thou shalt surely die," was diluted to an uncertainty. Thus when confidence in the word of God was weakened, Satan's lie easily prevailed. On the other hand, how fully did Miss Graham's unreserved reliance on the promise, "Ask, and it shall be given you," recover her fine mind to its true position; entrenched upon the supreme authority of Scripture; prostrate in a sense of her ignorance; honouring her God, and honoured by him, in a trembling reverential submission to his word. How many cavilling questions arise in the defect of this spirit! The difficulties which cannot be presently explained are considered reasonable grounds for unbelief. Man, under the pretence of a desire to satisfy his doubts, rebels against what he does not understand, and begins to "reply against God." But in fact we want not more light, but more humility. Herein consists the important difference between the caviller and the sincere inquirer. The one questions, speculates, and is dissatisfied. The other in the consciousness of his "blindness," is willing to be "brought by a way that he knew not, and to be led in paths that he had not known." He follows under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth, like Abraham under the direction of Providence, step by step in implicit faith. He asks not, "How can these things be?" but, "Thus saith the Lord," determines all his difficulties without gainsaying. And this practical acknowledgment of the supremacy of Scripture is the just demand of God. We must not, according to the principles of neology, degrade the authority of his word, by subjecting it to trial at the bar of reason. We must not descend from our high vantage position of faith, to the lower ground of disputation. This inversion of the respective offices of reason and faith casts down God from his throne, and turns our light into darkness. Reason must indeed be exercised in examining the *credentials* of the revelation; for to receive an unauthenticated testimony is credulity, not faith: and scepticism is less culpable than belief. But the credentials being once established, we are bound to receive its contents with the most implicit submission. Having once, therefore, admitted the Divine claim of Scripture, we must yield to it our unreserved homage. The question is not, "What thinkest thou?" but "How readest thou?" This is the humility of faith, the child-like spirit of the Gospel, the evidence of the conversion of the heart to God. "Whosoever shall" thus "humble himself as a little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven."—The enriching light of Divine teaching dispels many difficulties of the reasoning mind. "If the eye be single, the whole body shall be full of light." "Sitting with Mary at Jesus' feet," and "learning of our meek and lowly" teacher, we "shall find," instead of uncertainty, confusion and wretchedness, "rest unto our souls."

Thirdly, *We would impress the importance of a solid experience of the power of the gospel upon thv heart.* When the objections against Christianity are fairly answered, the main hindrance to its reception yet remains. There is a strong connection between the speculative principle of infidelity, and the "evil heart of unbelief." Unbelief is the disease—not of the understanding—but of the heart. It comprehends the "fulfilling of the desires of the flesh and of the mind." In the one case it is the love of sin resisting the holiness of the gospel. In the other case it is (as we have just illustrated the subject) the unsubdued pride of the heart rejecting the humility of the gospel. A full and practical reception of the truth of God is therefore a powerful defence against the subtle and encroaching enemy. It was a defect in this point, that exposed Miss Graham to the baneful influence of her investigating mind. Her early principles of religion, though sincere, were not inwrought in her soul in deep and permanent influence. This unfixed character formed therefore an ineffective safeguard in the atmosphere of powerful temptation. Her neglect of prayer threw her off for a while from her dependence upon God. Her doubts thickened upon her. The strength of her soul was paralyzed. The enemy was at the door, and took advantage of her loss of inward perception to gain a temporary ascendancy. However strong and satisfactory is the external evidence of the gospel; yet we want the apprehension and proof of its adaptation to our necessities to endear and establish it to us in all the strength of sensible demonstration. When "the gospel comes in power, and in the Holy Ghost," then does it come with much assurance. "He that believeth hath the witness in himself." The transforming power of the gospel into the Divine image is the most decisive evidence of its Divine origin; and this is an evidence which is always present with us—connected with all our Christian habits of thought and practical life—and accumulating in weight of testimony, in every successive instance of its efficacy throughout the world. The unbeliever therefore (for this is the real character of the merely nominal professor of the Bible) enters into conflict with the infidel at very serious disadvantage. He may probably be inferior to his opponent in power of reasoning, and subtlety of argumentation. He may be unfurnished with a distributive view of the historical evidence of the gospel, to repel the attacks that are made upon it; and, being unable to strengthen his points by the demonstrable evidence of his own senses, he is in great danger of being shaken from the first principles of his faith. Or even supposing him to be on equal terms with his adversary—well-furnished with an outward coat of armour; yet if his interior be not defended by "the whole armour of God," the poisoned arrows may find an entrance into his inmost soul. If he be ignorant of the spiritual blessings of the gospel, he can have but a very imperfect conviction of the importance of its principles. They hang loosely about him. There is a want of energy in the grasp to "hold them fast;" and not being "grounded and settled in the faith," never having had a real possession of "the hope of the gospel," he cannot be secure against being "moved away from" the profession of it. His indecision is the first step to apostacy, and, should it proceed to this ultimate point, it is only his just punishment for neglecting to walk closely and humbly with his God. It is therefore most difficult for him to keep the field at all points against the infidel upon the low ground of external argument. For though we protest against the supposition of any vulnerable, or even debateable points on the side of Christianity; yet the strength of the infidel side, as we have just hinted, bears upon his opponent with mighty influence connected with the appetites of his own heart. Thus man becomes not only a rebel against his God, but a traitor to himself, and the murderer of his own happiness. Living, therefore, without prayer—we should assay to go to the intellectual conflict with armour that we have not proved, and therefore that would render us but uncertain protection. Unexercised in Christian faith, we cast away the only "shield, whereby we could quench the fiery darts of the wicked one." In proportion to the practical influence of the principles of the gospel will be our intelligent conviction of their Divine origin. A holy taste will enable us to receive the evidence of Christian truth. In every step of spiritual religion will the invisible realities of the gospel be embodied and appropriated. The light to discover their external evidence will be thus increased by the removal of a counteracting internal bias; and the believer, retreating in a heavenly atmosphere of communion with God, will be little disturbed by speculative doubts—"Thou art my hiding-place and my shield; I hope in thy word."

Lastly, let the mind be informed, expanded, strengthened in its positions by an intelligent acquaintance with some of our most valuable treatises upon the evidences of Christianity—those most especially, that connect the testimony of internal perception with external proof. Thus covered at all points of intellectual or spiritual warfare "with the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left"—the simple-minded Christian will "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him with meekness and fear."

II. We would mark from this Memoir the high importance of a settled profession of the gospel. We have already seen the rich and matured character of Miss Graham's doctrinal sentiments. Hers was not the religion of feeling, (though her feelings were powerfully engaged,) but of solid intelligent conviction. There was no excitement of impulse or imagination, no love of novelty, but a contentment in solid, Scriptural, and practical views of Divine truth. Here was a ground-work for that steady consistency of Christian profession, in which she was enabled to serve her God and Saviour with acceptance and usefulness. It would be a painful investigation to trace the various causes and symptoms of that unsettled aspect of religion, which the present state of the church so largely exhibits. Too often we find the profession to be of a superficial, and therefore of an uninfluential character. A susceptible temperament opens the door to self-delusion. The religion of the imagination is substituted for the religion of the heart. Sentimentalism captivates the mind by a sort of confused ideal sublimity. Unorganized excitement is mistaken for solid practical principle. External separation from the world is identified with the spiritual love of holiness. A habit of serious thought and partial reformation is commenced without any defined motive or object. Hence, when the temporary impulse has subsided, the baseless fabric resting upon it begins to shake. The religion of novelty and interest becomes irksome drudgery, without any spring of activity or privilege. The peace and joy, which had been anticipated as the immediate result of a certain train of feelings, ends in disappointment; and the "goodness" which had no connexion with tenderness of heart, humility, and faith, "passes away as the morning cloud, and the early dew." The man who had been living upon notions, doctrines, and feelings—not upon realities—sinks down into the character of a dry, heartless professor, with no genuine response to the vitality of godliness.

Of others again we would speak with special tenderness, while we are constrained to consider them as wanderers from "the old paths," where the church of God has hitherto found "rest," refreshment, and establishment. But we cannot view without the deepest concern the attempt now made by true disciples of Christ (for such undoubtedly are many of those to whom we allude) to degrade the Son of God to a sinful participation and sympathy with our nature. We feel bound to protest against that 'great truth,' now for the first time opened to the church---that believers in this life of sin and imperfection, attain at least equal communion with their God, and participation of Divine influence with their heavenly Saviour. Thus is the child of fallen Adam complete in himself, not in his Saviour. He needs no exercise of contrition, no application to the blood of the atonement for his daily deficiencies, no High Priest to "bear the iniquities of his holy things." The plenary baptism of the Spirit precludes the need of an atoning and interceding Saviour for present deficiencies and defilements, and perfects what is called an holiness in the flesh, an inherent righteousness, which blots out the character of sinners, and obscures the glory of the righteousness of the Redeemer, as the exclusive ground of justification before God.

If we look for the external seal of these anti-scriptural doctrines, it will be found in the exhibition of certain tongues (dissimilar from the primitive manifestations, because unknown, and therefore unfruitful to the church) connected with impulses of an extraordinary character, both of which have been confessed by some of the most accredited subjects to have been the offspring of delusion. Does not all this seem to invest the Apostolic caution almost with the character of prophecy—"I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your mind should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ?" That these doctrines come not from Christ is manifest from their obvious tendency to exalt self, and to stain the unspotted holiness of our Divine Saviour. That they are not the fruit of the unction of the Spirit, is equally clear from their results, in obscuring the light and authority of Scripture by some super-induced credentails, and thus confounding "the spirit of truth" in the word, and "the spirit of error" in the new revelation. That as novelties they have no stability, we are encouraged to believe from the gracious deliverance that has been manifested to some, who were fast bound under their seductive influence; while those who are yet beguiled claim (though perhaps they may not thank us for putting forth the claim) our Christian sympathy, forbearance, and prayer.

What are wanted on all sides as the basis of an established profession, are—First, *brokenness and contrition of heart.* Here, as we before observed, Miss Graham's deficiency exposed her to "the snare of the devil." Not being deeply impressed with the sense of her own vileness, she could not lie low enough before her God to receive his pure and heavenly light in her soul. He was therefore pleased to humble her thoroughly, till he had brought her to his feet; that happiest, lowest, yet most exalted place for a redeemed sinner. What Job learnt in his prostrate frame of humiliation, made all the former attainments of this "perfect man" of God appear as nothing in his eyes. And indeed there is much to be acquired in a self-abasing walk with God, and in a well-digested study of our hearts, before there can be any capacity for receiving a Scriptural apprehension of the doctrines, that are the matter of present controversy in the church. The decided views on these subjects, that are sometimes received at an early, and perhaps uncertain, stage of the Christian profession, have been probably obtained under the influence of excitement, rather than from Divine teaching—from an implicit submission to some professed leader in the church, rather than from a simple exercised study of the sacred volume. In the spirit of brokenness of heart this deluding power of excitement is subjugated to a chastened temper of tenderness and self-distrust. One want absorbs every faculty and desire of the soul. There is no temptation to linger by the way in busy idleness amid the attractions of novelty. There is a careful guard against all entanglements of disputation, that might, by diverting the mind from the main object of pursuit, palsy the spiritual affections, and pervert even the word of God to an occasion of erasing instead of fixing permanent impressions upon the heart. In this spirit of "simplicity and godly sincerity," the mind will gradually be enabled to receive Scriptural statements, that before it had been unable to comprehend; and will grasp, with an intelligent habit of faith, the fulness of Divine truth in all its happy and practical influence.

Connected with this temper, spiritual apprehensions of Christ are of the utmost moment. This was the main principle of Miss Graham's steadiness of profession. She was accustomed, as we have before noticed, to "*consider Christ.*" Hers were not transient glances at the glorious object of faith. Her religion was characterized by a contemplative habit of connecting every part of the Christian system with Christ. And in this great subject, the most intellectual mind will find full employ. Unfathomable depths, after a long life of research, will yet remain to be explored. Here we may advance with deeper intensity of interest at every successive step, until the whole soul is "filled with all the fulness of God!" A mind sustained and invigorated by these sublime contemplations, will lose its speculative taste; will try "doubtful disputations" by their reference to this grand subject; and, while enlarging to the utmost its compass of sacred truth, will be drawn off from uncertain doctrines to those that are evidently Scriptural in their character, clear in their light, fruitful in privilege, holy in influence. "Not" being altogether "ignorant of Satan's devices," the Christian will readily trace to its proper source all diverging from this concentrating point, and will steadily guard against this baneful "corruption from the simplicity that is in Christ." And thus living by faith, he will live upon the vitality of the gospel. The unfolding of Christ makes holiness at once practicable and precious. His principles, as they expand in knowledge, will become more practical in results; while these results will reciprocally exercise his principles in a more lively and delightful glow of Divine light.

For the cultivation of this spiritual contemplation, habits of retirement seem to be of importance. Leaving the time, measure, and rules to every man's judgment and conscience, and being fully aware that a difference of character generates in this particular a diversity in the operation of Divine grace —we cannot forbear inculcating the general subject as applicable to the several departments of the church. Doubtless Miss Graham drew much advantage from her retired habits to exercise her mind in heavenly contemplation. Probably much of the defective standard of attainment and privilege in the present day may be traced to the neglect of the habits now adverted to. Christians actively engaged in the service of God may be ensnared by the very activity of their engagements. Those of a more quiet and collected temperament, will connect their "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord"—their most solid, stable, invigorating comfort—with the cultivation of this habit. Those who are enabled still to maintain the freshness of their early impressions, feel their need of this advantage, and mourn over the deprivation of it as a loss, for which no Christian society—however refined, elevated, or holy—can compensate. All who realize the difficulties of their daily path, and the weariness that belongs to incessant watchfulness and conflict, must feel; that as the body cannot be sustained without sleep, so neither can the soul thrive without *the active rest*—so to speak—of retirement with God. A recollected habit of mind—shutting out the world, and calling home our thoughts to Christ and eternity—is indispensable to give life and spirituality to our religion, to bring the one object of faith into fixed contemplation, and the more enlivening prospects of eternity into more constant influence.

Need we further suggest the incalculable importance of a deep and spiritual study of the word of God, in connection with an established profession of the gospel? Miss Graham's exclusive study of the word after the period of her recovery from infidelity—('the Lord helping her to pray over every word she read') must have been productive of a rich harvest to her soul. And indeed the general supremacy and entireness of this sacred study throughout life was a main source of her mature apprehension of the doctrines of Christ. May not a partial study of Scripture explain the difficulty—why sincere Christians—praying for the promised "guidance of the Holy Spirit into *all truth*"—should yet be left under the influence of error? Do they heartily desire to be guided into *all truth*—into practical as well as doctrinal—into humbling as well as the more exciting—truths? Is every part of the holy book, after the example of this devoted saint, honoured as the word of God—carefully explored, and earnestly prayed over? The promise supposes a diligent search of the whole field of Divine truth, and the neglect of any part of this field shuts us out from the sphere of the promise. Perhaps also a superficial study of "the word of Christ"—even when the whole surface is surveyed—is one of the most prominent causes of slight profession in the present day. It too often lodges only—not "dwells" with us; or it dwells with us—not *in us;* or the "riches" of the treasure-house are too little regarded; or Christian "wisdom" is little exercised in the application of its contents to our several emergencies. In some cases we mark a disproportionate attention to the externals of scripture, which betrays a criminal indifference to its spiritual excellences. The holy simplicity of study is deteriorated. The mind is contented to feed upon husks, while the heavenly pleasures connected with the internal study of the sacred volume are untouched and unknown. With others again the subjects revolve before the mind, but without research. The difference is inconceivable between the act of reading, and the habit of meditation and search in the sacred volume. If the mind does not ponder often upon Scripture, no definite views will be obtained; no profitable instruction drawn out from it. Whereas a spiritually reflecting mind will extract rich meaning from its apparently difficult and barren portions. Being made the subject of thought, and formed into materials for prayer, Scripture knowledge becomes of a more heavenly character; and meditation upon a single passage becomes more fruitful than the general reading of large portions of the sacred book. Perhaps there is no precept more intimately connected with Christian establishment, than that which has been indirectly adverted to—"*Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom.*" Let there be no part of us, where the word does not dwell. Let there be no part of the word, that does not dwell in us. Here is a new world of heavenly light, where the intellect is called forth into its full exercise. Here the soul is refreshed, and the heart is moulded under the influence of Divine wisdom; and hence stability of our profession "in the simplicity of Christ."

We would venture to add a few words upon the high responsibility of cultivating "the spirit of a sound mind." The high estimate which the apostle formed of this faculty may be seen in his placing it among the special gifts for the work of the ministry, and in his prayers for his own son in the faith, and for his beloved flock, that they might maintain it in constant exercise. His own example proves, that—instead of a sound judgment cooling the fervour of zeal (as it is sometimes supposed to do)—it increases its effect by directing its movements. Indeed a weakness in this point brings with it many hindrances to a settled consistency of profession. A luxuriant imagination often obscures the well-regulated and implicit exercise of faith. The truth is often clothed with adventitious attractions. It is not received simply as of God. There is a want of clear perfection and determined grasp of the points presented to view. Again, an excited temperament without a staid judgment, opens many avenues of delusion. This is a matter of frequent notice in the cases of a defective religious education, or of late conversion; or in a rapid transition from the cares of business or the warfare of the camp, to the heated atmospheres which are now to be found in the church. The dazzling brightness of truth breaking in upon unfurnished minds, and often upon palpable darkness, overpowers the faculty of discrimination. The overturn of their former opinions has destroyed confidence in their own conclusions; and together with their old prejudices, their intellectual stability is swept away.

In another direction, also, lively affections and weak judgment give a wrong bias to the character. The Christian under an enlivening sense of the Saviour's love is ready to embrace any new view or doctrine, which he conceives calculated to honour and exalt him. Now a controlling power is as necessary for the healthful regularity of the mind, as an invigorating principle. Opiniative decision is too often mistaken for spiritual principle. We want the influence of "the wisdom from above," not only to open to our minds expanded and attractive views of truth, but to enable us to affix to every part its just proportion—that no favourite doctrines be suffered to absorb our interest, or be raised to an undue importance—that essential points may have their preponderance over those of a more doubtful character—that every step of our progress may present to us a more complete view of the harmony of the system. The multitude of excursions in the theological field, without and beyond the rule of revelation, are an evidence of that wandering of the mind from reality, and that triumph of imagination over truth, that denotes a mind not in the full possession of its own powers. But let us in another track be careful that the sublime contemplation of the gospel does not pamper a prurient curiosity: but rather that it gives a more settled character to our faith, and a wise and active direction to our practice. Let us watch, also under the exercise of this sound mind, that the fear of uncertain doctrines does not quench the ardour of Scriptural investigation—that we continue our research "unto all the riches of the full assurance of understanding,"—that we go on as long as there is one point of the sacred book unexplored—"forgetting the things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those things that are before."

We cannot but remark, how frequently a defect of soundness of mind is connected with unsteadiness of Christian profession. And indeed in all cases, important talents of influence are wasted, and valuable spheres of usefulness are contracted, by this evil. What servant of God, therefore, conscious alike of his responsibility and weakness, will not present his frequent and earnest petition to the throne of grace, "Teach me good judgment and knowledge?" These inestimable blessings are not the exclusive accomplishments of highly-gifted intellects. The believer, weak in natural intelligence, but simple in dependence upon his God, will be not only guided, but established in the truth, even in the midst of abounding errors. He will be taught "not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they be of God." He will be led to "try the things that differ" in the church—*not by the holiness of their several professors*, (which—even if it were more perfectly apprehended—is not the decisive Test of Truth,) but by "the law and the testimony;" being assured, "that if they speak not according to this word"—though they be "angels of light"—"there is no light in them."

III. The memoir before us may also point out the ground and blessedness of Scriptural enjoyment. Miss Graham's full reception of the high principles of the gospel made Christian devotedness a privilege, and Christian resignation the path of peace. Her clear views of sovereign grace; her tender spirit of assured confidence; and the bright beaming rays of her hope of glory, were sources of incessant energy and heavenly cheerfulness. The spiritual atmosphere in which she lived, communicated life to her fainting spirit. Her heart received a new bent, and found a new home in the bosom of her God. The staid sobriety of her character, the happiness she found in entire consecration of herself to God; her quiet composure of mind in the chamber of suffering; the overcoming strength and vigour sustaining her soul in joyfulness; abundantly proved, that she had not embraced an empty cloud, that she had not caught a shadow under the delusion of enjoying God; but that God was indeed the rest and portion of her soul.

But what, on the other hand, is the portion—what the prospect of the man (whether destitute of the profession of the gospel, or holding it in delusion), who lives "without God in the world? He must raise his "altar," if he thinks of worship at all for the quieting of conscience—"To the unknown God." He makes to himself a God after his own fancy, his own heart; and it proves to be an infinite nothing. He cannot know his Creator.* He cannot therefore enjoy him. For want of this knowledge and enjoyment, he dooms himself to everlasting misery. He will not rest in God. He cannot rest in any thing short of God. If ever there was a remedy designed for man, bearing the character of Divine love, it is the gospel of Jesus, opening an uncreated source as alone sufficient to quench the thirst of immortal souls, "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live."

Let us hear the breathings of the holy and seraphic Baxter, after this soul-satisfying portion. 'In thee I expect my true felicity and content. To know thee, and love thee, and delight in thee, must be my blessedness, or I must have none. The little tastes of this sweetness, which my thirsty soul hath had, do tell me that there is no other real joy. I feel that thou hast made my mind to know thee, my heart to love thee, my tongue to praise thee, and all that I am and have to serve thee. And even in the panting languishing desires and motions of my soul, I find that thou, and only thou, art its resting place; and though love do now but *search*, and *pray*, and *cry*, and *weep*, and is reaching upward, but cannot reach the glorious light, the blessed knowledge, the perfect love, for which it longeth; yet by its eye, its aim, its motions, its moans, its groans, I know its meaning, where it would be, and I know its end. My displaced soul will never be well, till it come near to thee, till it know thee better, till it love thee more. Wert thou to be found in the most solitary desert, it would seek thee; or in the uttermost parts of the earth, it would make after thee. Thy presence makes a crowd a church; thy converse maketh a closet, or solitary wood or field, to be akin to the angelical choir. The creature were dead, if thou wert not its life; and ugly, if thou wert not its beauty; and insignificant, if thou wert not its sense. The soul is deformed, which is without thine image; and lifeless which liveth not in love to thee, if love be not its pulse, and prayer and praise its constant breath. The mind is unlearned, which readeth not thy name on all the world. He dreameth, who doth not live to thee. Oh! let me have no other portion! no reason, no love, no life, but what is devoted to thee, employed on thee, and for thee here, and shall be perfected in Thee, the only perfect, final object for evermore. Upon the holy altar, erected by thy Son, and by his hands, and his mediation, I humbly devote and offer to thee *this heart*. Oh! that I could say with greater feeling—*this flaming, loving, longing heart!* But the sacred fire which must kindle on my sacrifice, must come from thee. It will not else ascend unto thee. Let it consume this dross, so the nobler part may know its home. All that I can say to commend it to thine acceptance, is, that I hope it is washed in precious blood, and that there is something in it that is thine own. It still looketh toward thee, and groaneth to thee, and followeth after thee, and will be content with gold, and mirth, and honour, and such inferior fooleries no more. It lieth at thy door, and will be entertained, or perish. Though alas! it loves thee not as it would. I boldly say, it longs to love thee. It loves to love thee. It seeks, it craves no greater blessedness than perfect, endless, mutual love. It is vowed to thee, even to thee alone, and will never take up with shadows more; but is resolved to lie down in sorrow and despair, if thou wilt not be its rest and joy. It hateth itself for loving thee no more, accounting no want, deformity, shame, or pain, so great and grievous a calamity.'

Christians! You, like this holy man of God, have made trial of this portion; and you alone are competent to speak of it. You can bear testimony that the knowledge and enjoyment of God, coming to us through Christ, our Head, our All, is unspeakable bliss. It fills the most enlarged appetite of the soul. It fixes our hovering thoughts and restless anticipations. It perfects all our desires in holy delight and joy. It is the triumph of everlasting love over all the wretchedness, wants, and guilt of man. It gives supreme enjoyment in life, hope in death, a portion for eternity.

"*Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.*"

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* See Miss Graham's striking and original thoughts on this subject in the latter part of the Test of Truth.

THE

PERSONALITY AND OFFICE

OF THE

CHRISTIAN COMFORTER

ASSERTED AND EXPLAINED,

IN

A COURSE OF SERMONS ON JOHN XVI. 7, PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD, AT THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE LATE REV. JOHN
BAMPTON, M.A., CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY THE LATE RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER,

BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from the last Will and Testament of the late Rev. John Bampton, Canon of Salisbury.

——"I give and bequeath my Lands and Estates to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford for ever, to have and to hold all and singular the said Lands or Estates upon trust, and to the intents and purposes herein-after mentioned; that is to say, I will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford for the time being shall take and receive all the rents, issues and profits thereof, and (after all taxes, reparations, and necessary deductions made) that he pay all the remainder to the endowment of eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, to be established for ever in the said University, and to be performed in the manner following:

"I direct and appoint, that, upon the first Tuesday in Easter Term, a Lecturer be yearly chosen by the Heads of Colleges only, and by no others, in the room adjoining to the Printing-House, between the hours of ten in the morning and two in the afternoon, to preach eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year following, at St. Mary's in Oxford, between the commencement of the last month in Lent Term, and the end of the third week in Act Term.

"Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon either of the following subjects—to confirm and establish the Christian Faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics—upon the divine authority of the holy Scriptures—upon the authority of the writings of the primitive Fathers, as to the faith and practice of the primitive Church—upon the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost—upon the Articles of the Christian Faith, as comprehended in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds.

"Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always printed, within two months after they are preached, and one copy shall be given to the Chancellor of the University, and one copy to the Head of every College, and one copy to the Mayor of the city of Oxford, and one copy to be put into the Bodleian Library; and the expence of printing them shall be paid out of the revenue of the Land or Estates given for establishing the Divinity Lecture Sermons; and the preacher shall not be paid, nor be entitled to the revenue, before they are printed."

LECTURE I.

Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

This was the prominent topic of consolation and encouragement among those which our Saviour suggested for the support of his earthly friends under the impending affliction of his own departure from the world; and it is evident, that a more than common interest belongs to expressions thus awful in themselves, and pronounced on so awful an occasion.

Had Jesus of Nazareth been no more than a human teacher of virtue and philosophy, adorned as he was with every good and perfect gift to which our nature had previously aspired in vain, we should have attended, doubtless, with affectionate and reverential curiosity, to the latest instructions of matchless wisdom, the concluding result of a life, in every stage of its career, distinguished by more than human purity. The words of dying men have, mostly, willing auditors. The universal prejudice of mankind (and what is an universal prejudice but the voice of human nature?) ascribes to the instructions of Death a something like divinity; and he who was wise and just amid the struggle of contending passions and the confusion of worldly cares, may address his disciples with still greater effect and authority when those passions and those cares are gone by for ever. He who is himself to reap no benefit from fraud can hardly be suspected of intentional deception; he, from whom the world is receding, may discern, in that remoter prospect, the perfect proportions of its general form and value, which (while the mass was nearer to his eye) were lost in the minuter detail of its parts, or obscured by the intervening breath of admiration of calumny.

Nor can it be denied, that we naturally affix a greater value on that wisdom and friendship of which we are no longer to enjoy the protection; that we cling with peculiar fondness to whatever is the last of its kind, and that the recollection of the past and the fear of what may follow, conspire, under circumstances like these, to stamp the present with a tenfold interest and importance.

But there is yet another and a peculiar reason why the latest revelations of Jesus have, of all other truths, the strongest claim to our attention.

A prophet of the most High, (for as such he is acknowledged even by those of his followers who think most meanly of his person and nature,) and the greatest of all to whom the name of prophet has been at any time applied; we cannot inquire, without the strongest and most reverential curiosity, what truth that was which he reserved to be the last of his discoveries to mankind; which, as the most important feature of his commission, he deferred to communicate till the communication would be most awful and impressive,—till it would be remembered with the greatest accuracy, and its consolation would be most required.

This discovery was the promise of the Comforter, and this promise he introduces with a solemnity of asseveration which might seem almost unnecessary, if it were not obviously and admirably calculated to excite in his followers' attention the most profound, the most implicit and submissive faith.

"I tell you the truth," are his words to whom falsehood was unknown, "I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you."

The value of this boon we may in some measure estimate by the intensity of the loss which it was designed to repair, the departure of our Saviour from the world. "Vidisse Christum in carne" was, in the opinion of Augustin, the height of mortal happiness; that must have been no common blessing which could dry the tears of the children of the bride-chamber when the Bridegroom had been so recently taken from them: nor is the epoch of our Saviour's decease any otherwise described by the Prophets or by Christ himself, than as a season of desolation and mourning to all.

"I will smite the Shepherd," said God, "and the sheep shall be scattered." "When the Bridegroom is taken from them," were the words of Christ while on earth, "then shall they fast in those days." "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice, and ye shall be sorrowful."

And for such a sorrow they had, doubtless, ample cause: the time was coming, wherein whosoever killed them should think he rendered an acceptable service to God; a period of trouble was to follow the Messiah's removal, "such as never was, since there was a nation, until that time." "When the father was to be against the son and the son against the father," and "when a man's foes were to be they of his own household."

And into this bad world, these times of cruelty and moral convulsion, they were sent out as sheep among wolves, without his guardianship who was their only Shepherd, under whose guidance they had hitherto lacked nothing. Well might it be, that, when he had announced to them his approaching departure, their hearts were filled with sorrow, when Jesus himself had wept in pity for the evils which were coming on the world!

Nor was this painful sense of their loss and of their orphan and destitute condition to be removed, though it might be rendered less intolerable, by the knowledge of their Master's triumph over the gates of death.

For, though assured, by this means, of his happiness and glory; assured that they were the objects still of his invisible affection and favour, the friends whom he had loved on earth, and for whom he now, in heaven, interceded; yet the withdrawing of his visible presence, the cessation of his converse, the cheerless void which occupied the place of all which had constituted the former grace and glory of their sect,—were sufficient to justify in minds of firmer texture than those which the Apostles appear to have possessed, the greatest imaginable degree of grief, of anxiety, of apprehension, of despair. Accustomed to such a Teacher, how could his place be supplied among men? Deserted by such a Guardian, how could they hope for safety from the world, from the devil, from themselves? When that smile was withdrawn, in which innocence and childhood loved to repose; that majestic countenance, before which guilt sank down abashed, and hypocrisy dropped her saintly mantle; that voice which neither the spirits of hell, nor the deaf and boisterous elements could disobey or sustain; what occupation, what ambition could have a zest for those who had been accustomed to the service of such a Master? On what could their thoughts repose when the centre of their affections was gone? and how weak and unavailing would the consolation have been to trace his footsteps in those cities where his power had been displayed; to visit, in mournful pilgrimage, the scenes where they had eaten and drank in his presence; the paths by which they had walked to the house of God in company? "Let us also go that we may die with our Lord" had been, on a former occasion, the sentiment of one among their number; and, if the desire of death were ever either justifiable or natural, it must surely have been both the one and the other in the Messiah's surviving followers.

But from this state of depression the coming of the Paraclete was to set them free; from this depth of bitterness he was to arouse their spirits to the lofty destinies of their appointed mission and ministry; their sorrow was to be turned into joy, and their joy neither persecution, nor affliction, nor poverty, was thenceforth to take away. Nay, more than this, the loss of Christ was to be their eventual gain: not only does the Messiah comfort them by the hope that they were to be no losers by his departure; the compensation which he promised was to be such as should overflow in their favour; and, on this account alone, and abstracted from that other consideration of the remission of sin by his blood, (of which our Lord himself, for reasons which may be hereafter shown, but seldom spake, and spake in the obscurity of parables,) it was expedient for them that Christ should go away.

Nor, though this would be amply sufficient to excite our ardent curiosity, does the importance of the inquiry terminate with the consolation which the Paraclete afforded to those with whom Christ had sojourned in the world, and who regretted him as a visible Benefactor. An accurate comprehension of the expressions employed by our Lord is necessary to the comprehension of that entire system of salvation which it was his errand to accomplish and secure; necessary to our faith, inasmuch as from hence, in no small degree, the grounds of our faith are derived; necessary to our love and gratitude, inasmuch as from hence we learn the full weight of that mercy which we have obtained from our Maker and Redeemer. By ascertaining the fulfilment of the promise we may be encouraged to a holy confidence in our Christian warfare, and schooled to a submissive dependance on that power and those merits, through which alone such assistance is accorded. By fixing the extent and character of God's help we may be prevented, on the other hand, from an unauthorized reliance on his influence in points to which that influence was never intended to apply; we may obtain a sufficient canon to measure the opposite statements of irreligion and enthusiasm; to detect the extravagant claims of the last, and the unreasonable cavils of the former; and to decide, with somewhat more exactness than has hitherto been attempted, in what respects the promise applies to the universal Christian world, and in what, more especially, to the earliest teachers of Christianity.

It is my intention, therefore, in the following Lectures, to discuss, to the best of my power, the nature and office of the Comforter promised by our Lord, and the benefits which the apostles in particular, or, in general, the great body of believers in Christ, were authorized by that promise, to expect through his means. And I am the rather induced to undertake this arduous inquiry, because, though the importance of the questions which it involves has been at all times acknowledged and by all; yet has the attention of theologians been, perhaps, less occupied by this, than by any other specific discussion.

Those mighty champions of English and Christian orthodoxy, who, in the demonstration of our Lord's Divinity and of the atonement of sin by his blood, have left behind them labours which no sophistry can shake, no talents hope to rival, have been contented, for the most part, to refer incidentally and slightly to the being and functions of the third Person in the Trinity, as if He, by whom we are sanctified to life eternal, were of less moment to Christians than He, by whom we are created and redeemed; or, as if the existence of the Holy Ghost were not exposed to the same, or even ruder assailants than have denied the Godhead of the Son.

Nor, of the few whose inquiries are professedly directed to the assertion of the being and elucidation of the office of the Holy Ghost, is there any one who has embraced so copious a view of the subject as to deny to succeeding labourers the hope of advantage in discussing its subordinate branches. With much of natural acuteness, and a style which, though unpolished, is seldom wearisome, Clagitt had too little learning to be ever profound, and too much rashness to be always orthodox. Where he exposes the inconsistency of the Puritan arguments, his work is not without a certain share of usefulness; but for the purposes of general edification we may search his pages in vain; nor would he have preserved so long the share of reputation which he holds, if it had not been for the circumstance that he was Owen's principal antagonist. Ridley, whose talents and acquirements have not been rewarded with the fame to which, far more than Clagitt, he is entitled, has erred, nevertheless, in the injudicious application of heathen traditions; and both Clagitt and Ridley have altogether neglected the consideration of the office of God's Spirit as the peculiar Comforter of Christians.

With those who are not members of our English Church Dr. Owen's voluminous work on the Spirit is held in high estimation; and, in default of others, has been often recommended to the perusal, not of dissenters only, but of the younger clergy themselves. But in Owen, though his learning and piety were, doubtless, great, and though few have excelled him in the enviable talent of expressing and exciting devotional feelings, yet have his peculiar sentiments and political situation communicated a tinge to the general character of his volume, unfavourable alike to rational belief and to religious charity. His arrangement is lucid; his language not inelegant; and his manner of treating the subject is at least sufficiently copious. But, as he has most of the merits, so has he all the imperfections characteristic of his age and party; a deep and various but ill-digested reading; a tediousness of argument, unhappily not incompatible with a frequent precipitancy of conclusion; a querulous and censorious tone in speaking of all who differ from him in opinion; while his attempt to reconcile the Calvanistic doctrine of irresistible grace with the conditional promises of the gospel, may be placed, perhaps, among the most unfortunate specimens of reasoning which have ever found readers or admirers.*

Of recent authors, where blame would be invidious, and where it would seem presumptuous to bestow commendation, I may be excused from saying more than that the plan of the present Lectures will be found to differ materially from any with which I am yet acquainted. There is another, however, and a greater name than all whom I have noticed, whose Doctrine of Grace (those parts at least which belong not to temporary fanaticism and factions best forgotten,) must ever be accounted, so far as its subject extends, in the number of those works which are the property of every age and country, and of which, though succeeding critics may detect the human blemishes, the vigour and originality will remain, perhaps, unrivalled.

But, on the Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost, the genius of Warburton is silent; and that occasional rashness, which is the attendant curse on conscious power, has destroyed, in his writings, that uniform and wary accuracy which alone can so far occupy the ground as to preclude the necessity of additional illustration or inquiry. On ground like this, indeed, (the most fertile, perhaps, in tares, and the most liable to invasion of any in the Evangelical heritage,) our labours can never be superfluous; nor are they to be despised, who bear, with whatever strength or fortune, their efforts and offerings to the common stock of knowledge and virtue; who, following the path of more illustrious adventurers, beat down, as they revive, the hydra heads of sophistry; whose occupation it is to eradicate those weeds of error which aspire to wreathe their poisonous tendrils round the fairest pillars of the sanctuary, and to chase those obscene birds of darkness and rapine, which from time return to scream and nestle in the shadow of the altar of God.

It has been urged, however, (and it is an objection which, doubtless, would apply, if to any theological subject whatever, to one which, like the present, confessedly involves the most mysterious topics of Christianity), it has been urged on grave authority, that the painful examination of religious mysteries is at once unnecessary and unwise; that, while open infidelity and open irreligion assail, with more than menaces, that faith and those morals in which we are all agreed who assume the name of Christians, it is safer and better to forget our internal feuds in the common danger of the great confederacy. It is urged that the churchman, neglecting the outworks of his peculiar system, should concentrate his efforts to the maintenance of those points which are really essential to salvation; that he will find sufficient employment in conciliating infidels to adopt these necessary features without the additional disgust of mystery; that to vanquish the vices of Christians is a nobler and easier task than that of confuting their heresies; and that, if the heart be insensible to the morality of the gospel, it is to little purpose to inform the head with the refinements of polemical divinity.

It is to this effect that Ogden reasons in his Tenth Sermon on the Articles of the Christian Faith; and the doctrine is so favourable to the indifference of some and the indolence of others, that we need not wonder that a very numerous proportion of the world should regard with contempt, or dislike, or pity, whatever efforts are made to understand or assert the more intricate passages of Scripture.

Those who are engrossed in other cares, and those to whom all care is hateful, are alike unwilling to embark in discussions which involve in their very preliminaries an obligation to patience and to toil; and the caution of the grave and the ridicule of the gay will often join their strength to bring us back from these thorny labyrinths into the safe and beaten common places of that general morality, of which the inherent beauty attests its divine original, and which commands the assent and admiration of every reasonable being.

Beauty and strength, however, are not synonymous; and it may, perhaps, be doubted, whether (to enforce those rules of action which we are called on in our practical discourses to recommend) it be not necessary to deduce their obligation from those very mysterious truths whose discussion is thus interdicted. The Almighty himself is a better judge than any one of his creatures, what propositions respecting his own essence and his intercourse with men, are advisable or necessary for men to know. If we have really any means of ascertaining his intentions in these respects, it must be by the observation of what truths are revealed in Scripture; nor has our Maker ever shown himself so prodigal of the tree of knowledge, as to induce us to believe that any thing is thus revealed which it does not greatly concern us to examine.

The assumption, then, on which the whole of those arguments proceed, which seek to deter us from all discussion of the Christian mysteries, in itself is, apparently, such as no system can safely repose on. For, if it be shown that the knowledge of such truths is important to man, (and their importance may be fairly inferred from the circumstance that God has thought fit to make them know to his creatures), if this importance be demonstrated, it must follow that, on this ground alone, it is our duty to state them fully and fairly to mankind, without perplexing ourselves farther as to their absolute necessity, or attempting to decide how far or in what manner the ignorant or incredulous may be saved or punished. To us these truths are revealed, for we acknowledge them; and, if they are parts of that revelation of which we are, professedly, God's messengers to the world, it remains to be shown on what pretence we conceive ourselves at liberty to intercept or suppress any part of our commission; what right we can plead to establish a distinction which God has, certainly, not appointed between esoteric and exoteric Christianity.

We are told, indeed, that it is incumbent on Christians of all classes and denominations to sink their minor differences in the common and glorious defence of those leading truths of revelation in which all acknowledge themselves concerned, and which infidelity has attacked with a violence which calls on the united efforts of all to repel.

If there be any meaning in this assertion, it must be that, until the opposers of Revealed Religion in general are answered, it is unwise and unchristian to enter into the discussion of any topic on which all Christians are not agreed. And for this restriction, (which, if it be allowed at the present moment, must, to all human appearance, continue in force till the final victory of Christ in the valley of Armageddon), for this restriction two reasons are alleged; the first, that the defence of universal Christianity is more necessary than the detail of its subordinate features; the second, that the heathen and infidel are scandalized by our divisions, and that we cannot make converts to a religion of which the leading tenets are, even with ourselves, the subject of doubt and disputation.

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* By a portion of our patrons, the sentiments contained in this and some other paragraps in these Lectures, will not be approved; but as the main design of the work is the vindication of truths in which all evangelical Christians agree, we shall not, we trust, in consequence of its selection, incur the charge of forgetting our pledge to "carefully avoid sectarianism."—*Ed. Ch. Lib.*

But unless it can be proved, that the service of no single labourer can be spared, even a moment, from defending the boundary of the common vineyard, though it be to root out the tares which threaten to make that vineyard little worth defending; unless a necessity can be shown that every sermon which we preach, and every essay which we publish, should be devoted to the confutation of deism, this argument can hardly be considered as worth a serious answer.

We do not consider ourselves as called upon to settle the precedence of duties of which, as we contend, neither the one nor the other should be neglected. We do not pretend to derogate from the merited honours of those illustrious vindicators of our common faith, within whose scope and compass it did not fall to notice the shades of difference which unfortunately prevail among the professed disciples of our Messiah.

But this we do maintain, and we maintain it, as we apprehend, on every principle both of reason and revelation, that he who honestly and earnestly, and in the spirit of Christian meekness, contends for any single circumstance of revealed religion, is as laudably though not so conspicuously diligent in his master's service, as those superior spirits whose wisdom and experience have battled with the rage of the pagan dragon, or unravelled the serpentine wiles of atheistic seduction.

But further: the argument which is thus deduced, *a majore et instantiore periculo*, requires the supposition of a case, which, if it be not impossible in itself, has never been for a moment possible since the first promulgation of Christianity; that the individual to whom it is applied is the solitary defender of our common faith, and of his own peculiar confession. It supposes that the deist and atheist have never yet received a sufficient answer to their objections; that if we, unfit as we may conceive ourselves for such a struggle, do not buckle on our armour for this particular quarrel, and to the neglect of every other Scriptural inquiry, we shall find, like the warriors of Ai, that our successes in other quarters have only served to draw us farther from the defence of our citadel; that, while we chase the socinian on one side, the more formidable deist advances on the other; and that we shall be called, ere long, from the exultation of fancied victory, by the crash of falling towers, and the smoke of our expiring temple.

Yet, surely, that vanity is little short of ludicrous, which supposes itself, like Elijah, alone in an apostate world, or which apprehends that, because Quintus or Titius is engaged in a subordinate skirmish, no watchmen are left upon the walls of Sion. There are, God be praised, many thousands besides ourselves in Israel who have never bowed the knee to Baal; and while we are occupied in the assertion of any portion of divine truth, we may trust without difficulty to the Lord of all, that defenders will not be wanting to the general interests of his cause.

Η ϰαι εμοι ταδε ϖαντα μελει

was the answer of Hector to the proposal of Andromache, that he should concentrate his forces to the defence of what was most valuable in Ilium; and their apprehensions, who suppose that in the din of controversy the Scæan gate will be taken by surprise, have more of feminine weakness than of that soldierly watchfulness, which is content to maintain with unshaken courage the post allotted to his particular care, and commits the rest to that great Captain of his salvation whose eye embraces every part and region of the battle.

The second assertion, that it is best to be silent on the subordinate features of difference among Christians, lest the heathen or the infidel should hesitate to listen even to those positions in which we are all agreed, may be sufficiently answered by the admission, that, in controversy with the heathen, we by no means recommend an undue or unseasonable protrusion of controverted points; and that it may be, doubtless, wise to establish firmly the elements of Christianity, before we call on our convert to agree with us in the consequences which, according to our opinion, those elements involve. But though the being of a God, the truth of the Mosaic history, the miracles of Christ, his death and resurrection, are positions which are primarily necessary to the profession of Christianity, yet are they first in succession, not first in consequence; first as the foundation of the rest, not first as of more practical importance than that superstructure for whose sake the foundation itself, in fact, is laid.

And, though it may be inexpedient to introduce such topics out of their place, it would be a lamentable want both of candour and courage to deny them when imputed to us; or, when called on to give an account of our faith, to soften away its peculiaralities for the sake of cheating mankind into a nominal Christianity. All which is implied in St. Paul's expression of *milk for babes in Christ*, is no more than the necessity of advancing first the simplest propositions in a chain of argument; and the same St. Paul, who, of all men, had a spirit most truly catholic, and whose converts were of all Christian teachers the most numerous, was not more active in extending the limits of the faith, than in repressing the domestic errors of those who had already embraced it.

What is, indeed, (we may reasonably inquire,) what is the practice which these zealots for universal Christianity recommend to the several sects who call themselves by the name of Jesus? The suppression, on one part and on the other, of truths which we severally believe to be divine; the admission of practices or opinions which our hearts regard as contrary to the gospel which we profess to teach! And of such a sacrifice what is to be the object or the end? To impose on a few ignorant deists, (if any deists are indeed so ignorant as to be thus imposed on,) by the appearance of a false unanimity among ourselves, and to recommend to their acceptance, as the common faith of Christians, a mutilated and disfigured religion, deprived of every peculiar feature which can distinguish it from natural deism, every discovery of God's will or nature which could furnish an adequate motive for the preaching or sufferings of his Son!

It may seem, then, if it be truly asserted, (which, however, has never yet been proved,) that unbelievers are chiefly deterred from Christianity by the mysterious features of our system—it may seem the best and wisest (as it is surely the most candid) method of addressing them, instead of softening down those obnoxious truths, which are not less true because they are obnoxious, to state with calmness and sincerity the grounds on which we ourselves have been induced to believe them.

The result of such a statement must be committed to that God who will not suffer his altars to be approached with unhallowed fire; in whose eyes deceit is no more a justifiable method of conversion than violence; who rejects alike the forgery of pretended miracle and the dissimulation of pretended candour; and who has pronounced an equal curse against those who add to and those who take away from the words of his book, the system of his revelation!

Not even, therefore, for the sake of converting an unbeliever, not for the sake of saving a soul, (if it were possible that a soul should by this means be saved,) is it lawful to dissemble our faith. Still less, however, can their cowardice or indolence expect a pardon, who, for the sake of repose, or in the hope of popularity, are content to purchase the forbearance of their adversaries by the abandonment of doctrines which they still believe to be true, and desert what they are apt to term the outworks of Christianity, for the sake, as they tell us, of defending its citadel more effectually. Such men it may, perhaps, be useful to remind, that concession, as a sign of weakness, is in worldly affairs regarded as an incentive to fresh assault; and that to press hard on the heels of a retiring adversary is a maxim as well in polemics as in war. But in fact we can pretend no right to compromise or suppress any single circumstance of that which is in Scripture impressively denominated "the entire counsel of God," and it is our duty to contend earnestly for the whole of that truth which was originally delivered to the saints.

Let me not, however, be mistaken. There is an unanimity to which every Christian is bound, (and of which that holy and honourable name is the pledge and only boundary,) the unanimity of good offices and affection. Where our best endeavours fail to prevent religious disunion, where difference is unavoidable, it is in our power, at least, to differ charitably. If we cannot pray together, we may, at least, do good in company; and our reverence for those common principles whose truth we acknowledge, though, in our opinion, they do not constitute the whole of that truth which is in Christ, will lead us to rejoice in their diffusion, however and by whomsoever accomplished. Where disunion is needless, we cannot be too catholic; but to sacrifice on the altar of pretended liberality those distinctive circumstances from which our individual hope is drawn; to weaken the hands of those who think with us, and to confirm by our example the rest in their deadly error; this is a conduct more criminal than the worship of Naaman in the house of Rimmon, inasmuch as our knowledge is more perfect than that of the Syrian chief, and the mercy which we have received is greater.

It has been objected, lastly, that the time which we bestow on these abstruser subjects is far more than commensurate to their practical importance and utility; that morality suffers while we concentrate all our force for the expulsion of error; and that the heads of our disciples are engrossed with barren mysteries, while their hearts are hardened or unimproved.

This argument, it is plain, proceeds on an assumption no less preposterous than that which I have already noticed. It is assumed, that there are no preachers of the gospel besides him who now enlarges on its mysteries, or that it is his unvarying practice to confine himself to doctrinal discussions, without ever insisting on those moral inferences to which every doctrine of genuine Christianity, will, if properly discussed, conduct him.

For, so far is the assertion incorrect, that a contemplation of the mysteries of Christianity is unfavourable to the Christian character, that, if it be more philosophical and more efficacious to furnish motives than rules for conduct; if it be possible to purify the passions by employing them on the worthiest objects, and by contemplation of the Divine perfections to raise the soul, in some sort, to the Deity; no surer way can be found to improve and strengthen the spiritual part of our nature, than the gratification of that natural and laudable curiosity after things unseen, by which the soul of man, as if conscious of her future destiny, delights to expatiate, so far as advance is possible, in those boundless fields of inquiry which are connected with the ways and attributes of the Almighty, the secrets of his government, and his intercourse with our intellectual being.

Such inquiries, conducted with becoming modesty, may be expected at once to elevate and to humble the soul; to elevate her powers by exercising them on the noblest objects; to humble her self-estimation by the sense of those narrow limits which must confine her hardiest flight, by the comparison eternally presented to her notice, between finite and infinite wisdom.

Spiritual pride, indeed, and metaphysical pedantry can only arise from, and are certain symptoms of, speculations not carried sufficiently far, inquiry too soon contented. They who skim the surface may think that all is known to them; but he who strives to sound the depths of ocean may receive, it is true, a rich repayment of his time and labour; but must desist at last with a feeling very different from pride. Our finite successes shrink into nothing when brought in contact with immensity, and we cannot rejoice that we have penetrated so far without recognizing the weakness which has prevented our proceeding farther.

Yet is not the sense of weakness which we experience in such an inquiry in itself either painful or degrading. The excellencies of a beloved object may be contemplated not only with wonder, but delight; the lustre of a benefactor is reflected on those who are the objects of his beneficence, and we ourselves become in some short identified with that greatness and glory which is exerted in our protection and happiness. The more we are sensible of the intercourse between God and his creatures, the stronger may our faith be expected to become, our gratitude the more lively. We shall feel ourselves elevated the more above earthly wants or wishes; and that which philosophy vainly boasted to perform, will be the daily and hourly effect of religious meditation.

But, though the advantages of a continued contemplation of the Deity be thus conspicuous, it must not be dissembled that those polemical discussions, by which we guard and vindicate the distincter features of that faith on which the Christian delights to dwell, are rough with the thorns of human passion, and beset with the rocks and precipices of earthly pride. The chicane of argument; the boast of victory; the pertinacious rejoinder of unacknowledged discomfiture; the personal dislike which transfers to our adversary that detestation which should be confined to his doctrine; ambition lurking under the cloak of zeal, and vanity not labouring for the cause of truth, but declaiming in the hope of triumph; these are some few of the fiends which have continued to haunt the mansion of religious controversy from the days of Tertullian down to those of Calvin, from Marcion to Servetus, and from Jerome to Bellarmine.

Nor need we wonder that portals occupied by such a garrison should be seldom and reluctantly trodden by those who have been permitted to wander amid the bowers of philosophy, to trace in the works of nature the evidence of almighty goodness; or whose warfare has been carried on with the common enemies of the Christian name, not those who differ only in their interpretation of the divine authorities to which both we and they look up with equal reverence.

What is necessary, however, must sometimes be undergone; and the safety of our brethren, no less than the same authority and example of the apostles, calls on us to observe the errors of our misguided friends with as keen attention as the open malice of our enemies; to repress the domestic seditions of the Christian church, as well as to labour in the extension and progress of her empire.

Nor must it be forgotten, that to unreasonable violence, or uncharitable imputations, religious discussion is not more necessarily liable than any other question in which the happiness or interests of mankind are deeply involved. The systems of philosophy, the inventions of medicine, are in our own times debated with as much of acrimony as the abstrusest doctrines of religion. The senate and the bar have had their bigots and fanatics as fiery as ever disgraced the altar; and examples have not been wanting in the more illustrious advocates of our own and foreign churches, which have demonstrated that zeal and wrath are not always inseparable, and that it is possible to defend the truths of Christianity or the sacred institutions of our ancestors, without forfeiting that charity which is to religion what the ark of the covenant was of old to the Temple of God.

And to this effect the following canons will, perhaps, be found to contribute.

First, That a perspicuous distinction be made, both in the statement of our subject and the degree of earnestness with which we pursue its investigation, between truths which are really divine and eternal, and those institutions which are only of human authority, or, at most, of temporary expediency.

Secondly, That no opinion be imputed to our adversary which he himself disclaims, not even if such opinion should appear to be fairly deducible from premises which he acknowledges.

For, though the argument *ab absurdo* be a very powerful and legitimate instrument in the war of words; and though it is not only useful but charitable to point out to our brethren and to the world the natural consequences of an erroneous doctrine: yet, if such consequences be disclaimed by our antagonist, we have a right indeed to argue from his inconsistency against his ability to guide the faith of other men; but we have no right to accuse him of insincerity, or to maintain that, because our inference is logical, he must necessarily see it in the same light with ourselves. We may caution his followers against the blindness of their guide, but it is more reasonable, as well as more Christian, to believe that his blindness is real, than affected.

Thirdly, It is fitting that we never advance an argument to convince or confute our antagonist, of the force of which we are not ourselves well satisfied. Even as worldly advocates such a practice is unwise, since the unsoundness of a single pillar may subvert the noblest temple; and since one detected sophism will do more injury to our cause than many good arguments can repair. But the practice is distinguished from absolute falsehood by shades so nearly imperceptible, that we may be very sure the cause of divine truth can neither require nor tolerate so weak and disgraceful an auxiliary. This rule will naturally extend to the exclusion of all those vulgar arts of controversy, those arguments expressly and solely intended to captivate the multitude, those inapplicable citations of Scripture, and those appeals to human prejudice or passion which, unhappily, occupy too large a space in almost every controversy which has arisen since the time of the apostles.

But the offence is yet more flagrant when we descend to the retailing of uncertain and offensive rumours; when we refer to documents of which the falsehood has been already proved, or which we cannot but ourselves confess to be unsupported by adequate evidence.

Of such misconduct a lamentable instance is afforded by a man no less renowned and admirable than the great Augustine himself, who is not ashamed, in his dispute with Faustus, to take advantage of the popular slanders against the followers of Manes, though his own experience (for he had himself been of the sect) was sufficient to detect their falsehood. And in later times, that we may omit those darker charges to which particular sects have been rashly exposed, (charges which the most positive testimony alone can justify, and which it was, *a priori*, in the highest degree improbable that any Christian sect could deserve;) in later times the Romanists have, in spite of repeated and satisfactory answers, continued to urge against our church the romance of Parker's consecration, while we ourselves are not altogether guiltless of falsely imputing to their public formularies the *systematic* omission of that commandment which we make the second in the Decalogue.

Nor is the impropriety of these doubtful charges diminished, if they are advanced on the authority of others, while we cautiously abstain from expressing any opinion of our own as to their truth or falsehood. If we believe them, why hesitate, with becoming firmness, to avow our conviction to the world? If we do not believe them, why are they advanced at all? Why, if it be not in the hope that our hearers may be convinced by those arguments which have failed to convince ourselves; that they may be induced to lean their confidence on that broken reed of which our keener eyes cannot but detect the insecurity?

Lastly, If we desire to avoid that bitterness of spirit which the obstinacy of a defeated, or the triumph of a more artful opponent is likely to kindle in our breasts, it is necessary to impress the mind with a thorough conviction of the very trifling importance of any single controversy in determining the faith of Christendom; the very small effect which our labours, even if most successful, might reasonably hope to produce on the opinions of the world; and the firm reliance which our faith should teach us in the ultimate triumph of true religion, though ourselves may not be among the appointed instruments by whose toils that triumph is to be purchased.

If with these impressions and resolutions we enter on the defence of truth, nothing else remains but a constant and studious comparison of our several positions with the final authority of Scripture, and an earnest and continual prayer to God that he would preserve in our hearts and our recollections those sacred principles, and that heavenly temper, without which it may be possible to cast out devils in the name of the Lord, and yet to find ourselves hereafter among those of whom that gracious Lord will be ashamed in the presence of his Father of the holy angels.

With these preliminary observations I now proceed to investigate the promise which, in the words prefixed to this discourse, our Saviour communicated to his disciples; in which discussion, it should seem, the following questions are naturally and necessarily involved.

It may, first, be demanded, who was that Comforter whom Jesus thus engages to send?

Secondly, Whether the promise of his aid were confined to the apostles only, or whether all believers in Christ in that and every succeeding age of the church have reason to believe themselves included?

Thirdly, Wherein that aid should consist which was thus graciously promised by our Lord?

Of these inquiries, the first, or that which respects the person of the Paraclete, would, at certain periods of ecclesiastical history, have been attended with difficulties which have long since ceased to operate, in proportion as the errors from which they arose have disappeared from the face of Christianity, or have so far purified themselves from their original grossness as to assume a less offensive form, and a malignancy less perilous.

Of those false Christs whose coming our Saviour foretold, there were some, it is said, who availed themselves of the character of the expected Paraclete to destroy or supersede that religion which the apostles had diffused through the world; who advanced against Christianity under the name of its appointed defenders, and assumed to themselves the impious power of explaining and amending that system of mercy and of power which, as the final dispensation of his will, had been confirmed by God through innumerable signs and miracles.

Even in the life-time of the apostles, and in those regions which, during our Saviour's abode on earth, had been distinguished by his personal presence, the magician Simon (whether he were the same Samaritan whose name is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, is nothing to my present purpose) aspired to perform that part during the golden age of Christianity, which in the days of its corruption the arch-imposter, Mohammed, too successfully attempted; and while he preached, as a more perfect gospel than that of Jesus, a wild and fanciful compound of evangelical truth, with the superstitions of Greece and Syria, he proclaimed himself boldly the successor and substitute of the Messiah; and applied to his own person, according to some authorities, (but, if we follow others, to that of his confederate and mistress, Helena,) the character of the Incarnate Paraclete.

The Heresiarch Manes was, in like manner, accused, and Montanus, doubtless, accused with justice, of assuming the same lofty title; nor did the followers of Mohammed omit to apply to their master so convenient an assertion of that Jesus whom he acknowledged to have been the greatest among the prophets and saints of the Most High.

Against all such claims, however, our Saviour has himself provided, by inserting a clause in explanation of his promise which effectually precludes all possibility of perverting his expressions to a mortal prophet or a second incarnation of the Deity. That clause, I mean, where he defines the novel term of Paraclete by one which was familiar already to his disciples and their countrymen: the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name."

A title this, which we evidently cannot, with any degree of propriety, apply to a human or corporeal teacher; but it is also as evident, on the face of the assertion, and according to its literal tenor, that not only a spiritual effect or influence, but an intelligent and personal agent is intended, by whom those graces were to be dispensed which should entitle him to the name of Comforter.

It is, therefore, in the first place concluded, that the Holy Ghost is an existence or an intelligent person.

But, secondly, there are many passages of Scripture in which the person thus designated is adorned with the most striking and tremendous attributes of Deity. He is spoken of as omnipresent, as all-knowing; to lie to him is to lie to God; to blaspheme him is a crime the most awful in its guilt and consequences of which human nature is capable; and the inspiration of the prophets, which is in some passages of Scripture imputed to the Holy Ghost, is, in others, ascribed to the Almighty. Hence, therefore, it is argued that the Comforter is also God.

Thirdly, we read in the same clause of our Saviour's promise which identifies the Comforter with the Holy Ghost, that this Divine and Almighty Person was to be sent by the Father in the name of his Son. And, as the Person sent is, according to the necessary tenor of the expression, distinct from the sender, we deduce from hence the third particular of our belief respecting his nature, that he is a Person distinct from God the Father.

But, fourthly, as the unity of the Divine Essence is a truth so strongly and repeatedly disclosed in Scripture that we cannot deny it without at once renouncing the entire volume of God's Revelation, we conclude that the Holy Ghost, no less than the Word or Son of God, is, in some mysterious manner, at once distinct from, and united with, the Father; and that in these Hypostases or Persons, the one Almighty Spirit inseparably and eternally resides.

What further grounds we have to confirm us in these opinions, or how far our religious antagonists have succeeded in establishing a different interpretation, must be the subject of the following discourses; in which each of those deductions from Scripture which compose, on this article of our faith, the ordinary confession of Christians, shall, in their turns, be discussed and asserted.

LECTURE II.

Nevertheless, I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

It was asserted in my former sermon on these words of Christ, that in the name and character of a Comforter, Teacher, or Advocate, (in whichever sense we choose to understand the original word Παράκλητος,) not only an effect but an agent is implied, by whom the comfort, instruction, or protection, was to be conferred on those who were its objects. It was not consolation which Christ undertook to send to his disciples, but a person who should console them; it was not security, but a guardian; and one who should defend their cause and his own amid the storms and calumnies of the world.

This was the sense, no doubt, in which those impostors understood the promise, who themselves, as we have already seen, assumed the name and character of him whom Jesus foretold; and this, as our antagonists are compelled to acknowledge, is the obvious, at least, and literal meaning of the expression.

If the letter, then, of God's word, were to decide our present question, that question would be thus far decided already. It might still, indeed, admit of doubt, (for it is a doubt which belongs to a different period of the inquiry,) to what rank in the scale of spiritual existence the Paraclete is to be referred. The Sabellian who identifies his Person with that of the Almighty Father, the Arian and Mohammedan who regard him as a created Intelligence, might still advance their separate claims on our attention, and each support his own hypothesis as to the nature of the person intended. But that the Holy Spirit was, in the language of schools, an ens, not an accident; an agent, not an action; an actual being, not a quality or mode of existence; would remain in the number of those truths of which the application indeed may vary, but of which the reality is placed by common consent beyond the reach of argument or cavil.

Accordingly, those Christian sects who deny the Spirit's personality, are compelled to understand the Scripture in a manner which I have too good an opinion of their critical powers to apprehend that they would employ in the interpretation of any other work whatever, and to resolve those expressions, however simple in themselves, which speak of him as a real existence, into the airy vehicles of eastern ornament and allegory. And this resource is rendered necessary, not by the present text alone, but by many other passages in Scripture, in which actions and properties are ascribed to the Spirit of God, altogether inapplicable to a virtue or quality.

For as the only two classes of existence, of which we have any conception, are those of matter and mind, so whatever is capable of action or passion must belong to one or other of these grand divisions of being. Qualities, in fact, and influences, and powers, as they are, properly, only modes in which one being makes an impression on another, or itself receives one; so they have, in themselves, no real existence at all, nor can they be asserted either to do or suffer any thing, except by that common but improper form of expression which speaks of an accident as if it were itself an essence, and describes the manner in which an effect is produced by terms which can only, in fact, apply either to the agent or the recipient.

Thus, when I say that *darkness* is coming on, I must not be understood as intending that the accident of darkness is capable of motion in itself, but I mean to ascribe motion to some real existence, whose absence or presence deprives my eyes of the power of discerning objects. If I speak again of power being given, I do not mean that power in itself can be touched or divided; but I mean that some alteration has taken place in my body or my mind, whereby I am enabled to perform what surpassed my previous faculties. And thus, whatever name the scholars of Socinus think fit to bestow on the Comforter promised by our Lord, yet if purity, motion, power, resistance, if doing or suffering be predicted (and predicted they doubtless are) of the Spirit of God in Scripture, they must, I repeat, ascribe these accidents to some real existence material or spiritual, or else they must maintain that our Saviour and his apostles have clothed an abstract idea under the form of an allegorical personage.

That the Holy Ghost is no material substance it may seem, perhaps, a waste of time to prove, inasmuch as I am not aware that it has been seriously maintained by any one. The wildest anthropomorphist, the most determined organic philosopher, will allow, I apprehend, that the expressions used in Scripture can apply, if literally taken, to no other than a being sentient and intelligent, which sense and intelligence, define them in what manner we please, afford a sufficient distinction from insensible or merely animal existence for the purpose of our present argument.

To prevent, however, any future refinement of the patrons of mechanism and irritation, I may be allowed to remind my hearers that will, moreover, and affection, and choice, and authority are ascribed, in Scripture, to the Spirit of God, no less than the power of producing an impression on the bodies or minds of men. The apostles appointed, by their own avowal, such laws as "seemed good unto the Holy Ghost;" while our Saviour, in the sentence which I have chosen for my text, and in the general tenour of his other expressions when speaking of the promised paraclete, speaks, it will be found, of HIM, not of IT,—of a person, not a thing or inanimate substance. "I will send," are his words in the promise which has given occasion to these discourses, "I will send HIM unto you"—ϖέμψω ΑΥΤΟΝ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος, (does our Lord proceed with an accuracy of expression of which the slightest knowledge of Greek is sufficient to make us sensible,) Ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον." "When HE cometh, HE "will reprove the world." But, more than all, in a sentence almost immediately following, (as if to exclude all such material or degrading notions as might be prompted by the material nature of that wind or breath by a comparison with which the operations of the Holy Ghost are illustrated), we find again the masculine pronoun employed, though coupled with a neuter substantive. The words, which are rendered in our translation, "when he the Spirit of Truth shall come," are, in the original, "ὅταν δέ ἔλθη ἐκεῖνος τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς Ἀληθείας." ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ! How can this be explained, unless we admit that, under the name of Wind, an intelligent person, not a material substance, was shadowed by the Son of God?

After this it may seem, perhaps, superfluous to urge on your attention, that it would be absurd and unnatural to assert of a bodily and insensible agent, that "as he was to hear, so he should speak;" that such an agent could with no propriety be supposed to appoint overseers in the churches of Asia or Achaia; that Ananias could not with reason be accused of attempting to deceive an afflatus or stimulus; nor could our sins be said to grieve a being incapable alike of pleasure or pain.

I believe, indeed, (and my opinion is not shaken by any thing which has been advanced to show the uncertain meaning of the word רוח in the Old Testament, and of ΠΝΕΥΜΑ in the New), I believe that the instances are very few indeed which can be found of this supposed uncertainty. It is possible, and barely possible, that the celebrated passage in the first chapter of Genesis may admit of application to a material agent. But, with this exception, no instance has been shown, either in the Law or the Prophets, where the context makes it probable that by רוח אלהים or רוח הקדש, a physical motion of the air is signified. Nor, in the writings of the later covenant can we find, as Athanasius has well observed, any single passage in which ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ is not sufficiently distinguished from any material afflatus whatever.

Accordingly, of two hypotheses, either one or the other must necessarily be adopted; and if we do not acknowledge God's Spirit to be a sensible and intelligent person, we must resolve him into a metaphor.

But, in all expressions not professedly parabolical, it is, *a priori*, likely that the literal and obvious, not the metaphorical meaning is that meaning which the words are intended to convey. Were it otherwise, the use of language would be, in no small degree, overthrown, and the dictates of departed wisdom and the revelations of a merciful God would sink into a jargon of unmeaning sounds, or, at least, be degraded from a rule of morals and of faith into a field for the perverse and unprofitable ingenuity of the lovers of enigma and allegory.

Nor is it possible that our learned adversaries can require, in such a case, to be reminded, that they have, of all men, least right to depart from the literal and obvious sense of Scripture, who themselves profess to strip religion of its mysteries, and to restore or reduce the gospel of Christ to its primitive and intelligible simplicity.

But, if this projected reformation be only a return to the forgotten error of *an internal sense* in Scripture, if the plainness anticipated be the plainness of a riddle, and if we are called on to acquiesce in an interpretation of the Sacred Volume as forced, though not so edifying, as the devout refinements of Jerome, the splendid dreams of Origen, or the wild but not uninteresting phrenzy of Emanuel Swedenborg; but small are the gains which the multitude have reaped from the translation and dispersion of the Bible; nor will the tyranny long exercised by the knowledge of the few over the faith of the many be less extensive or less absolute, whether the words of life be in an unknown tongue, or in a style which is, to the vulgar, in every language, unintelligible.

If it be granted, however, which even a Socinian will not deny, that the volume from which our hopes of salvation are drawn is something more than a mere chain of allegories; that there are some facts, at least, in Scripture, simply narrated, and, at least, some few assertions to be taken literally; it may be reasonably required that, before we concede to our antagonists the fact that any particular passage is to be understood in a figurative meaning, they shall prove to us first, that the circumstances under which the disputed expression occurs are such as to make a recourse to allegory probable; and secondly, that the expression itself has those usual marks by which, in every rational composition, such figures of speech are distinguishable.

The motives are four, and four only, which can induce a reasonable man to depart from that general propriety of language, to violate which, without sufficient reason, is a transgression at once against good sense and natural feeling; and these motives are as follow:

First, if he desires to perplex the judgment and to tax the ingenuity of his readers or auditors: Secondly, if a future event is to be dimly shadowed, which it would be inconvenient to express beforehand with too much precision: Thirdly, if a disagreeable truth is to be cloaked under a less offensive form: and, Fourthly, if an apt illustration of the subject implied is afforded by the outward circumstances of the fable, or allegory, or metaphor.

The first of these motives is that harmless love of superiority, which, from the time of Sampson downwards, has vented itself in hard questions and enigmas,—but which, however harmless, the gravity of our Saviour's character, no less than the peculiar solemnity of his discourse and the mournful occasion on which it was delivered, must effectually prevent us from expecting to find in his gracious promise of a Comforter.

Of the remaining three, the first had been answered on former occasions by the several figures under which our Lord described, beforehand, his death and its painful circumstances; the second by those various comparisons of the vineyard, the fig-tree, the entrusted talents, which he employed to reprove his countrymen for their impenitence and spiritual pride: and, of the last, an instance may be found in his manner of instituting the Eucharist, where, by bestowing on the bread and wine the name of his body and blood, he exemplified in them his own approaching sufferings.

But, in the promise now under consideration, if it be still regarded as allegorical, not one of all those ends is answered, for which only we can suppose that allegory would be employed by the wise and holy Jesus. There was no necessity for concealing, nor did, in fact, our Lord conceal from his disciples the nature of the comfort which they were to receive; no reproof was softened, no aptness of illustration obtained by attributing such celestial favours to the distribution of an imaginary agent, and we must, therefore, continue slow to believe that the agent introduced is imaginary.

With still more reason, however, we may require our learned antagonists to point out to our attention in the tenour of our Saviour's discourse some one or more of those characters and notices, the want of which must render any figurative expression whatever, (I will not say enigmatical, for to enigmas themselves these principles apply,) but altogether fallacious or unmeaning.

They are notices like these, indeed, which, however conveyed, afford, in fact, the only difference between fiction and falsehood; between a parable and a lie; between the forged adventures of an imposter and the imaginary incidents of a romance; between an incorrect and unnatural description of objects and events, and the elegant illustration of those events and objects by the use of metaphor or allegory.

I do not mean that it is always necessary that the author or orator should introduce his illustrations with a definite preface that he is about to speak in parables; that he should prefix to his flowers of language the formal title of enigma or metaphor; or guard us, with the fantastic caution of the Enthusiast of Geneva, against believing that fishes can speak, or that the trees of the wood can assemble to elect their monarch. The same notice is more elegantly, and as effectually given, first, when the circumstance related would be trifling or out of place in our present discourse, unless it had some deeper meaning than our outward words imply, and, secondly, when the assertion, if literally understood, would be in itself absurd or impossible.

By the first of these marks, when our Lord had shadowed out to his countrymen their own impenitence and final ruin, the Jews were able to perceive that the tale of the fig-tree was spoken against themselves. By the guidance of the second, we readily understand that, when Christ gave the name of his own blood to that fluid which the apostles well knew to be ordinary wine, he could only mean that his blood should in like manner be poured out or spilt. And it is on the same identical principle of the impossibility of a literal meaning, that we understand and employ the figure of personification, whereby abstract qualities are represented under circumstances which can properly belong to real existence alone; whereby virtue is described as a celestial nymph, and justice equipped with her balance, her fillet, and her sword. But for these distinctive marks of allegory, we may in the present instance inquire in vain. There is nothing either trifling or impossible in the literal sense of our Saviour's expression, and it is difficult, therefore, to show, on what principles of criticism or common sense the apostles could have understood their Master any otherwise than literally.

But, further, the personification of an abstract quality, (since it is in this manner that our learned antagonists desire to understand the term of Holy Ghost or Spirit of God,) is only then either proper or intelligible, when the name assigned to the imaginary person is the known and constituted representative of the species which we desire to comprise; as justice is the abstract term for a succession of just actions; temperance and mercy for repeated conquests over our animal inclinations and continual gentle affections; and virtue, in general, for that habit or disposition of mind which produces all the several actions of justice, temperance, and mercy.

When, therefore, we speak of virtue as a celestial nymph, and when we dress out justice in that garb which she wore in the ancient pantheon, our hearers are well aware that neither corporeal beauty nor material weapons can, any otherwise than figuratively, be possessed by either the one or the other.

But if an abstract idea be personified under any other name than that which conventionally and usually represents it; if I speak of the awful beauty of Aretè, or menace my auditors with the sword of Themis, it is impossible that those, who are not apprised that Aretè and Themis imply in Greek what virtue and justice do in our own language, should understand by my expressions any other than real individuals, of whom the one is literally stately and fair, and the other so armed as I described her. No one, therefore, in his right mind, if he did not really desire to deceive, would make use of similar expressions, or employ a name to represent an abstract idea, of which that name was not the proper representative. But no series of actions, no moral or physical quality can be instanced which the Holy Ghost can be said to represent. He may be the giver of virtue, but he is not virtue itself; he may dispense either wisdom, or goodness, or power, but however he may, in himself, be strong, or good, or wise, his name is not synonymous with any one of these several accidents or habits. If the term of Holy Spirit do not represent a person, it will be difficult to say of what idea it is the proper or natural sign, and it is most natural therefore, and most reasonable to suppose, that a person was thereby intended.

But this probability is still further increased, if the effects described be attributed to an agent, which, according to the preconceived opinion of my hearers, and in the conventional meaning of the word, is a real existence or intelligence, and competent, without any figure at all, to produce the phenomena ascribed to it.

Had Socrates, when speaking of that invisible monitor by whose dictates he professed to be guided, described it under the name of his prudence, his foresight, or his conscience; (though he still might have imputed to it the actions of a preceptor of a friend;) it would have then been clearly understood that his language was metaphorical, and that by the imaginary personage of prudence, conscience, or foresight, he meant only to express a natural process of his intellectual faculties.

But, when Socrates declared himself to have received advice and intelligence from a friendly demon, his countrymen must have understood, (and he, doubtless, intended that they should so understand him,) that he was attended by one of those beings superior to man, whom, under the name of Demon, they were accustomed from their infancy to fear, to propitiate, to adore.

In like manner, if we had read in the book of kings, that the disobedient prophet was overtaken, in his return from Bethel to Jerusalem, by destruction sent from God, we might, certainly, have understood the words *send* and *overtake* to be poetical ornaments only, and have interpreted the story by the simple circumstance that the prophet had died on his journey. But when we are told by the sacred historian that a lion was sent to destroy him, that would be a strange hypothesis indeed which should maintain, that the whole is an allegorical description of an apoplexy or a stroke of the sun, and that the animal called a lion was entirely unconcerned in the slaughter-

But, in the present instance, and with those Jews and Jewish Greeks to whom the gospel was first delivered, the name of Spirit, it is acknowledged by all, was no less appropiate to a particular class of animals than with us the names of lion, or man, or eagle. It meant, we know, like the demon of the Greeks, a race of sentient and intelligent beings, and, though it included in its wildest range the whole sweep of immortal and immaterial existence from the Almighty to the human soul, it was most generally used to designate the inhabitants of the invisible world.

It is little to our present purpose to inquire how far the above application of the word רוח (of which the Hellenistic ϖνεῦμα is a translation) was an essential or primitive feature of the Jewish theology; whether its meaning were originally confined to breath, or air, or acuteness of intellect; or whether, as is surely more probable, the suspicion of invisible was coeval with the knowledge of visible existence, and the most subtile substance which was obnoxious to sense, was naturally employed to designate that still purer mode of being which was only perceptible by their fears. But, whether the doctrine of Spirits were primitive or no, or whatever degree of antiquity we assign to its prevalence; whether it went up with Moses from Egypt, or passed with Ezra from Babylon; in the time of Christ we know the name was used to express a real or fancied personage, of power and knowledge excelling those of man; of wisdom more refined as being unshackled by sensual imperfections; of strength not less to be dreaded because the arm which smote was unseen.

It was the denial of such a race which divided the Sadducees from the great majority of their countrymen; it was to their agency that the Jews were accustomed to ascribe every phenomenon of nature, and every accident which befel the body or the mind, and our Saviour himself, when he returned from the dead, was apprehended to belong to their number.

But, to such a being, all the actions which Christ ascribed to his promised Comforter were strictly and peculiarly appropriate. The guardianship of a Spirit was perfectly intelligible to those who believed in tutelary Genii: that a person of this kind might dwell with them and be in them was the universal faith or superstition of the East; and to the actual illapses or inhabitation of such good or evil intelligences, the ravings of madness, and the lofty strains of prophecy, were imputed by the common voice of antiquity. The Sibyll was supposed, at the time of inspiration, to labour with a present Deity. It was not the Damsel of Philippi, but the Pythonic demon within her, who recognized in Paul and his companions the servants of the Most High God; and when the fiend was cast out, or the Divinity had retired, the power of the prophetess was gone.

It was not then, by any communicated energy, but by their actual presence and prompting, that the beings of the invisible world were supposed to give to man either supernatural knowledge or supernatural power. Had our Saviour menaced his disciples with a visitation of the evil spirit, we are sure that they would have understood him literally; the spirits of fear, of infirmity, of dumbness, were all, in the mythology of the Rabbins, supposed to be real personages; nor has any adequate reason as yet been assigned, why their notion of the spirit of truth should vary from this general analogy.

It is said that the Messiah conformed his expressions to the usual language of the time, without heeding whether the notions which that language implied were, in themselves, philosophical or accurate? That, as he was content to ascribe, in contradiction to the truth, and in compliance with popular superstition, corporeal disease to an incorporeal agent; he was content, in like manner, to express supernatural gifts under the name of a visiting or protecting spirit? The first of these suppositions, if it be not altogether blasphemous, is, at best, of a questionable character; nor will those, who believe the Lord Jesus to have been, himself, all wisdom and truth, be inclined to allow, that, under any circumstances whatever, he would have lent his sanction to a false notion of the manner in which his Father governs the world. But the conduct ascribed to him in the second part of this hypothesis is more, far more, than a simple acquiescence in error. The wisest and best of men may suffer, under particular circumstances, a mistaken opinion to pass unexplained; but that man is neither wise nor good who, in making a promise, unnecessarily employs such terms as are likely to deceive his hearers. Jesus might, surely, have engaged to endue his disciples with supernatural power or celestial knowledge, without the introduction of any fabulous machinery. "My Father," he might have said, "when I am taken away, will bestow on you such internal comfort and such outward marks of his favour, that ye shall have little reason to regret my departure from the world. Ye are heirs to my miraculous powers, and shall, with a commission derived from me, and in a field of utility far more extensive than that in which I have laboured, succeed me as teachers of righteousness." This he might have told them on Socinian principles, but how different are such expressions from those of "the Father shall send you another comforter,"—"the Spirit of Truth, who is with you, and shall be in you." "If I go not away, the comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you."

It has been objected, however, that the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God, was understood by the Jews themselves in a different sense from that which they applied to the term of Spirit in general; that it was a customary and conventional figure to express a particular operation of God's grace, and was strictly synonymous, in the usage of the ancient synagogue, with the modern term of inspiration. And, in aid of this opinion, two passages have been frequently cited: the one of St. Jerome, where, after accusing Lactantius of denying the personality of the Holy Ghost, he calls such denial a Jewish heresy; the other of Maimonides, who defines that Spirit by which the prophets spake, to be "an intellectual power communicated to them by God."

But that these passages are sufficient for the purpose of our antagonists, the following reasons may induce us to do more than doubt.

The meaning of Jerome was possibly no other than, under the name of a Jewish error, to stigmatize the peculiar doctrine of a single sect, and to tax his antagonist with Sadducism. And it may be also worthy of notice, that, if Jerome had no better foundation for his charge against the Jews than he had for that which he has brought against Lactantius, the synagogue of his time was, in this instance, but a very little way removed from the kingdom of God. Lactantius, though that particular work be lost to which his accuser chiefly refers, has left enough behind him to evince the grossness of the calumny; and, though he ascribe, in common, as may be hereafter shown, with many others of undoubted orthodoxy, the name of Spirit both to God in general, and, more particularly, to the Son of God in his pre-existent majesty; he distinguishes, nevertheless, in his description of the Saviour's baptism, the Spirit, peculiarly so called, both from the Father and the Son. Nor have any of the ancient Christians more happily illustrated the difference between the accidents of material existence, and the eternal and intelligent emanations of an eternal intelligence, than this pious and eloquent champion of the faith, whom, on the accusation of one whose warmth too often rendered him unjust and uncharitable, the orthodox have, without inquiry, been ready to fling into the hands of a party at least sufficiently anxious to obtain any illustrious accession to their number.

If we should concede, however, to the assertion of Jerome and the similar testimony of Epiphanius, that the majority of the Jewish nation did really, in their time, deny the Personality of the Holy Ghost,—yet will not the prevalence of such an opinion in the fourth century after Christ, be regarded as a sufficient evidence of the original doctrines of the synagogue. Those doctrines may be naturally supposed, in the course of twelve generations of mutual bitterness, to have receded considerably from the ancient confession in every point which favoured or resembled the tenets of their Christian rivals. And the more recent, and therefore less forcible authority of Maimonides is liable to the further objection, that this ingenious writer has evinced himself in several instances disposed to depart from the usual tenor of Rabbinical orthodoxy. Disgusted with the legends of his countrymen, and anxious to obviate the discredit which their dreaming commentators had thrown even on the Law of Moses itself, the system which he has embodied in the More Nevochim, is, throughout, a sort of freethinking Judaism, as much at variance with the general confession of those whose cause he pleads, as the works of Crellius and Socinus with the prevailing tenets of Christendom.

And that, in fact, no small number at least of the more learned Jews, even so late as the fourth century after Christ, acknowledged the Spirit of God as a distinct and intelligent being, is shown by the positive assertion of Eusebius, (who quotes the Hebrew doctors as assigning him a local habitation in the region of the air;) by the fact which will be hereafter more minutely proved, that the Christians of the circumcision, however in other respects heretical, in the Personality of the Holy Ghost agreed with the Gentile Churches; and above all, by very numerous passages in the Rabbinical works themselves, which speak of him in terms altogether inapplicable to a virtue or abstraction only. By these writers the Holy Ghost is expressly opposed to him, whom we know the Jews regarded as a person, the spirit or power of evil; he is said to dwell in the hearts of men as another and a better soul; he is called a Holy Guest who honours the Sabbath with his presence; we find him described in their usual jargon as the Spirit of the Window whereby God's glory is revealed, and the Spirit by whom the dead are raised.

And, as it cannot be said that our souls are enlightened and our bodies raised by the same or a similar operation; as the acts described are distinct, the Spirit by which they are effected must, plainly, be an Agent, not a process; a Dispenser of various graces, not any single grace personified.

It is needless, therefore, to refer to the ψυχὴ or νοῦς of Philo, and the Binah of the Cabbalists, to ascertain the ancient creed. It is true, indeed, that these Hebrew testimonies fall very short of that standard of knowledge which the Christian Church has attained; and that the rank of the Holy Spirit, and his union with the Deity, were imperfectly, if at all, comprehended, by the Jews of any sect or era. But, neither can this admission be allowed to militate against the truth or importance of this article of the Catholic faith, without abandoning at the same time the resurrection of the dead, and all those other features of our religion, which it was a part, at least, of the Messiah's office, to reveal, or assert, or explain.

The illumination, in fact, of the moral creation of God, during the course of his dealings with mankind, has, like the advances of the physical day, been gradually and slowly progressive. The darkness of ignorance has been dispelled by a process almost similar to that which chases every morning the darkness of night from a part of the creation; and the leading truths which almighty wisdom has thought fit to reveal to mankind have been enveloped, at first, amid the clouds of type and mystery; in promises which might sharpen the attention of the soul, and in shadows which might soften to her eyes the too sudden glare of wonder and miracle.

At first, with the first men and early Patriarchs, we are introduced to the thin dawn and twilight of Revelation; the covenant taught by the mystery of the serpent's head, and by the institution of bloody sacrifices. Then came the dawn of day, but faint and cloudy still with ceremonies and allegory, and Christ appeared afar off, and reflected from the face of Moses. Still it grew lighter and more light as, to successive generations, successive Prophets announced, with increased precision, the approach of the destined Messiah; till, bearing in himself the full brightness of the Godhead bodily, with healing on his wings, the sun of righteousness arose!

True it is, that of the glorious prospect which the Christian day-spring opened to mankind, the component features were not new, though a new splendour encircled them; the roses of Sharon and the trees of Paradise were not then first planted, though their beauties were then first discernible; and the mountain of God's help had stood for ages, though its form was indistinct before.

When the secret of a knot is unravelled in our presence, we wonder that what is now so plain should have so long escaped discovery; and thus, we are told, did the hearts of the disciples burn within them, when they found that all the mysteries of the new covenant had been originally contained in the old, in those ceremonies which had occupied their hourly attention, those prophecies which had been read to them every Sabbath day.

But, till the knot is untied, its artifice is still an enigma; till the problem is solved, its component parts appear irreconcilable: the mystery of the triune Godhead, though it be implied, is not expressly revealed in the scriptures of the former covenant; nor can we expect from those Jews who so erroneously estimated the character of their Messiah, any accurate idea of the yet more mysterious Comforter. It is enough for the purpose of our present argument to have shown that, among the countrymen of Christ, the Holy Ghost was not considered as a merely abstract notion; that the spirit, which God caused to dwell with his saints, was believed, like other spirits, to be a real and sentient existence; and that no reason, therefore, remains, which could induce the disciples to understand their Master's simple language in a figurative or parabolical meaning. It is almost needless to add that it is, therefore, highly improbable, that such a meaning was intended by one whose object was, not to perplex and deceive, but to confirm, to enlighten, to console.

And this probability will be augmented in a tenfold proportion, if it shall appear on inquiry, (as it will, I apprehend, appear to all who inquire with sufficient candour and diligence,) that, of those believers for whose use, in every age of the world, the promise of our Lord was, apparently, intended, the great majority have, in every age, adhered to the literal interpretation.

If of a numerous assembly, the major part misconceive the purport of an oration, the mistake will be, in common life, attributed to a wilful or involuntary defect of clearness in the orator; he will be supposed to have purposely concealed his meaning from the passions and prejudices of the vulgar, or to have failed from natural infirmity in producing that effect on their understandings which was the ostensible object of his endeavours.

But neither mysticism nor weakness can, without the wildest impiety, be imputed by any Christian sect to our common Master. He came to give light to mankind, and he would employ, we may be sure, in that glorious mission, the means which were best adapted to his end. The manner, then, in which the majority of the Christian church have, in every age, agreed to understand any expression of their Lord, (though this agreement will be no absolute proof that their interpretation is true,) yet will it certainly go a considerable way to persuade a candid man that it is so.

And the presumption of its truth will be stronger still, if we find that, in this majority of believers, those ages are included which come nearest to the time of the apostles,—and that in antiquity, no less than universality, it has the advantage over the opposite opinion.

For, though nothing, doubtless, of divine authority, (and no authority can be absolutely conclusive which is not divine,) be ascribed to those remoter periods: yet, as every stream, in proportion to its length, is exposed to adulteration; and as every machine gathers rust by the very act of continuance; so is it reasonable to compare, as far as possible, our own opinions with the opinions of those ages, when the very youth of Christianity exempted her from some of those corruptions which are the attendant curse on time. But, in the weight of antiquity, no less than of numbers, the orthodox lay claim to victory.

To such a claim, however, two leading objections have been made: the first, that the ancient Christian writers were incompetent judges of scripture; the second, that those writers to whom we appeal were the favourers of a small, though learned party, who were themselves the corruptors of that faith which was primitive, and, till their success, universal; and who brought from Alexandria, among other Platonic absurdities, the doctrine for which I now contend.

These objections are neither of them new, and each has been already answered. So old they are, indeed, and have been so often refuted, that the time might seem but wasted which is spent in their discussion, were it not needful, that so long as they are urged they should not be urged unnoticed; lest the pertinacity of our antagonists should assume the garb of victory, and they should pretend, at length, to the triumphant possession of that field on which a superior arm has long since laid them breathless.

The accuracy or intelligence of the ancient fathers as interpreters of Scripture, I am little concerned to vindicate. As divines they were little better, and as critics, too often considerably worse, than many among the moderns, who must never hope to be referred to in the schisms of contending nations. But it is not as expounders of the gospel, but as historians of public opinion, that the theological writers of former ages are chiefly entitled to our respectful notice. Were their original observations less valuable than they are, (and it is vain to deny, to many at least, among their number, the praise of natural acuteness, of extensive learning, and indefatigable diligence,) yet, as contemporary witnesses to the ancient faith of the churches of Christ, the dates at which they flourished must always give importance to their decision; as in a question of prescription we are accustomed to refer to the evidence of the oldest neighbour, though that neighbour have no other quality but age, which can induce us to pay a deference to his opinions.

It is proved, then, in answer to the first objection, that, to our present purpose, the early Christian writers are not incompetent authority; since they are not adduced to decide whether the doctrine under examination be absolutely true or false, but only whether it was really the prevalent opinion in those ages with which they were best acquainted.

To the second objection, which refers the introduction of those opinions which we call orthodox to the commencement of the second century from Christ, and to the labours of Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, we may first reply, that this hypothesis is directly contrary to the witness of such primitive, or, as they are usually called, apostolic writers, as have transmitted any portion of their work to posterity. The passages are well known which have been produced from these venerable relics in affirmation of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is more to my present purpose to observe, that, on the personality of the Holy Ghost, their testimony is equally decisive.

Hermas, whom St. Paul salutes by name in his Epistle to the Romans, opposes in his "Shepherd" the Spirit of God to the evil demon, in terms which can only suit the opposition of one real person to another. The work of Hermas is, indeed, confessedly allegorical; yet is it, apparently, to an attentive reader, no difficult task to distinguish in what parts he is speaking by a figure, and in what expressing his own serious conviction; and when the good or evil genius is spoken of, we have no reason to believe that he is not in earnest, or that any other individuals are intended than Satan and the Spirit of God.

But, whatever doubts may exist as to the meaning of Hermas, none can be entertained as to that of Clement, the fellow-labourer of the same great apostle; who, as quoted by Basil, no less than in that epistle which only now exists in the Syriac translation, but of which Wetstein, no incompetent judge, so strongly urges the authenticity, attributes life, and anxiety, and active agency to the Holy Ghost, in the same manner as to the Father and the Son.

Ignatius, in like manner, in his Epistle to the Magnesians, (a work which has stood the severest test of criticism,) describes the apostles as rendering a like obedience to all the several persons of the Trinity. And the blessed Polycarp, in his expiring prayer, as preserved by those brethren of the Church of Smyrna who attended his captivity and wept around the flames of his martyrdom, gives glory to the Holy Ghost in almost the very words of our present doxology,

This form of praise, indeed, which was recognized by Dionysus of Alexandria as the ancient order of Christian invocation; which concluded the hymn of the martyr Athenogenes; and that yet more ancient Canticle εἰς ἐπιλύχνια, which was in the fifth century of universal and immemorial usage among the meaner Christians; is in itself an illustrious evidence of the ancient opinion of the church, and may prove that in the earliest times, as now, the unlearned majority were orthodox. It was, we learn from Basil, a pious and popular custom to return thanks in this form to the three persons of the Godhead by name, when first the lamp was lighted in the evening. Now, to customs of this sort, when they are universal, and above all, perhaps, when they are confined to the uninstructed and the poor, we can hardly ever err in imputing a very high degree of antiquity. For an unwritten prayer to grow into general usage may require, as it should seem, the lapse of more than a single century; and those of our order, whose duty has thrown them among the peasantry of the remoter provinces, will have had ample occasion to observe their tenacity of ancient customs. In the hymns, the legends, and the artless devotions of our English poor, it is often not impossible to trace the relics of superstitions long since passed away, of Pagan and Roman Catholic prejudices; but seldom, indeed, can we find a form of recent introduction among those habitual ejaculations of prayer or praise, which lull poverty to rest on her rugged couch, or welcome in the hard and wholesome repast of labour. In a cottage family the religious instruction of the young invariably devolves on the aged; the child is taught by his grandmother the same words which she herself had, in like manner, learned during her infancy; and thus, from year to year, the same address goes on, acquiring an additional sanctity in each successive generation. It will not be pretended by our learned antagonists, that the use of the Doxology can possibly have been of Pagan origin; and they will be perplexed, I apprehend, to assign to a custom which, in the days of Basil, was popular and immemorial, a less than apostolic antiquity.

But, be that as it may, the sentiment which it conveys is the same, as we have seen, which, amid the smoke and ashes of martyrdom, could raise the hopes and inspire the courage of the last surviving disciple of the last apostle, the beloved hearer of him who was himself the beloved of the Lord. If Polycarp were mistaken, who shall hope in these latter days to unriddle an evangelist's meaning? If St. John himself had erroneously expounded the promise of his friend, we may well close the volume of Scripture in despair, till the lion of the tribe of Judah shall return to open its seals.

Nor are the testimonies of the Apostolic Fathers, whether relating to the divinity of the Son, of the Personality of the Holy Ghost, of a nature which affords even the slightest internal reason to suspect interpolation or imposture. They are either pious ejaculations under circumstances wherein the soul of man would naturally revert to prayer; or they are arguments or illustrations connected with the discourse which contains them, and, therefore, not to be excluded without injury to its general texture. And, above all, the comparative vagueness of their expression may prove them to have proceeded from devout and simple minds, while incidentally speaking of truths which it was not their immediate business to defend. The hand of interpolation would have been coarser and more decisive; and, if the object had been to enforce the Trinitarian opinions, the expressions employed, we may be sure, would have been far more technically orthodox. The moderate tone and general nature of those passages where the Triune Godhead is implied, may convince us at once that the text is not in these instances corrupted, and may induce us also to believe that those tenets had been hitherto very little questioned, which are mentioned thus unguardedly.

If, then, we should admit the assertion to be accurate, that a majority of Christians were, in the days of Justin and Tertullian, averse from the orthodox doctrine, we might rather conclude that a departure from ancient principles had taken place among the more ignorant believers, than that, in the second century, those doctrines were new to Christian ears, which had been taught in the church by Clement and Ignatius and Polycarp.

In truth, however, those passages of Justin and Tertullian, which have been advanced with much parade of learning and no little scorn of those who have ventured to explain them differently, may be proved, on a candid inquiry, to apply to purposes far different from that for which they are ordinarily cited, and, instead of convicting the orthodox doctrine of novelty, are, on the other hand, very strongly in its favour.

Tertullian complains in his treatise against Praxeas, that certain Christians, whom he grants to be the majority of the church, though he at the same time objects to them, that they were, "simplices, imprudentes et idiotæ," having been converted from the worship of many false divinities to that of the one true God, and not understanding how this unity was to be believed together with the trinitarian distinction of persons, were alarmed at the thoughts of such distinction. And hence it is inferred (to use the words of one, who, if not the most distinguished, is at least the most forward of the modern apostles of unitarianism,) that, "*the majority of Christians, being plain unlearned men, zealous for the divine unity, warmly resisted the trinitarian doctrine which some philosophic Christians were then endeavouring to introduce.*"

It is impossible not to regret that this ingenious person, no less than several greater names on both sides of the controversy, have referred to Tertullian for the purpose of controversy only, and have, therefore, regarded the present passage as distinct and insulated, not only from the general purpose of that work to which it belongs, but from the immediate and necessary context. To this we owe those idle verbal criticisms on the insignificant word "idiotæ," and the application of those rules of language and propriety to the fiery presbyter of Carthage, which would have been applicable, perhaps, to a Roman of the Augustan age. But if, instead of tearing in pieces a detached expression, we refer to the work itself, we shall find that Tertullian was not complaining of the difficulty which he experienced in introducing a new doctrine into the church, but that he was deploring the progress which a recent (a very recent) error was making in the west of Christendom.

Far from complaining that those opinions which were adverse to a faith in the trinity, were the result of deeply rooted prejudice, he speaks of them as "a novelty of yesterday," and reminds his fellow-Christians that this, "like every former heresy, may be confuted on the simple principle, that whatever has been from the beginning is true." Now, without discussing the truth or falsehood of his principle, it is evident, that the simple fact of his adducing such a rule of faith is altogether inconsistent with the conduct of one who was labouring either to corrupt or reform an ancient opinion, or who had offended the ears of the church by the introduction of philosophical novelties. His language is that of the jealous asserter of antiquity, the strenuous guardian of established doctrines: it is (and in their contest with heretics, this is the almost uniform characteristic of the Catholic party) the defender, not the assailant, who addresses us. But, if a Protestant in Rome, or a Socinian in England, were endeavouring to disseminate his tenets among the people, he would not, we may be sure, exhort his hearers to stand on their ancient paths, and beware of new-fangled teachers;—his arguments would be directed against the folly of inveterate prejudice, and he would urge the necessity and reasonableness of judging for ourselves, without regard to the canons and precedents of our fallible predecessors. Tertullian has been called by Mr. Belsham a philosophic Christian: but he must have been an idiot in the strictest modern meaning of the term, to have spoken as we find him speaking, had not the doctrine of the trinity been already in prescriptive possession of the minds of men.

What, then, is the meaning of his complaint? Exactly that which every jealous supporter of established doctrines brings forward, with whatever reason, on the appearance of a new religion,—the progress which it makes among the vulgar. And this progress, exaggerated, as usual, in such cases, by his fears and jealousies, he ascribes, with sufficient candour, to the inherent and admitted difficulties of the established creed, and the consequent eagerness with which the lower orders flocked to a preacher who professed, like Praxeas, to vindicate the unity of God, and to reconcile, as he undertook to do, that attribute with the divinity of the Lord Jesus.

For, let not the modern Unitarian expect to find in Praxeas or Noetus a precursor of Socinus or Priestley; or anticipate, from the transient success of the ancient heretics, an abundant harvest of converts to the modern reformation! Whatever were the opinions of Sabellius, (of which our accounts are too contradictory to enable us to form any adequate judgment,) the doctrines of Praxeas are sufficiently known, and have no parallel, perhaps, in modern error, except the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg. He taught, indeed, one only person in the Godhead; but he taught that this person was no other than that God who was, at once, the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Comforter of mankind; who was born of a virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate, and afterwards descended in a shower of fire on the apostles in the day of Pentecost. In other words, he united the several offices of the trinity in the single person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

To that Unitarianism, which, as described by Mr. Belsham himself, would rob us of every rational ground of confidence in the mercy of heaven; which casts on us again the burthen of those iniquities, under which the whole creation hath groaned and travailed; which reduces the Messiah to an earthly prophet, of whom we are ignorant whether he is in Heaven or no, to whom we owe no gratitude for favours now received, from whom we have nothing to hope or to fear,—to that Unitarianism the Christians of Rome and Africa were, in the age of Tertullian, strangers. The tenets of Noetus and Praxeas I am far from being inclined either to believe or defend; their inconsistency I shall have occasion, in the course of these lectures, to expose: but thus much may, at least, be urged in favour of their comparative innocence, that the fountain of salvation is not, by their means, rendered dry; and that, while they strangely confound the person of the Redeemer with those of the Father and the Comforter, they leave us, nevertheless, the consolation of an almighty Saviour, and an all-sufficient sacrifice for sin.

The complaint, then, of Tertullian, cannot, if rightly understood, be regarded as adverse to the antiquity or universality of those opinions for whose orthodoxy I now am pleading. And the words of Justin, in which he admits that some revered the virtues of Christ, who refused to believe that the Supreme Being should be born of a woman, and suffer by a shameful death, will be found, on examination of their context, and the occasion on which they were spoken, altogether as little favourable to the system of our antagonists.

Justin, it will be recollected, having already nearly worsted his Jewish adversary on the point that Jesus was the expected Messiah, the rabbin, as usually happens with the weaker party, diverts the argument to that which had only incidentally become a question, our Lord's pre-existence and divinity. Justin, therefore, reminds him, as any disputant would in such a case have done, that the Deity of Jesus was not the point under immediate discussion; that, on whichever side the truth might lie as to the peculiar tenets which Justin himself maintained on this mysterious subject, Trypho was not therefore justified in resisting the arguments drawn from the ancient prophets, to prove the general fact of our Saviour's mission from God. "There are some," he continues, "I do not think them right in such their opinion, but there are some who allow that Jesus is the Christ, though they deny his miraculous incarnation. We may, then, discuss the first of these questions distinctly from the other, since there is, in fact, no necessary connexion between the proposition, that Jesus was a prophet sent from God, and that he was an eternal and almighty Person incarnate."

That this is the general tendency of Justin's argument, our antagonists themselves will not, I apprehend, deny: nor, from such a statement can it by any means appear, either that Justin thought (which we know from his strong expressions elsewhere he certainly did not think) the doctrine of the Trinity unimportant to Christianity, or that the persons whom he mentions as holding opinions adverse to that doctrine were, in his time, the majority of Christians. Whatever, indeed, were their number, it is apparent that those individuals denied not only the Divinity of Christ, but his birth from a virgin, and that they must therefore have differed not from Justin only, and the orthodox Christians of later times, but from Socinus and Crellius themselves. And though the modern Unitarians have made so large advances on the scepticism of their more cautious and more learned predecessors, yet have few of them, as yet, attained so lofty a pitch of free-thinking as to reject the authority of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and to degrade our Saviour to the mortal son of Joseph the carpenter.

But, further, it is apparent, that it was the interest of Justin, so far as the success of his argument was concerned, to assign as much of weight as could with truth be assigned to the number and authority of these dissidents, since we find him urging their example on Trypho. He calls them, however, *τινὰς* not *πολλοὺς*, far less *πλείονας* or *πλείστους*—"certain," that is, not "many persons." And the force of the word *τινὲς* is so far opposed to the notion of any considerable number, that it is known to be almost equivalent to *ὀλίγοι*, "a few."

Justin repeats, however, and repeats it with considerable earnestness, that he himself was far from assenting to an opinion so degrading to the Lord whom he worshipped; and he concludes by declaring, as our antagonists themselves understand the following sentence, that he should continue in his present sentiments, even though the majority of Christians should maintain the contrary.

According to their own interpretation, then, the sentence is obviously hypothetical; "In case it should so happen," he is made to say, "that the majority of Christians should embrace such an opinion, even in that case I would not assent to it." The Syrian martyr, then, might rather seem to contemplate the future possibility of encroaching heresy, than to acknowledge that tenets similar to those of Socinus and Dr. Priestley were, at that time, the prevailing sentiment of the church.

It may be doubted, however, with reason, whether the words themselves of Justin be capable of that rendering which Thirlby and Waterland have given them, and which only, though those learned men contemplated no such consequence as possible, can be applied to support the Socinian hypothesis. The sentence, *οις οὐ συντίθεμαι οὐδ' ἂν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα μοι δοξάζοντες εἴποιεν*,—which Waterland translates, "whom I assent not to, no not though there were ever so many concurring to tell me so,"—is convicted by such a rendering of a solecism of the most obvious kind, inasmuch as *συντίθεμαι*, a verb in the indicative mood, can with no propriety be placed in opposition to *εἴποιεν* in the optative. If Justin, then, had desired to express the sentiment which they impute to him, his words, if he had spoken good Greek, would not have been *οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι———οὐδ' ἂν εἴποιεν*, but *οἷς οὐ συντιθείμην, οὐδ' ἂν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα μοι δοξάζοντες εἴποιεν.*

But though the language of the Syrian martyr is doubtless far from classical, yet will not it be easy to find in his works any similar instance of contempt for the rules of grammar; nor can that be considered as judicious criticism, which, whether for the sake of avoiding a fancied tameness of expression, or of serving the ends of a sect, will adopt an ungrammatical sense, when another may be obtained without violating any principle of diction. The particle *ἂν* is, in the present passage, plainly, not disjunctive, but expletive; and the only sense of which the words are capable, is one directly adverse to that which the Socinians would have them convey,—an assurance, namely, that there were not many who, in the days of Justin, disbelieved our Saviour's Deity. *Οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι, οὐδ' ἂν πλεῖστοι μοι ταῦτα δοξάζοντες εἴποιεν.* "Quibus—neque ipse assentior, nec multi sane hæc mihi opinione ducti dixerint."

And that this is the proper rendering is apparent, if we consider, that in the days of Justin, and little more than a century from the death of our Lord, it is contrary to all evidence to suppose that the authority of the church was carried to a height so pontifical, as that even a question could suggest itself of a man's submitting his faith to the decision of the majority, or of guiding his conscience in a point of such importance by any but the written or traditional words of inspiration. The words which follow, therefore, and which have been sometimes supposed to be the reason given by the Syrian martyr, for dissenting from the usual doctrine of the church, are, in truth, no more than the reason why the universal church were so earnest to inculcate those opinions which were a stumbling-block in the way of Trypho's conversion, but which, as received from the Deity himself, their principles would neither allow them to suppress nor to compromise. Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπείοις διδάγμασι κεκελεύσμεθα, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δὶ αὐτοῦ διδαχθεῖσι.

That the Son, indeed, and the Holy Ghost, were, as well as the Father, adored in the days of Justin, by the great body of Christians, we learn from Justin himself, in a treatise, where, of all others, a mis-statement of their opinions in this respect would have been most wicked and most useless,—his Second Apology for the Christians; a work wherein he justifies the great body of believers from the charges of atheism and superstition brought against them by their Pagan enemies; and wherein he professes to give an accurate exposition of those doctrines which they really believed and maintained.

Now I am convinced, that in those numerous apologies and (to use a word which has, during these few last years, become popular and almost technical) those "portraitures," which the advocates of different sects have, in our times, sent forth in commendation or defence of their respective tenets, no instance can be found in which the Apologist has ventured to ascribe, as an article of faith, to the universal sect, those opinions which were confined to a small though learned part of it. Not even where the tenet was of a popular character, and likely to conciliate the good will of those for whose perusal the Apology was intended, would such a conduct be hazarded. There are Quakers who dress themselves like other men; but would any of these, in controversy with an Episcopalian, maintain that this harmless conformity to the world was the general opinion and practice of the society for whom he was pleading? There are Protestants who reverence the Episcopal institution as of primitive and apostolical appointment; but should I, or any other Protestant who holds this opinion, maintain, in a friendly conference with a Romanist, that the universal body of Reformed and Lutheran churches in this respect agreed with me? Still stronger, however, does the case become, when the tenet in question has been the subject of derision or persecution; when it is esteemed the most offensive peculiarity of the sect, and that from which their enemies have taken most occasion to accuse them of blasphemy or madness. The doctrines of materialism and necessity have been maintained, we know, by many of the leading members of that sect which chiefly, in the present age, opposes the opinion of a Trinity; yet how explicitly do their ingenious supporters disclaim both materialism and necessity as essential or universal doctrines of the infant church; how strongly are we assured, that, whatever be the notions of individuals on these important subjects, such notions are neither taught nor received by the majority of freethinking Christians.

But the divinity of a crucified Man was a doctrine more revolting to the Greeks and Romans than the materialism of Priestley to the majority of modern believers: the injurious manner in which the influence of the Holy Ghost and the notion of a Trinity in Unity were derided by the Heathen, is apparent from the few ancient libels against our faith which have descended to the present generation. It was incumbent, therefore, on the Apologist of Christianity to show, that those opinions (whether he himself adopted them or no,) were the opinions of a small party only; that they were points on which the church permitted every man to think as he pleased; and that ignorance only or malignity could visit their supposed impiety on the universal body of Christians.

Such would, such necessarily must have been the conduct of the eloquent and (our adversaries themselves being judges) the honest and candid Justin, were the Unitarians correct in their hypothesis, that their present opinions were, in his time, those of a great majority in the Christian world. But how different is the declaration of faith which, not in his own name only, but as defender of the Catholic religion, he advances in his Second Apology!

"In gods like these," (he is speaking of the Pagan deities,) "we own ourselves to be unbelievers; but not in the most true and faultless God, and Father of justice and purity, and all other virtues. Him, and the Son who came to teach this Gospel to us, and the Prophetic Spirit, we with a true and reasonable service worship and adore!"

Such, in the days of the elder Antoninus, and barely half a century from the death of St. John, was the confession of the Greek and Syriac Churches. Forty years later, we have seen, on the authority of Tertullian, that a belief in the Trinity was the predominant and prescriptive creed of the Christians in Western Africa; nor can we better sum up the result of these testimonies than in the words of Irenæus, who was contemporary both with Justin and Tertullian and Polycarp himself, and who, as a native of Syria and a Gallic bishop, was enabled to speak with greater certainty of the predominant opinions in the Eastern as well as the Western world.

"This doctrine," he tells us, after a clear and copious exposition of all those points for which the orthodox are now contending, "this doctrine and this faith the Church, though scattered through the earth, has received, and guards as if her members were one single family. This she believes as with one single heart; this as with one single voice she proclaims and teaches, and delivers to her progeny. There are many languages in the world, but the tenour of our tradition is the same. The Churches in Germany believe and teach no otherwise; nor in Spain, nor in Gaul, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Lybia, nor those which are in the midst of the world, and in the central provinces of Italy. But as all the world is enlightened by the self-same sun, so does the doctrine of truth shine every where, and enlighten all who desire to come to it. Nor will the most eloquent of our Christian teachers add to this tradition, nor the weakest in the Gospel diminish aught from it. For when the faith is one, neither can an eloquent exposition add to its doctrines, nor the briefest statement detract from them."

It may seem, then, that little either of modesty or learning is shown in the assertion of the same surviving chief of Unitarianism whom I have already quoted, that one hundred and twenty years after Christ, "the majority of Christians, being plain and unlearned men, warmly resisted the Trinitarian doctrine." And not only will this supposed majority dwindle down into a comparatively small proportion, so small, indeed, as to have been alike unworthy the mention or knowledge of the defenders of the Church and its persecutors, so small as to have been unknown to Pliny and unnoticed by Justin, but of that proportion the tenets may, perhaps, appear to have been such as will by no means furnish a precedent to the modern Unitarian confession.

This inquiry, however, must be deferred to a future Sunday, when I propose to examine the probable source of those opinions which are peculiar to orthodoxy, no less than the recorded doctrines of those who, in the first and second centuries after Christ, dissented from the majority of their brethren.

LECTURE III.

> I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi 7.

I have shown in a former Lecture, and shown, in part, from those very authorities to which our adversaries chiefly appeal, that, in the second century of the vulgar æra, and less than one hundred years from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead (in which doctrine the Personality of the Spirit of God is completely and necessarily included) was too widely diffused and too firmly seated in the churches both of the East and West, to have been, as our antagonists pretend, a heresy of recent introduction.

But neither can it be urged with any show of likelihood, that this opinion, or the other features of that faith which we call Catholic and orthodox, were derived from that little band of philosophical converts whom Christianity received, in those early ages, from the Platonic school of Alexandria. The mixture of that leaven with the church, if it ever took place at all, must, doubtless, then have been of a date too recent to produce the effects which we have contemplated; and the scanty infusion of learning, which was at no time sufficient to rescue her from the imputation of barbarism, can hardly have been an ally so dangerous as it is sometimes represented, to the primitive simplicity of religion. In ecclesiastical history the Platonists are conspicuous, because the share of knowledge which they possessed is advantageously contrasted with the general ignorance of contemporary believers; but that very ignorance would present an effectual barrier against the extension of their influence in the church. A jealousy of carnal learning and metaphysical refinement has been, in every age, the usual characteristic of men in that situation of life, and with those means of information, which we may reasonably ascribe to the primitive ministers of the gospel; nor is it likely that the poor and simple bishops of Gaul, of Pontus, or of Spain, should purchase the costly manuscripts, or attend to the airy reveries, of an Eastern or Egyptian philosopher.

The power of making proselytes on a rapid or extensive system is seldom, indeed, possessed by the recluse, the studious, or the refined. The habits of science are unfavourable to that activity which is the leading characteristic of the religious no less than the political reformer; and while Clemens or Pantænus or Origen were wearing out their days and nights in the composition of elaborate volumes, which few would read at all, and still fewer would read with unqualified assent, the banners of Christ were triumphantly carried through the world by those honest and unlearned missionaries, whose qualifications were confined to the courage of an ardent faith, and the untaught eloquence of feeling.

It is a problem, indeed, which the present is not the place to solve, to what extent the learning of a rising sect may contribute to its progress in the world. That some of its professors should be raised, by their acquirements, above the ordinary level of mankind, is a circumstance which may, doubtless, raise the general party in their own estimation, and in the estimation of other men; it may fling a grace and dignity over the adoption of their creed, and redeem their converts from those formidable imputations of enthusiasm or vulgarity by which every rising sect has, to a certain extent, been assailed. But learning to a rising sect is less a weapon than an ornament. The plume of the soldier, and the other pageantry of war, may illustrate, indeed, his triumph; but it is by the sword, not by the crest, that his triumph must first have been purchased: and it is by unlearned zeal and unpolished energy only, that a new opinion, or an infant state, can hope to conquer.

It may be doubted, perhaps, whether the students of Alexandria would have even desired to extend their peculiar tenets beyond the narrow bounds of Platonism. It is certain that they were neither qualified by their numbers nor their personal resources to extend a new opinion, in so short a space of time, through the numerous and scattered communities of the faithful.

And though some learned converts from the Platonic sect have, doubtless, adorned Christianity with some of the noblest monuments of genius and piety which our religion has to show; yet is it by no means true that a general approximation took place between the tenets of the academy and the gospel, or that any considerable influx of learning or talent was derived to the latter from the former. There was too much of interested monopoly, too much of priestcraft among the latter Platonists, to allow them to discover truth or merit beyond the limits of their sect; and the examples of Apuleius, Jamblichus, and Apollonius of Tyana, may prove that their leaders were more inclined to pretend to divinity themselves than to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus. And the following short review of the leading tenets of the modern Platonic, or, as it is called, the Pythagorean philosophy, may convince us, that their system can by no means be regarded as the parent of that which we now profess; and that much of prayer and more of grace was needful before a pagan philosopher could subdue his pride to the standard of the orthodox confession.

The leading question which, at the particular time of which I am speaking, divided the opinions and occupied the attention of the educated part of mankind, was the nature and origin of evil; a problem which the eastern Magi and the Alexandrian Platonists alike undertook to solve by the brilliant but unsubstantial theory of two opposing principles, to whose struggles they ascribed that chequered face of creation, of which the acknowledged beauties and apparent faults forbade them to ascribe the whole to either a good or evil fountain.

Of these two warring powers, this perfect and living light, this deadly and impenetrable darkness; this unaltered bounty, and this wickedness untameable; the first was God, the pure, the perfect unity, from whose creation only pure and holy things and beings like himself could issue. The light itself and the inhabitants of light were all alike his offspring; all which, on earth, was virtuous or fair, or wise, was only so far fair and wise and virtuous as it emanated from his perfection; and the time was anticipated when the final triumph of holiness and wisdom should be no longer delayed; and when the God of goodness should destroy or conquer all by which his gracious designs had been hitherto opposed or impeded.

But though their notions of the deity were thus pious and reasonable; and though, in some obscure expressions of their master, we may trace a yet nearer approach to the truth, in the adumbration of a Threefold existence in the Godhead: yet did they not, in practice, honour him as God of whose essence they had so clear a knowledge; and, by a prudent conformity with the superstition of the times, they paid a willing reverence to the gods and idols of their ancestors, as vicegerents of the One Supreme, and as those to whom he had committed all care of that mortality which was beneath his own attention.

Their opinions as to the material principle were of a nature still less conformable to religion or to reason. They did not, indeed, at the time of which I am speaking, (it is, perhaps, a vulgar error to suppose they ever did), ascribe to any thing evil or material either the name or characteristics of Deity. But to matter they nevertheless imputed an eternal being, a perception of pleasure and of pain, and a blind and stubborn instinct of self-preservation, which, inasmuch as its very existence was impure and opposed to the spiritual life, was exerted always in afflicting or debasing those spiritual creatures which were entangled in the vortex of its influence.

Of the evil demons, to whose agency no small proportion of the natural and moral phenomena of the present life were ascribed, two different opinions were held. Some there were who supposed them to be human souls or heavenly spirits, who by intercourse with matter had depraved their habits and affections: by others they were regarded as exhalations from the more fiery and vivacious particles of matter itself; a little elevated, indeed, above the lion or serpent of the visible world, but to be controlled, like their brother monsters of the forest or the fen, with menaces, or flattery, or food; to be bound by exorcism and allured or chased by odours.

But, whatever were their differences in these and other circumstances of superstitious detail, in one leading principle the several parties agreed; that matter was, in itself, incurably corrupt, the origin of all moral evil; that "the drop of heavenly dew" (for so Synesius calls the soul) was degraded and enslaved by its confinement in this earthly cistern; that the thoughts and wishes of the sage were capable of only one direction; and that his spirit coveted incessantly to exhale once more to that region whence she had descended.

From this opinion, when applied to practice, two very opposite systems took their rise. The professors of the one, regarding the body as an obstinate and malicious slave, enjoined their followers to macerate him with abstinence, and to punish him with stripes and chains; while the defenders of the other, detached from the world, and occupied without ceasing in the contemplation of the Divine Essence, professed to abandon the outward man to the guidance of his own instinct or passion, as one in whose sensual pursuits the soul had neither interest nor responsibility, and whose brutish gambols were beneath the notice of a pure and abstracted spirit.

It is evident, however, that these previous notions would conduct the Platonists to conclusions directly at variance with those peculiar opinions of which the introduction has been ignorantly ascribed to their influence.

I. As the reduction of matter into form was regarded as an office unworthy the immediate hand of God; and as the imperfections which they found or fancied in the visible world made them still more unwilling to ascribe its fabric to the Allgood and Allwise; they were accustomed to refer this work to a subaltern, perhaps an evil, agent, whom their hatred of the Jews induced them readily to identify with the Jehovah of that unpopular nation.

II. Having assumed as a principle the utter impurity of matter and all its accidents, the union of the soul with the body of man was regarded as a crime in itself, or as the punishment of former offences. They absolutely, therefore, refused to believe that a pure and perfect Being could subject itself to an union so unnatural; that the Divine nature could become incarnate, and as incarnate, so susceptible of hunger, of thirst, of bodily infirmities, and death.

Lastly, they denied altogether that the body once deceased could be raised to happiness or glory; much more that a person clothed with such an incumbrance could be admitted into the presence or enthroned at the right hand of God.

They were principles like these which produced, in Porphyry, the most formidable antagonist whom Christianity ever encountered; they were these which raised the empiric Apollonius to his subsequent fabulous eminence; which are sometimes supposed to have withdrawn the great Ammonius from the communion in which he was educated; which seduced the acute but pedantic Julian to the forgotten superstition of his ancestors; and which kept Synesius, beneath the mantle of episcopacy, more than half a Pagan still.

Among those few Platonists, indeed, who embraced a nominal Christianity, the same preconceptions led them for the most part to join any sect of Christians, rather than those whose tenets I am now defending; to deny, with the Docetæ, the bodily existence of Christ; or to degrade him, with the followers of Carpocrates, into a merely human philosopher. And, while almost all the heresies which distracted the church during the three first centuries are deducible from Platonic principles, the small number of philosophers who embraced the Catholic faith were rather orthodox in spite of their Platonism, than conducted by Platonism to orthodoxy. The words of Tertullian are well known, in which he calls the great master of the Academy, "the seasoner of all heresies;" and the contumely to which Origen himself was exposed in the ancient church may prove, that the allegiance of the Alexandrian school to Christianity was at no time free from suspicion among the more rigid and less learned believers.

But if the Platonists had really sufficient influence with the Christian world to infect, as our antagonists maintain, their faith with the doctrine of the Trinity, why, it may be asked, was the contagion limited to this one peculiar opinion?

Were the ceremonies of magic or the notion of the metempsychosis less likely to seduce an ignorant multitude than a speculation as to the manner of the Divine existence; or were they more at variance with the spirit of Christianity than, if we believe our antagonists, the adoration of the Holy Ghost and the Son? Or how can we believe that the Platonist, who, to gain admission into the Church, had renounced his more obvious peculiarities, should have raked out, from the darkness of the Timæus and the Parmenides, a doctrine which, far from being a conspicuous tenet of the Academy, was hardly known, it may be thought, to its students, till it was quoted against them by the Christians?

That a doctrine, however, may be found in the works of Plato which bears a resemblance, though an imperfect one, to the Catholic faith of one Divine Being displayed in three Hypostases, is a truth acknowledged by all. And though the above considerations may prove, that the Christians cannot have borrowed it from the Academy, the Socinians may do well to reflect, whether that opinion, which was espoused by the deepest thinkers of the ancient world, can be, in itself, so repugnant to natural reason or natural religion as its opponents would have us believe.

But, not only is it highly improbable that the orthodox opinion should have been introduced into Christianity by the Platonist, it may be shown, that we must, on every rule of likelihood (and independently of those proofs which it is in our power to produce from the Apostolic writings,) assign its introduction to the Apostles themselves.

For, first, we have already seen the confidence with which Justin and Irenæus and Tertullian appeal to Apostolic tradition and authority.

To the general weakness of such appeals in themselves I must not be supposed insensible: I am far from denying that, in the space of half a century, many actions or assertions might be fathered on the Apostles, of which the Apostles were altogether guiltless. But though Apostolic tradition be not alone sufficient to establish the truth of any particular doctrine, yet, from the frequency of these appeals two facts will necessarily follow: 1st, That the orthodox regarded the Apostles as the original founders of their sect; and, 2dly, That they acknowledged no interruption in the tradition of the Church; no subsequent loss and revival of the Apostolic tenets.

But as every innovation must have had its beginning, every religious sect its heresiarch, so will it also be allowed, that the doctrine of the Trinity (if it were indeed an innovation and a heresy,) must needs have been introduced, if the Apostles were still alive, in opposition to their authority; if after their decease, in opposition to the general sense of that Church which they had established.

Is it not plain, however, from the common custom and common sense of mankind, that a sect would hold in honour, as their teacher and spiritual father, that person from whom they had received their peculiar opinions, not those by whose authority such opinions had been originally opposed and anathematized? Do the Calvinists call themselves after the name of Luther, or will the Protestants appeal to the traditional sentiments of Bellarmine? Is it Ali or Omar whom the Sunnites reverence? and if Cerinthus or Carpocrates had superceded in the Church the authority of Peter and John, would the latter or the former names have stood conspicuous in the Christian rubric, and assumed, in our temples and our manuals of devotion, the attitude and halo of sanctity? Would not the Gospel of Leuce have in such a case supplanted that of Luke? and would not those who, sixty years afterwards, professed the same opinions, (instead of appealing to the real or pretended sentiments of those Apostles from whom they had revolted,) have told us of his triumphant zeal who had extricated, from the mists of Jewish error, that genuine religion which the original followers of Jesus had obscured or betrayed?

For those whom we call Apostles or Evangelists the heretical sects had no such implicit reverence. St. Paul was styled Apostate by the Ebionites; and in like manner, beyond a doubt, would the Trinitarians have proceeded, had they derived their origin from any of those whom the twelve had delivered to Satan.

"But the heresy," it will be said, "is the error of a later period; and the last of the Apostles had gone to his reward before Christ was worshipped as a God, or the Holy Ghost revered as a distinct intelligence."

I will not now remind our learned antagonists, that not only had these doctrines been taught by Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp, but that in the days of Justin and Irenæus they were the prevailing and prescriptive opinions of Christendom. I will not ask them to calculate what time is needful to disperse an idolatrous creed (for such they esteem it) through the many thousand Unitarian churches which must have arisen, during the lifetime of the apostles, in every region of the empire. But whenever the innovation was effected, it must, doubtless, have had a beginning; and if that beginning had been opposed by the scholars and immediate successors of the twelve, supported by their recent authority, the apostles, it is plain, would not have been held in such exalted reverence by the fathers of the succeeding age.

We may perhaps be answered, that "the crafty heretic who sowed such tares in the evangelical field, professed no novelty, but the revival of ancient opinions; that he grounded his system on the alleged authority of the apostles themselves, which the universal church, as he pretended, had subsequently corrupted or mistaken."

That this should be attempted, and attempted with success, at a time when the last of the apostles was hardly cold in his grave, and while many thousands were yet alive who had received from his living lips instruction, and from his hands ordination and authority, is a mystery, it may seem, as hard to be believed as any one of those for which the Socinians despise and revile us. If we granted, however, what can only be granted for the sake of argument, that this reply might solve the difficulty which arises from the frequent reference of the early fathers to apostolic tradition and authority, yet will another remain, which Unitarian ingenuity, I apprehend, can hardly obviate.

For, 2dly, the appeals of Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin, to apostolic authority, are perfectly silent as to any interruption of that tradition to which they lay claim, or to any loss and subsequent revival in the church of those tenets which they profess to have been the tenets of our Lord's immediate followers.

But if the orthodox opinions arose in the church from any other teaching but that of the apostles themselves, there must, doubtless, have been a time at which they were unknown. And on whatever pretence and by whatever artifice their introduction was effected, its author, whether reformer or innovator, could not, we may be sure, have produced so great a change, without a painful struggle against previous opinion, and a display of talents of some kind or other which must have ensured him the veneration of his followers.

The name of reformer or restorer, in the general estimation of mankind, is little less illustrious than that of first discoverer. Luther, we know, as well as Melancthon and Calvin, professed to teach no novelties; but to inculcate a return to the primitive models of doctrine and faith and worship. Manes and Mohammed revived, as they pretended, the original tenets of the Messiah; yet when will these men or the changes which they effected pass away from the memory of the world? Had such a revolution as our antagonists suppose taken place in the Christian church during the first century of its existence, would not the volume of Eusebius have overflowed with its details, and would not the teacher by whose agency it was accomplished have assumed a scarcely less lofty rank in the estimation of his followers than Peter or James or John?

Such a teacher as is here supposed would have been honoured by Trinitarians as the second founder of Christianity; as the reviver of a church oppressed by Jewish prejudice; as the comforter and purifier of the afflicted household of Jesus. His patient journeys from Syria to Spain, and from Alexandria to Lyons, while disseminating the revived opinion; his arduous disputes with the patrons of established prejudice; his fearless indifference under the anathemas of the impious, and the holy zeal which mocked the arts of Ebionite blandishment; all which the Arians (if their sect had triumphed) would have related of their supposed reformer; all would have swelled, beyond a doubt, the annals of religious controversy, and have remained as a sacred legacy to the gratitude and imitation of succeeding Trinitarians.

But for this elder and greater Athanasius we search the page of history in vain. Of such a convulsion no traces are found in the writings of the earliest fathers. They, like ourselves, treat every opinion but their own as an impious and daring novelty; and acknowledge no other founder or renovator of the faith than that omniscient Spirit who separated Barnabas and Paul to the work of converting the Gentiles.

Nor will it be said by those who are even moderately acquainted with the ordinary progress of opinion, that a change so considerable could have been effected in night and silence; that "the corruption was so gradual that its original author is unknown; that the venom devoured the vitals of religion, before those outward symptoms were displayed which would have produced, at first, a prompt and efficacious remedy."

The time was too short, the years were too few, the body was too extensive, for an imperceptible cause to produce effects so portentous. The corruption of a single church might have been effected in a few years of neglect and ignorance; but to pervert the whole empire of Christ with one universal and unobserved contagion, must have required the lapse of more than a single century. The transition which is rapid must be painful; and whatever is painful will neither pass unperceived nor be speedily consigned to oblivion. If such a change as this has not been noticed by contemporary writers, we may be sure that it never took place at all.

Nor can it be urged with any show of likelihood, that, in adducing the opinions of that body of Christians who have agreed in the worship of a Triune Deity, we are contenting ourselves with the party statements of a single sect; conspicuous indeed from the final subjugation of the Christian world, by their arts and their influence[1]; but, at the period which is now in question, not more entitled to our deference, either from numbers or respectability, than many of those reputed heretical bodies, who have perished in the lapse of time, or under the sword of persecution. For that they to whom the titles are applied of the church and the Catholic Christians were, indeed, as those names imply, the great majority of believers, the assumption of such lofty titles, in opposition to all who dissented from their worship or jurisdiction, is itself no inconsiderable argument.

For when all alike were levelled by the iron hand of persecution, to what pre-eminence but the pre-eminence of numbers could any single sect lay claim? What endowment, what authority did the orthodox enjoy under the yoke of Severus or the Antonini, beyond the poorest Ebionite, the wildest and most frantic Basilidian? What were their privileges but a popularity more obnoxious to the jealous rigour of the law; an honourable but fatal preponderance in the noble army of martyrs; a more than common share in the distinctions of the cross, the gibbet, or the wheel? Where the authority of the church or assembly is appealed to by the ancient Fathers, it can be only that authority which arises from general opinion; and the appeal would have been worse than ridiculous, had those societies, against whom the church employed it, been able to muster as strongly as herself.

But, further, in the discussion of the spirit's personality, it is altogether unnecessary to confine our inquiries to the limits of orthodoxy alone, since not only the Catholic church, but by far the greater part of those who have dissented from her tenets, have maintained with no less precision than ourselves this common opinion, and have united with ourselves and our fathers to receive the promise of our Lord in its literal and obvious meaning. However they were divided as to his rank in the scale of nature, and the manner of his procession from the Deity, they did not cease to revere him as an actual Patron and Advocate; and Manes and Arius, and Mohammed himself, may be no less urged against the followers of Socinus than Athanasius, or Basil, or Hilary.

The first of these, whose opinions have been cleared from all their ancient obscurity by the patience and learning of Beausobre, assigned to the Spirit of God, an existence and habitation distinct from the Father, and offices and actions applicable to a person only; and the followers of Manes were by the avowal of Augustin himself, no less correct than that most orthodox Bishop in the confession of a perfect Trinity.

The opinion of the Arians is known from the concurrent testimony of Theodoret and Epiphanius; from the facts that Basil, in his treatise on the Holy Ghost, composed during the heat of the Arian controversy, is only concerned to prove the divinity of the third person in the Godhead, without regarding it as a necessary part of his task to vindicate his personal existence; and that Arius himself, in his epistle to Alexander, admits expressly the existence of three heavenly persons, though he denies their mysterious union, and allows to one of them alone the title of God. Mohammed, too, though he sometimes assigns the name of Holy Ghost to our Saviour, more usually identifies him with the angel Gabriel; and in either case can only be understood as imputing to him a distinct and intelligent Being.

And to these, by far the greatest streams which have ever emanated from the Christian source, may be added the more ancient suffrage of the first heresiarch Simon; of the primitive Gnostics, whose Ennæa and Monogenes can be no otherwise interpreted than of the spirit and eternal word; of the Ebionites, who, if we believe Epiphanius, acknowledged the Holy Ghost to be a real and most powerful Personage; of the Nazarenes themselves, in whom the modern Unitarians would gladly find a precedent for their error, but who, in two several passages of their own gospel, according to the Hebrews, must have learned the same opinion.

Nor must we omit, in this enumeration of evidence, the expressive silence of the orthodox fathers, who, in relating the errors of other ancient heretics, afford no reason to suppose that they were in this respect defective, though neither Epiphanius nor Jerome nor Theodoret were inclined to overlook or to soften the features of religious disunion. Where the innocence of Lactantius could not escape uncensured, there is little probability that real heresy would be allowed to pass without detection; and we must therefore confine the denial of the Holy Ghost to those sects only to whose charge it is expressly laid, to the Sabellians of ancient times, and the modern followers of Socinus.

Nor is there need of any further argument to show, that if we have erred in embracing in its literal sense the promise of our gracious Master, we have erred in company with the Christian world of every party and period; and that all, with the above exceptions, (which, how slight they are, is known to every one even moderately versed in history,) all have anticipated a powerful and personal agent in the Comforter by whom our Saviour's presence was to be supplied.

But let God be true and every man a liar! Though we expect, and expect with reason, no little weight of evidence to withdraw us from an interpretation of Scripture, which if it were not founded on truth could hardly have been universal; against evidence, nevertheless, however offered to our notice! against that evidence, above all, which is professedly founded on Scripture, our reason and our religion alike forbid us to rebel. An explanation may be true, (by bare possibility it may,) and if demonstrated from the word of God it may still demand our acquiescence, though it have slumbered for ages in the fairy shades of allegory; though the wandering genius of Origen have never disturbed its repose; though Manes and Augustin have failed alike to trace it; and though St. John himself have concealed its mystic clue from his disciples Polycarp and Ignatius.

We challenge, then, our antagonists to make good their hypothesis by the only proof which remains; and (since the literal sense of our Saviour's promise is, confessedly, in our favour) to demonstrate that the spirit of God is elsewhere spoken of in scripture, under circumstances and in language which prove the present passage to be allegorical.

And this has been attempted by the production of several passages from the Old and New Testament, where (by the common avowal of both parties) the term of Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God, is used under circumstances which cannot properly belong to a Person.

Thus we read of the spirit being given and received, and given in a larger and smaller proportion: the Holy Ghost is said to be extinguished by human carelessness, and to be improved by human piety.

"But a Person, and, above all, a Person of so exalted a nature is incapable," they tell us, "of accidents thus degrading; and if these accidents are predicated of the Spirit of God, that Spirit can be no intelligent Person."

This is the purport of the objection, as it is advanced by the most considerable teachers of Unitarianism; and it is an objection, I believe, which has had more effect than any other on those whom they have persuaded to adopt their opinions.

That it is not, however, an objection which a person moderately versed in the forms of reasoning need greatly fear to encounter, may appear from the following considerations.

In the first place, our antagonists must allow, that, whatever be the character of those passages from which the Personality of the Spirit is inferred, those texts which are advanced to prove the contrary are clearly and necessarily figurative. The expressions which have been referred to, if literally understood, are as completely inconsistent with their hypothesis as with ours; inconsistent, indeed, with every hypothesis, but that absurd one which would reduce the Holy Ghost to a material fume or afflatus. An accident, or modus operandi, which has no existence in itself; an abstract quality, which is the empty phantom of a rhetorician's brain; these can be no more conferred or divided than they can be sent or grieved or blasphemed. Nor are the latter expressions more appropriate to a person than the former to a substance or thing.

But qualities, attributes, virtues, powers, are nothing else, as has already been shown, than the manner in which certain effects either are or may be brought to pass; and whether the Holy Ghost be an accident or a person, it is plain that such expressions as those referred to are only intelligible as applying those characteristics which are proper to the thing produced; either to the manner in which it is produced, or to the agent which produces it.

Nor has any ground been shown why the latter of these metaphorical applications is not as proper and as possible as the former; or why, in the words of Glassius, as well the *persona efficiens* as the *modus efficiendi* may not be put for the *res effecta*. Yet it is on this assumption that the links of their argument depend; which may be reduced in effect to a syllogism like the following. "The name of a personal agent can never be employed to express the effects produced by his agency. But the name of the Holy Spirit is frequently employed to express effects which the same Holy Ghost produces. Therefore the Holy Ghost is not the name of a personal agent." If the major of the above propositions be not conceded, it is apparent, that all their examples to prove the minor will not accelerate their progress a single step towards the conclusion. But if it be conceded, I will not so far insult the solemnity of this hallowed place, or the understanding of my present audience, as to do more than instance the least preposterous of the conclusions, which, by a process equally legitimate with that of our antagonists, might be deduced from this single concession.

If we use on the authority of the Apostles such expressions as those of receiving and quenching the Spirit of God, do we not also use on the same authority (for repeated instances may be found in the New Testament no less than in the common practice of mankind) the same or parallel expressions, where the reality of the Person has never been the subject of debate? How often do we speak of the Book of Moses as if that volume were Moses himself! We talk of reading Moses; of dividing Moses into chapters; of comparing one part of Moses with another. Yet to assert or believe that the Moses of Scripture is a personification only of the singular care by which God conducted his people, an allegorical representation of their passage through the sea, (the etymology of his name would signally favour such an hypothesis,) or that he is no more than an abstract term for those Divine truths which are embodied in the Pentateuch, —to assert and believe all this would be as wild insanity as theirs, who reduce the entire Old Testament to an hieroglyphic ephemeris: it would be little less preposterous than the assertion of those learned men who would reduce the Spirit or God to an empty name!—Have we forgotten, or do we know so little of Scripture, that the fact has escaped our knowledge; have we so learned *Christ*, that we know not how often the name of *Christ* is employed to express the religion which he founded? "*A man in* "*Christ*;"—"*a marriage in the Lord*;"—a saint "*to whom to live* was *Christ*;" —are these less forcible expressions than those which have been pleaded as impugning the Spirit's Personality? Or what more certain grounds are afforded in Scripture to believe that God himself is an intelligent and real agent, than the distribution, and volition, and government, and testimony, and speech, and grief, and desire, which in the New Testament are attributed to the Holy Ghost? Let these be resolved into metaphor or allegory, and the name of Jehovah may be shown on the same indentical principle to be no more than nature personified; the Bible itself transformed into a manual of Atheism; and the desolate and silent abomination of Spinoza erected on the altar of the Most High.

But we are told again, and the objection has been urged so triumphantly, that our antagonists, to all appearance, are serious in producing it, that "if the Spirit of God be accounted a Person, we must extend, by a parity of reasoning, the same character of personality to the Schekinah, the power, the wisdom, the influence or finger of God, with many or all of which the Spirit of God is used as synonymous." Thus "the presence of God," in the first member of the eleventh verse of the fifty-first Psalm, is the same thing, if we believe Eben Ezra and Kimchi among the Jews, and Lardner among Christian critics, with his "Holy Spirit" in the corresponding member. And our Lord's expression, as reported by St. Matthew, of "casting out devils by the Spirit of God," is given by St. Luke as if he had not said the Spirit of God, but his "Finger."

It would be, perhaps, no difficult matter to prove that many, perhaps the greater part, of those texts which Lardner has cited to this point of the controversy, have been, in truth, misunderstood or misapplied. The task, however, is needless, since, though we should admit to the fullest extent the premises urged by Lardner, the objection which he deduces from them is, in truth, no objection at all.

With those who believe that the Holy Ghost is a Person, by whom and through whom the unseen and unapproachable Father has manifested alike his power, his presence, his gracious influence to men, no difficulty can arise from the acknowledgment that such a Person may be as properly styled the Finger or Glory as the Breath of God. Nor, as we contend, can any one of these titles (for titles they doubtless are,) nor all of them together, detract from the existence or individuality of Him whose nature and office and intercourse with mankind they dimly serve to shadow. With personality none of them are inconsistent, since the metaphorical illustration which they convey is as natural and as intelligible when applied to a person as to an attribute or modus operandi; and since in ancient alike and modern times the former of these applications is, at least, as common as the latter. Did the author of that ancient Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas, design to resolve the Son of God into a mere attribute of the Deity, when he styled him the Sceptre of the Most High? Was Simon Magus annihilated in the opinion of the Samaritans, when they called him, in superstitious veneration, the Great Power of God? The eyes and ears of the ancient kings of Persia are known to have been officers, by whose agency the monarch communicated with his provinces and armies; and, in modern days, we apply the term of police, or civil power, not only to the abstract idea of magistracy, but to the magistrates themselves, and executive ministers of justice.

With still less reason can it be denied, that, as many offices may be filled by the same individual, so may the names and titles of that individual be multiplied in proportion to the number of the relations which he bears to others. The Unity of the Father is not endangered, though he be called alternately and indifferently the Supreme, the Eternal, the Ancient of Days, Adonai, Schaddai, and Jehovah. The Lamb of God, the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Son of Man, the Bread which came down from Heaven, are all alike applied to the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ: and, in like manner, how great soever the diversity of operations and of gifts, we may recognize in each of them the same identical Spirit, the same God, which worketh all in all.

But further, if the Unitarians will concede, with Lardner, the identity of the Holy Ghost with the Presence or Glory or Schekinah of God, (these last terms are undoubtedly synonymous,) which on certain occasions appeared in a bodily form to the Israelites, and which was supposed by them, as its name implies, to be the constant and tutelary "inhabitant" of the sanctuary, they will find themselves not far, indeed, as will be hereafter shown, from the opinions of the orthodox or the Jews: but they will be involved, I apprehend, in a very considerable difficulty, to disprove the Personality of a Being which was seen, which spake, and reasoned, and commanded; or to prove the identity of a Visible Glory with the unseen and inaccessible Father of all.

In this latter question, indeed, on the distinctness or identity of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the controversy between ourselves and the modern Socinians must finally resolve itself; since, if the Spirit of God be, as they pretend, an attribute or operation only, he must be, as his name implies, an attribute or operation of the Almighty Father.

But attributes, operations, and every other species of accident, as they are, in truth, no more than modes in which one substance produces an effect on another; so whatever is, in poetry or oratory, predicated of them, is only predicated of the agent or patient in whom the accident itself is inherent.

When I say that the courage of Julius has won the victory, or that the pride of Marcus is easily offended, I do not mean that either courage or pride have any positive existence of their own, or in themselves are capable of impulse or feeling; but I desire to express the manner in which the persons who are courageous or proud have acted on others, or themselves been acted on.

Accordingly, the Spirit of God who strove with man in the Old Dispensation, and which descended on Christ in the New; against whose authority the Israelites rebelled in the wilderness, and whom the sins of Christians daily resist and grieve; whose amber glory was seen by Ezekiel in vision, and whose fiery unction rested on the Apostles in the day of Pentecost; this Spirit must be either identified with God the Father, or must be an intelligent Person distinct from him. For all which is said of a power, a manifestation, an influence, as if these names had any essence or being of their own,—all this, I must again insist, is nothing else than the circuitous manner of stating the former hypothesis. The Spirit, who was to console the followers of Christ after their Master's decease, must mean, by this interpretation, the Eternal Father manifesting himself, after a certain manner, to his creatures; and the Spirit who is grieved, resisted, blasphemed, is the same Father as he is acted on by those who, under particular circumstances, resist, blaspheme, or grieve him.

It is this question, then, of the distinctness or identity of the Father and the Holy Ghost, to which the dispute as to the third section of our Creed resolves itself between the modern Church and the best informed Socinians; as it was, in ancient times, the ground of difference between the primitive Church and the followers of Sabellius. And as, with respect to the Spirit's Personality, the Arians and Mohammedans themselves accord with the orthodox against the disciples of Crellius and Priestley, it may seem, perhaps, his Personality once demonstrated, no very difficult matter to induce the Unitarians to take part with us on the point of his Divinity against the followers of Arius and Mohammed.

And there are, in truth, so many strong and obvious texts in Scripture which ascribe the acts of the Holy Ghost to the immediate agency of God; he is so often mentioned in terms and under characters which are decidedly inapplicable to a created intelligence, of however exalted station, that the Arian hypothesis, which thus degrades his nature, is, of all the ancient shapes of error, that which, at the present hour, has fewest believers or advocates. For though, to an Angel or any other exalted Intelligence, the name either of Holy or of Spirit be, doubtless, applicable; yet is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit who is essentially and supereminently holy, a person unquestionably Divine. A Holy One may be one of many; the Holy One must be One who is above all; and the Holy Spirit of God cannot, surely, in himself be less than God.

The immensity, in like manner, of the Holy Ghost, who is present every where; his omniscience, who searcheth all things; his dignity, against whom all blasphemy is irremissible; all these, with the many other striking circumstances which Zanchius has collected, may well excuse me from entering more at large into this separate and less contested branch of the present inquiry. What time remains to us for considering the nature of the Holy Ghost, may be with more advantage devoted to an examination of what may be called, perhaps, the second position of our antagonists; that hypothesis which regards the Holy Spirit of God as one of the names whereby the Father Almighty has revealed himself to mankind.

But this hypothesis, though it be professedly an amended statement of the one which I have been so long examining, is liable, in truth, to the same and even greater objections than the former, inasmuch as it is still more at variance with the letter of our Saviour's promise, and still less susceptible of the aid of metaphor or allegory.

If Christ had intended only to assure the Apostles that, in his absence, they should become the peculiar care of God the Father, it must seem a very strange and forced expression to convey this assurance in the promise of sending them another Comforter. And that Christ had the power of sending God the Father; or that a person can be regarded as sent who does not really come; or that God the Father was actually visible in the tongues or flames of fire are assertions which, as our antagonists certainly will not understand them in the literal sense, so they are such as no metaphorical interpretation can, apparently, render intelligible.

In prescription, indeed, and in the opinions of several ancient sects, the Socinians may, doubtless, find authorities for the identity of the Father and the Spirit far earlier than any to which they could pretend in support of their former position. The error of Praxeas, however, which, with all its confessed absurdity, was at least a consistent and uniform system, identified, as I have shown, not the Father only and the Spirit of God, but the Father and his only begotten Son. It may be thought, indeed, with reason, that the Persons in whose names, without any expressed distinction, we receive the sign of baptism, must, inevitably, be either one or three: that if the Holy Ghost be merged in the Father, the Son cannot, with any colour of likelihood, be distinguished from him; and that the battered remains of such hostile tenets as those of Noetus and Socinus cannot possibly be expected, like the mutilated warriors in Strada, to coalesce into a single combatant.

Nor is the text of Scripture, on which their hypothesis mainly depends, to be really reckoned in their favour. That text is the eleventh verse of the second chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, where a comparison is instituted between the spirit of man and the Spirit of the Most High; and the knowledge possessed by the second, as to certain features of the Almighty's will, inferred from the corresponding knowledge which the former is know to possess as to the intentions and affections of the man himself.

"Who of men," are the words of the Apostle, "knoweth the things of a man, save only the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, save the spirit of God."

Hence it has been urged, that as the spirit of man which is in him is no distinct person from the man himself; so the comparison would not be perfect, if the Spirit of God were distinct from God the Father.

But it is evident that this passage of Scripture will no less accurately tally with the supposition of those Christians who believe in a perfect union, though of an ineffable kind, between all the Persons of the Trinity, and who, though they distinguish the Father from the Spirit, regard both Father and Holy Ghost as partakers in the common Godhead. For it is not the things of the Father, as such, and in his parental capacity, which the Spirit is supposed to know, but the things of that infinite Godhead in which the Father, the Spirit, and the Word, are eternally and indissolubly one. So that by the Homoousian, no less than the Sabellian hypothesis, the difficulty, if it were one, is completely done away; and the objection which might, indeed, apply against the Arian creed, must be quenched, like the other fiery darts of our oldest enemy, on the impenetrable shield of orthodoxy.

But, secondly, it is worth our observation, that, in this objection, our antagonists have, evidently, misconceived or forgotten the peculiar opinions which those whom St. Paul addressed, and, not impossibly, St. Paul himself entertained as to the compound nature of man.

Those opinions were taken from, or, at least, accorded with, the doctrines of that ancient philosophy, which distinguished the rational soul not from the body only, but from those animal affections to which the body is heir; and, which, under the names of the heart or will, they described as a secondary and mortal soul, which it was the business of its intellectual companion to examine, to understand, and, understanding, to govern and subdue.

This is the "natural man" whom St. Paul so often exhorts our spiritual nature to bind, to macerate, to crucify; this the organic intellect which beasts, no less than man, enjoy: the "anima" of the Latins as distinguished from their "animus," whose hylozoic faculties were bounded within the limits of self-preservation; whose use and existence was to terminate with the body which it loved, but from whose essence the intellectual soul was no less effectually distinct than the traveller from the animal which draws his carriage. I do not mean (God forbid that I should advance so wild a proposition!) that this comparison, carried to its length, would apply, or was intended by St. Paul to apply, to the Divine Existence: but as, in man, the spirit and the will were regarded as distinct persons, and as, nevertheless, the spirit of man is instanced as understanding every other constituent part of the being to which it belongs; so the Spirit of God, which guided and governed his Church in the way of truth, and which bare witness by signs and wonders to the truth of the apostolic doctrine, was a competent witness to the will and affection not of himself alone, but of the whole eternal Trinity.

For the question to be solved was not, whether God knew his own mind, of which no doubt could possibly be entertained; but whether the Spirit which governed the Church in the name of Christ was a sufficient pledge of the Divine affections and designs. And this doubt (a doubt, it may be observed, which never could have arisen if the Spirit had been conceived to be identical with the Father) St. Paul resolves in a manner which, far from contradicting, completely establishes the doctrine of orthodox Christians, by assigning to the Spirit a similar misterious relation with the Deity to that which the soul of man was thought to hold in our compound human nature, which was in certain respects the man himself, and in certain respects distinguished from him; at once another and the same.

But while the arguments on which Sabellianism depends may seem so little adequate to establish the confusion of Persons in the Deity, for which its advocates contend; the contradictions which result from their hypothesis are so many, and of such a nature, that, in truth, I almost fear to urge them on your notice, lest they should betray me into a levity unbecoming the place in which I stand, and the importance of any, even the weakest opinion, in which the nature of God is implicated.

It is, in the first place, revealed, to us, in the words which I have taken as a text for these discourses, that the Holy Ghost was to be sent by Christ. He was to be sent, as another Comforter, to supply, in the absence of Jesus, that παράκλησις, comfort, or instruction, which our Lord had himself, while on earth, afforded to his chosen followers. He was to come in Christ's name, or as his Deputy. He was not to speak of himself, but to receive from Christ the illumination of which he was the dispenser. "He shall take of mine," are the words of our Saviour, "he shall take of mine. and show it unto you."

Is it possible that a description such as this can apply to him whom all sects and parties agree to consider as the fountain of Diety, the God and Father of all? Or will not the warmest defender of our Lord's Divinity confess, that the opinion here expressed is inconsistent with that relation, which in every page of Scripture is implied, between the heavenly Father and his loving and obedient Son?

But our Unitarian antagonists! how can they be justified? They who account the Saviour of the world a man of men, a creature like themselves, a mortal and earthly frame, without a soul, and instinct with mechanism only! How can they hazard the assertion that such a being could send the Almighty to supply his place among men? How can they dream that the only wise God, in his intercourse with mankind, did not speak of himself, but became, in his turn, the Prophet of the wisdom and doctrine of the Man Jesus of Nazareth? Let us return to transubstantiation! Let us embrace as Gospel the less disgusting marvels of the Talmud, the Shaster, the Edda, or the Koran! But let not learned men expect us to embrace a system which must eclipse the Koran's eminence in folly, and put the wildest fancies of the Talmud to shame!

The Rabbins have taught, indeed, that, on a certain occasion, Elias was sent from God to ask from Rabbi Simeon the meaning of a passage in the Canticles: but this was not in ignorance, but in reproof of the heavenly spirits. And surely the boldest Rabbin of them all would start and tremble at the conclusion which follows from Socinianism, that the Almighty Father, in his intercourse with mankind, has received inspiration from an earthly prophet.

It will be urged, perhaps, in reply, that our Saviour himself explains, and, in some sort, apologizes for the phrase on which this objection is grounded, by reminding his hearers, in the following sentence, that those things only were his which he had himself received of the Father. "All things which the Father hath are mine; therefore I said unto you, that he (the Comforter) will take of mine, and show it unto you."

But though this be perfectly consistent with the mysterious but acknowledged economy, whereby the Son himself, though eternal and almighty, is, in the work of our redemption, subject as a Son to his Father; yet will it by no means solve the contradiction of the Father's receiving any thing from the Son, inasmuch as he could not be said to receive that which was his own, and which had emanated from him eternally.

But, further, we find, in the same passage of Scripture, that the Spirit of truth was "not to speak of his own;" "as he was to hear, so was he to speak."

Will it, then, be maintained that the Almighty Father had made over all knowledge to his Son, (to the Man Jesus, be it remembered, if we believe our antagonists, the man and no more than man,) so completely as to be obliged to borrow of him for his subsequent occasions? Or is there any blindness which can prevent our recognizing in these expressions, that article of the Catholic faith which speaks of God the Holy Ghost as proceeding alike from the Father and the Son, and as the sustaining and pervading Agent, by whom both Father and Son communicate with their chosen servants?

But the difficulties of the Sabellian interpretation will yet increase on us, if we recollect that the same Holy Ghost who is here announced by our Lord as the future Advocate and Patron of his Church against the malice and unbelief of the world, is, in other places of Scripture and in the discharge of other functions, represented not only as our Defender against men, but our Advocate also with the Father,—as making intercession for us before God with groanings not to be uttered. "A mediator is not the mediator of one;" he is a middle term which supposes two contending parties; he must plead the cause of those for whom he is interested at the tribunal of some other person. But with whom and before whom is the Father Almighty to plead the cause of his creatures? To whom is he to reconcile them but to himself; or whose pardon is he to procure for their faults but his own? Surely the learned and ingenious men, who have involved themselves in consequences like these, can boast with little reason of explaining or simplifying Christianity!

But these, alas, are not the only nor the greatest mysteries of Socinian godliness, since we find, in another part of our Lord's prediction, that the Father was *to give* this Paraclete *to abide* with Christians for ever; Christ was *to send* him from the Father: he was to *come forth*, (this same Comforter or Advocate,) or *issue from* the Father; and the Father was *to send* him in Christ's name. And yet the Holy Ghost whom the Father sends is the same, they tell us, with the Father who sends him!

The Orthodox, undoubtedly, cannot hope to explain or understand that incomprehensible union which subsists between the Persons of the Trinity. We cannot demonstrate in what manner that is possible which is above the limits of reason; but the time would be, surely, yet more completely thrown away, which should be bestowed in proving that what is contrary to reason never can be credible.

To those, if such there be, who can digest even Sabellian contradictions, it may be doubted, indeed, what argument remains to be offered. Shall we lead them to the banks of Jordan during the baptism of John, and point out to their attention the whole Triune Godhead made manifest in the several and consentaneous characters of the Dove, the Voice, the Beloved Son? Is it to their own baptism that we shall send them back, when the waters of regeneration were sprinkled on their brows in the name and by the joint authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? Or shall we carry them, on the wings of the Evangelical Eagle, to that tremendous throne and glassy ocean intermingled with fire, where burns continually the Sevenfold Spirit of God, where lives the Lamb who was slain for us, and where sits enthroned the Ancient of Days, the Father Everlasting and Almighty?

Our knowledge, indeed, is small, our ideas are limited; we behold, as yet, the things of God through the dusky medium of mortality, and, oh, how feebly do we reason! Yet, surely, if the Spirit of truth have not deceived us in the literal account which he has himself afforded of his person and character; if there be any certainty in logical inference, any precision in the most solemn words of Scripture, the Spirit whom the Father sends forth must needs be distinct from the Father; if Christ, the first Comforter of fallen man, be a Person, that other Comforter whom he promises must be a Person also; if, in the baptismal office, the Son be distinct, the Holy Ghost cannot be identified with the Father, to whose name his name is joined. As, then, their inconsistency has been shown, who would reduce the Spirit of God to a quality or abstract name; let those explain, who apply to the Father whatever of action or passion is predicated of the Holy Ghost, let them explain by what subtility of distinction they can evade one half of the Sabellian system, while they contend so strongly for the other; and deny the Divinity of the Son while they assail the Personality of the Comforter. Or let not them, at least, revile the Orthodox as teachers of contradiction and absurdity, who can themselves believe and maintain that the Father sent himself,—poured forth himself,—maketh intercession with himself,—that the allwise God could require or receive inspiration from a mortal Prophet,—and that it is reasonable to believe a contradiction in terms, rather than assent to that which is beyond the limits of our experience.

Oh miserable perversion of human intellect, portentous blindness of pride, which can forsake the pure well of Salvation, to hew out for itself those broken cisterns, of which the rents and the chasms are ridiculous and offensive in the eyes of that reason which they loudly call on us to adore! For ourselves it is no new trial, that the God whom we worship should be accounted foolishness; but it may well afford some comfort to those who are accused of following after superstitious vanities, to witness how soon these preachers of a rational religion, professing to be wise, are become blind.

Let me not however be mistaken. The comfort which a Christian may feel in exposing the inconsistencies of his erring brethren, is not derived from pride, and is far, very far removed from the exultation of malice or of scorn. Sensible as we are of our own transgressions against reason and Scripture; sensible as we must be of our natural ignorance and weakness; creatures of education and habit; we cannot notice the mistakes of other men without recollecting, at the same time, by what school, what example, what providential chain of circumstances, our own eyes have been opened to the things which belong to our peace; to those hopes and grounds of hope which we feel and know are as necessary to our comfort here, as the truths on which they depend are to our eternal salvation hereafter. Call it ignorance, call it hardness of heart, call it reprobate blindness, which prevents our brother from agreeing with us in the essentials of religion,—we feel that what he is we also might have been; and that there have, perhaps, been moments in which many inconsistencies, which are now apparent to us, were in like manner hidden from our eyes. If we rejoice, then, in detecting the misapprehensions of our religious antagonists, if we are anxious to unravel his sophisms, if we are fervent in repelling his calumnies, it is not, I repeat it, in anger or in pride, but because we thereby confirm in ourselves that faith which is necessary to our happiness, and prevent, perhaps, in those whose opinions are yet undecided, the extension of the mischief which we deplore.

If any such there are, (and such their doubtless must be among the younger part of this assembly) whose opinions are not yet confirmed by time or inquiry in those doctrines which our church with reason inculcates as essential to our holiness here and our happiness hereafter; if such there be, let me exhort them not to shun those studies on which their faith must hereafter repose, nor (if such studies are begun with proper feeling, and continued with proper perseverance) to entertain any doubt as to their issue.

But let them recollect, during such their inquiry, that what is above reason is not, therefore, unreasonable; that, where difficulties are found on either side, the word of God is the only sufficient arbiter; and that the best means of understanding any single passage of Scripture, is to acquire an accurate and long acquaintance with the whole of the sacred Volume.

Yet, though Scripture be the test by which every doctrine is tried, it is by the sense and not the terms of Scripture that the conformity of an opinion to God's will may be most fairly estimated. It is no objection to a solemn truth that it should be conveyed in barbarous language; and, if our adversaries have compelled us to define, with scholastic precision, our faith in the Triune Deity, the fault, if fault there be, must rest with them by whom we are daily and falsely accused of idolatry.

But, brethren, I speak as to the wise; a name, ye know, is nothing; nor have ye so learned Christ (God forbid you ye should have so learned him!) as to believe his religion to be a system of sounds and syllables; or to fancy that a Scriptural doctrine cannot be contained in unusual or unscriptural language. Bear with us, then, in this our infirmity! Attend not so much to the terms which we use, as to the meaning which those terms convey; and, as ye honour the gift of reason, and as ye love the privilege of revelation, reject not an inference legitimately drawn from premises admitted by all; despise not the wonders of the gospel, because their heavenly nature transcends the grossness of our present faculties!

Nor fancy that we are leading you from practical truths along the dreary track of useless, perhaps of impious, speculation: or that the time is wasted which is employed in discussing rather than improving the spiritual graces vouchsafed to us by the Almighty.

In our religion is no truth so exclusively speculative, but it is connected with, and terminates in, practice. We study God's nature, in order that the more we know of him, he may offer a shape more tangible and more accessible to our faith, our affection, and our prayer. The more firmly the Personal Existence of his Spirit is imprinted on our minds, the more conviction do we feel of our own spiritual and immortal nature; the warmer gratitude to that eternal and almighty Redeemer, by whose merits and whose power this heavenly guest is brought down to dwell in the hearts of men.

In that Redeemer, indeed, as in the former Adam of Cabbalistic Mythology, all the rays of the celestial Sephiroth meet and terminate; all the splendours of revelation are embodied in him; and every minor difference of creed or discipline is extinguished in this central light, with those who offer up at the basis of his cross, their hopes, their doubts, their merits, their infirmities!

From that most holy and most happy company; from that innumerable multitude who, with more or less of knowledge, and amid less or greater errors, have sought redemption through the sufferings of Christ, and shall find it in his final triumph, the Socinian is self-excluded! Like the wind of the desert, where his doctrines pass, the fruits and flowers of Eden vanish or decay; and in that self-confidence which counts the blood of the eternal covenant a worthless thing, and doth despite to the Spirit of Grace; in that strength of prejudice which would rend from Scripture whatever page or passage contravenes his previous opinion; in that gloomy materialism which turns identity into illusion, and degrades our nature to the level of a speaking automaton, he stands alike anathematized by the primitive Faith and the soundest Philosophy; rejected alike from the Academy and the Temple.

That these renowned and venerable seats of learning and piety may, as they have embraced, continue long to hold fast the better part both in philosophy and religion, may he accord to our prayers from whom all wisdom and godliness flow; the Author of every good and perfect gift to man; the Ruler and Patron of that church which the Son hath purchased by his blood; who, with the same most blessed Son, and the Almighty and Eternal Father, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end.

LECTURE IV.

> I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

Having shown that the Comforter whom Christ was to send is an Intelligence or Person distinct from God the Father, and having incidentally also shown the Deity of that Person; I may leave to our antagonists the task of discovering by what rational hypothesis, excepting that contained in the usual confession of the church, their ingenuity can reconcile Scripture to itself, or make the strong assertions which are found there as to the divinity of more persons than one, consist with those equally forcible passages which inculcate the unity of God.

For when we find on the one side, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, all three alike invested with the loftiest titles and attributes of Eternal, Almighty, Allwise, it would be reasonable, no doubt, in the first instance, to suppose that these three divine Persons were distinct and independent divinities.

But when, on the other hand, Jehovah our God is expressly asserted to be one Jehovah; when the Son instructs us that he and the Father are one; and when the presence of the Holy Ghost with the church is identified with the presence not only of the Father but of the Son; no conclusion can remain for us, but that we must either reject entirely all belief in Scripture, or that we must understand the words of Scripture in a different manner from that in which we should understand the same expressions in any other treatise, or, lastly, that we must acknowledge the Persons thus identified and distinguished to be, in certain respects, at once united and separate, in certain relations with each other, at once subordinate and equal.

Nor will this appear, on sufficient testimony, incredible, to any one who recollect how often in the works of nature an apparent contradiction is solved and rendered consistent by a more perfect discovery of relations and circumstances; how many peculiarities there are in those things which are most obvious to our senses, which we believe to exist in contradiction, utter contradiction, to the testimony which those senses offer.

That the sun is stationary, and that the earth is in constant and rapid motion, a motion more rapid than the swiftest bird, the dolphin, or the cannon-ball, some of us believe, because it has been demonstrated to us: but many more there are who acknowledge it against the evidence of their eyes and feelings, on no stronger ground than that they have heard the fact from others, of whose information and integrity they entertain a better opinion than of the extent of their own knowledge and the accuracy of their own observation. Let but so much of credence be given to the Omniscient, as we usually in facts beyond the limits of our own research accord to our fallible fellow creatures, and we shall hear no more of the impossibility of any doctrine which is explicitly revealed in, or correctly deducible from, those writings which we confess to be the oracles of God.

Of those, indeed, who assign as a sufficient ground for unbelief in a Divine Revelation, that its circumstances surpass our mental comprehension, it may be asked, in return, whether they themselves believe in the existence of a Divine and Infinite Being, who fills all space, who is Allwise, Allpowerful; whose justice and mercy are alike without end? Such a Being they will, doubtless, answer that they acknowledge; yet how many circumstances apparently impossible in themselves or inconsistent with each other, are involved in this short and usual definition!

If the presence of God be infinite, then must we acknowledge, with Spinoza all things to be God; or more than one individual must, at the same moment, be in the same portion of space. If his power and wisdom be infinite, where is the freedom of the human will? and if the will be not free, how can the Almighty judge the world? When these questions are answered, and the innumerable other mysteries are explained which beset the first entrance not of revealed only, but of natural religion; it may then be time to inquire, whether it be impossible that an Omnipresent Being should be manifested in more than one hypostasis; or that three distinct hypostases should be capable of a connexion so intimate as to be only one Divinity.

But to apply to spiritual existences, of which we know nothing, illustrations or objections taken from those bodily substances with which only we are acquainted, is to apply our knowledge to an end which it was never intended to answer; it is to measure space with the thermometer, or heat with the compass and square. To what extent, indeed, those glorious but finite beings who behold the face of God, are enabled by that blessed intercourse to understand the mode of their Maker's existence, we know not, nor does it greatly import us to inquire. But one thing we know, that we are, ourselves, as yet, in a state of pupilage; in which whatever we believe as to our future destinies, or the Being on whom we depend, is founded on testimony only. The state of the Sceptic is not dissimilar from that of a human being born and educated in a dungeon, who should deny the existence of light because his organs had never perceived it, and because the properties ascribed to it appeared, as to such an one they might naturally appear, inconsistent and contradictory. And if the distinction of colours should seem impossible to one with whom every thing alike was gloomy, if the fair variety of this upper world should militate against all the prejudices of him who had grown old and obstinate within the narrow compass of his four stone walls, what ground of conviction could his instructor offer but the pledge of his own integrity?

“You cannot,” might be his words, “I know you cannot as yet understand me; but if these prison walls were away, you would be at once convinced of my truth. On that truth, however, and on the opinion which you entertain of my knowledge and veracity, must the certainty of all these wonders at present repose; and the faith which you retain that I would not deceive you must be your evidence of things unseen.”

Nor is the utility of a revelation disproved, should its circumstances and detail exceed our present capacity, and should our faith be tried by information which we as yet imperfectly comprehend. Such information, like the elements of a science, has reference, we may conclude, to a future state of progressive knowledge and inquiry. By the glimpses of truth which it affords, we are induced to expect far brighter discoveries hereafter, and to contemplate with less of terror than of anxious hope, that period at which all our doubts shall be removed, and when those things which we now see through a glass darkly, we shall be permitted to look on face to face. Dissolve this tabernacle, rend but this fleshy dungeon in twain, and all shall at once be clear which now perplexes us; all shall be light which now appears obscure, and all which we doubt of now shall be known even as God knoweth us. This is the gate of knowledge; from this point our discoveries begin; and, the darkness of the grave once traversed, we shall enter into a refulgence of day which no cloud shall obscure, no evening terminate!

Meantime, however, though it be worse, perhaps, than merely idle to weary our souls by a fruitless curiosity after undiscoverable secrets, or to attempt to reconcile with our bodily apprehensions those truths which are not the objects of sense; yet is it a delightful and a holy exercise to ascertain, as far as possible, the limits to which the words of Revelation extend, to meditate often on the abstruser oracles of God, and to collect with humble and patient scrutiny those scattered facts which he has incidentally communicated respecting his own mysterious nature.

Nor is it any imputation on the truth or importance of a doctrine, that we discover it, like the Trinity in Unity, not so much from the direct assertions as from the implied meaning of Scripture; that it is a consequence deducible from revelation, rather than, itself, in express terms revealed.

For this is not the only instance in which the oracles of God convey most important information through circumstances seemingly indifferent, by an arrangement which contents itself to disclose the grounds on which our faith is to be founded, and which permits us from these grounds to infer the belief for ourselves.

When the Almighty announced himself to Moses in Horeb as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, it is evident that in these expressions no definite assurance was contained of a life beyond the grave. Yet, inasmuch as this opinion might be reasonably though incidentally collected from the premises afforded, our Lord, we know, referred to this single passage as sufficient to confute the Sadducees, and reproved them sharply for a culpable error in not having themselves made the right application.

Nor is there any thing in this manner of instruction at variance with those methods which we might previously have expected the Almighty to adopt in the illumination of his creatures, or different from the usual tenour of that more immediate intercourse which he has at times carried on with mankind.

The soul of man is not only delighted with knowledge, but if she be in a healthy and natural condition, she is delighted also with the act of learning. But that this act should be either agreeable or efficacious, it is necessary that we should do it for ourselves. What is merely didactic is always wearisome; and the most effectual advances are made and our progress is then most pleasurable, when, with no more assistance from others than is absolutely necessary, we master every difficulty by our own resources, and associate in our recollection the beauty of truth with the triumph of successful inquiry.

Accordingly, to confer on his creatures rather the means of knowledge than knowledge itself; to encourage them to elicit the truth by their natural faculties from data supernaturally communicated, is that conduct which we should, *a priori*, and in a gracious conformity to the frame of our nature, most reasonably expect from an allwise and beneficient instructor.

Such indeed, we find is the course which, in his arrangement of the physical world, the maker of that world has followed. He does not feed us, but he furnishes us with the means of procuring food; and how dull and inanimate would that existence become, which was never diversified by the ardour of pursuit, never stimulated by the craving of anxiety, nor rewarded with that luxury of repose which is the offspring of successful labour? What wonder then, if there are certain truths which he has reserved as the reward of an attentive consideration of those which he has expressed more clearly; what wonder if many remarkable features of his nature and government are revealed to us by implication only?

Accordingly, in the types, the prophecies, the parables of Scripture, the frequency of such a process is obvious even to a careless reader of the Bible. The religion of the Jew from his cradle to his tomb, conveyed in all its ceremonies a perpetual allusion to the future sacrifice for sin in the person of the Messiah, and the prophecies of the old and the parables of the later covenant, are each of them an exercise of that natural faculty, by which we reason to things from their resemblances.

We find, nevertheless, that the meaning of such expressions was not to be neglected with impunity; nor, when all who desired to understand them might easily find the key, could those plead ignorance as an excuse, whose indifference or prejudice was the real cause which had kept them thus excluded.

It was, therefore, at their own tremendous peril that the Pharisees refused to understand the ancient prophecies in their natural application to our Saviour; and the Sadducees were reproved by him as guilty of a grievous error, in neglecting to attend to the deduction which followed from the words of God in Horeb.

Not only, then, is it possible that a doctrine may be true which is incidentally only, and not in explicit terms revealed; it is, moreover, possible that such a doctrine may be of the highest and most vital importance to our conduct here and our eternal hopes hereafter; it may be such an one as, in itself or in its consequences, may affect our everlasting salvation. Nor, though it be presumptuous to decide as to the lowest degree of knowledge or of faith to which the mercy of our father may extend, can it be doubted that those doctrines in which the objects of our adoration are concerned, are questions of the highest practical moment.

It cannot be safe to neglect whatever God reveals to us respecting his own mysterious essence; nor can it be regarded as grateful to refuse whatever of prayer or praise is authorized and commanded in Scripture to be rendered to the Son by whom we are redeemed, and the Spirit by whom we are sanctified.

And, so far is the indirect species of proof from incurring, as our antagonists pretend that it incurs, the charge of weakness or insufficiency, that, in written documents, (and documents above all which have descended to us from distant ages, and have been exposed, as all such must be more or less exposed, to the injuries of time or the misuse of men,) a legitimate inference from unsuspected premises will often more avail in the establishment of an ancient opinion, than even the strongest positive testimony.

There is always a greater chance when such positive assertions are produced, that the text may have suffered by indiscreet or fraudulent zeal; and the more expressly and closely any passage corresponds with the faith or wishes of a particular sect, so much the greater reason will there be to apprehend, that those who anxiously desire to convince others, have not been always content to bring forward those proofs by which they have been convinced themselves.

But, when a proposition is presented incidentally to our notice; when it is elicited from recorded facts, or from assertions so circumstanced as to be a necessary part of the treatise or history in which they occur; when it follows as a necessary corollary from arguments of which the immediate reference is to another subject; there is no longer room to apprehend the collusion of partizans or the wilful inaccuracy of transcribers, and the proof has the same advantage over the strongest positive assertions, as that which is ascribed by lawyers to circumstantial, over direct but unsupported evidence.

It may seem, then, that the Scriptural proof of the Holy Ghost's personality, and of the existence of that Triune Godhead to which he belongs, is of the kind least obvious to rational suspicion, as being least open to fraud or negligence; and that the faith which the church confesses in her public formularies is, in truth, no other than that eternal rock on which, though it be a stone of offence to worldly wisdom, he that hopeth shall not be ashamed.

Having determined, then, the Personality, and ascertained, though briefly and incidentally, the divine nature of that Comforter whose advent our Saviour foretold; it remains that we examine, secondly, who were the objects of that promised appearance; and, thirdly, what were those effects which were to be anticipated from so awful a visitation. In other words, we have yet to ascertain, whether the Holy Ghost were promised as a peculiar Comforter to the Apostles only, or to the universal church of Christ; and in what respects and by what perceptible benefits, he was to evince, if I may use the expression, his title to the name of Paraclete.

And, of these inquiries, the first, apparently, need not detain us long; since the same Divine Teacher by whom the promise of a Paraclete was given, has promised also that he should remain for ever with those who were to be the objects of his care. But that this expression, "for ever," is not personally applicable to the immediate hearers of Christ, and that the promise cannot therefore be confined to them, is apparent from the very fact of their mortality. For the words of our Saviour do not, it may be observed, imply that the continuance of the Comforter with them was to be *to the end of their lives.* If this had been the case, we might reasonably have doubted whether succeeding generations were included in the promised benefit. But it was not "*till death,*" nor "*always,*" nor "*continually,*" that the Paraclete was to abide with those to whom he was promised. It was "*for ever,*" "*eternally,*" or "*to the end of the world,*" εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, and it answered in purport to the remarkable expression whereby, after his resurrection from the dead, and immediately before his return to heaven, our Lord assured them of the perpetual continuance of his own protecting care. But an eternal guardianship and comfort can only be exercised on an eternal subject. It is therefore as a collective body, and as an endless succession of individuals, that the church of Christ received the promise here recorded: and it will follow that it was communicated to the Apostles, not as its exclusive inheritors, but as the representatives of all who in after ages, by their means, should believe on the Son of God.

Nor can it be reasonably urged in answer to this position, that the Apostles, though exposed to death, and destined, each of them, in a few years to die, were, each of them, nevertheless, in a certain sense, immortal, and that admitted, as they doubtless are, to a yet closer intercourse with the Spirit of Truth, it is improbable that such spiritual advantages as they in this life enjoyed, have in the succeeding life been taken from them. For it is not, we should observe, a spiritual communion simply speaking, it is not the presence and favour of the Holy Ghost abstractedly considered, which is the subject of our Saviour's prophecy; it is in his capacity of Paraclete that the Spirit was then about to descend; he was promised as an Intercessor for their infirmities at the throne of grace, as a Comforter under that distress which the departure of their Lord occasioned, as an advocate and orator in the cause of Christianity against the violence and prejudice of men.

But in paradise they need no Intercessor, for by their entrance there the object of intercession is obtained. In paradise they require no Comforter, for Christ is there, and has wiped away every tear from every eye: in paradise what room can be found for an advocate or a defender, for the accuser of the brethren is shut out from thence, and the storms of the world roll far from that asylum.

It is plain, then, that the office of Paraclete had respect to this world only, and that if the continuance of that office be commensurate with the world's duration, it is one to which every race of believers have a right to look up in all humble confidence for the fulfilment of our Saviour's promise.

As the promise, then, of the Comforter is to ourselves and our sons and our sons' sons for evermore, it is natural and it is necessary to inquire with all becoming eagerness, the purport of an assurance in which we are so nearly and greatly concerned, and to ascertain the nature of that goodly heritage to which the word of God is our title.

Before, however, we proceed to ascertain, in the third place, by what display of power, what gracious and benignant agency Divine and Eternal Spirit was to evince himself the Comforter of Christians, it is an inquiry neither in itself unimportant, nor irrelevant to the general subject, to ascertain the part which that good Spirit had sustained in the scheme of God's providence as previously displayed in the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations.

For, in all the works of God, and more particularly in that process of salvation, of which, from the beginning of the world, the Old and New Testaments are the continued and connected history; so much prevails of general harmony, that no single period can be otherwise than most imperfectly comprehended, unless such period be considered as a part of, and in reference to the whole. And we may expect, therefore, to find, on inquiry, the distinct operation of the third Person in the Trinity, in his character of the Christian Paraclete, in some respects at least analogous to those by which he enlightened or influenced or defended the primitive worshippers of the one true God, or the subsequent theocracy of Israel.

Of that definite and distinct interference, however, in the earliest ages of the world, it would, perhaps, be vain, and it certainly would be unreasonable to expect any recorded acknowledgment. Too little is known of the first two thousand years of the world's duration, to enable us to ascertain any more as to the opinions of its long-lived inhabitants, than the fact that they, like us, adored a God, and, like us, relied on a Mediator. And, with all due deference to the learning and piety of those who have attempted to demonstrate the mystery of the Trinity from the plural number of the word "Elohim;" and from the apparition of those glorious Beings who visited Abraham beneath the oak of Mamre, it is wiser and better to place no reliance in argument, on circumstances which must be allowed to admit of other applications, and of which the application thus given (whether true or false), has been found by experience less likely to conciliate those who are in error, than to give occasion to indecent raillery, and to the grossest imputations against that truth which we by such means endeavour to defend.

There is another passage, however, which has been, with far more plausibility, applied by the great majority of commentators to the third Hypostasis of the Godhead, but which the modern Jews, and those Christians who are concerned in the support of Socinianism, have been anxious to understand of a material and natural agent. That passage, I mean, in the first chapter of Genesis, wherein the Spirit of God is described as in the act of creation, and as brooding on the surface of the chaotic waters.

That a rational, not a material agent is there intended, can admit, perhaps, of little doubt.

No other instance can be found in Scripture (though I am ready to admit that the word "Elohim" is often adjectively used as an epithet of greatness and power) in which the phrase "Ruach Elohim" can be, from the context, applicable to a natural wind, however rough or violent. The words which are united here, wherever they occur besides in union, are, by that connection, sanctified to miracle and divinity, and to the still and tranquil whispers of that Holy Being, from whom, whether by the agency of the Spirit or the Son, all grace and goodness emanate. Nor does the quivering motion implied in the Hebrew word which we render simply "moved," though it admirably accords with the hovering of a bird over her young, or with the shudder of a sudden apprehension, (the only two senses in which it elsewhere occurs in Scripture), agree by any means with an agent so furious and rapid as a storm; should we even grant that a physical storm were possible before the atmosphere had, as yet, been formed.

It may, therefore, be assumed as the most probable hypothesis, that the "Ruach Elohim" of Moses was not a natural wind, but a Spirit Intelligent and Divine. But that by the Intelligence here described, as well as by the creating Spirit of Job, the third Person in the Diety is intended, is an opinion which may well be questioned.

For, it is a fact to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid, (and it is one which may lead, perhaps, to the explication of some of the obscurest passages in Scripture), that, by the ancient Jews, by the Christians of the two first ages, and by the sacred writers themselves, the name of spirit is very often applied, not only to the third, but to the second Person in the Holy Trinity.

This circumstance was noticed, in the first instance, by the learned Fell, in his notes on Theophilus; and it has since been confirmed from the apostolic Fathers by Albert Zum Felde, and from the early Rabbins by Schöttgen; to which we may add, that the same term is applied to Jesus Christ in a remarkable passage of the Koran. Lactantius, we have already seen, was, on the same account, assailed for heresy by the too ardent zeal of Jerome; but how unjustly he was thus accused is apparent, not from these examples only, but from several passages of the New Testament in which a similar language is held.

St. Paul, when quoting, in his first Epistle to Timothy, a prophecy uttered by Christ while on earth, introduces it as spoken by "the Spirit." The "second Adam," according to the same Apostle, was to be a "quickening Spirit;" and the same appellation is repeatedly given by St. John in the Apocalypse, to the Person of his glorified Master.

When the name, therefore, of "Spirit" occurs in Scripture, a doubt may always arise, (unless some note of distinction accompany it,) whether the second or the third Hypostasis of the Godhead is intended. And, while this community of name may account for that vagueness of opinion respecting the essence and character of the latter which is discoverable in the Rabbinical writings, we cannot but observe, in the examination of the present passage, that the act of creation is one which, on the authority of the Apostles, we ascribe to that eternal Logos, without whom "there was not any thing made which was made." Nor should we forget that David identifies, in the sixth verse of the thirty-third Psalm, the creating Spirit of God with his Word; nor that the Rabbins, in some of their oldest commentaries, explain the text which we are now discussing to signify "the Spirit of the Messiah."

But, while the application of the name of Spirit to the Person of our Lord is in itself a strong presumption, against the followers of Socinus, that he who is thus distinguished from all mankind must necessarily have been something more than man; and while this community of name should teach us greater caution in the interpretation of many remarkable passages in the Old and New Testaments, the analogy of Scripture will, nevertheless, forbid us to doubt that the functions of the Holy Ghost, peculiarly so called, were as important and as prominent under the ancient as the Christian Covenant.

Nor is it any objection to this hypothesis, if we should suppose, as many striking passages of Scripture lead us to suppose, and as the Fathers of the second century with one accordant voice maintain, that, during the Patriarchal and Mosaic ages, some few, at least, among the recorded revelations of the almighty Presence and Power were revelations of that Everlasting Son, who was destined himself, in fulness of time, to assume mortality.

For, such occasional displays of glory on the part of the Second Person in the Diety, will by no means preclude the Third in that mysterious union from a frequent, perhaps a more frequent intercourse with mankind, whether by visible manifestations of his Person and Majesty, or by the silent influence of Inspiration, and those more usual but not less blessed bounties which, under the name of Grace, are peculiarly ascribed to his influence. Under the Gospel Covenant, when Christ had now ascended to heaven, and after he had himself declared his intention of resigning to another Divine Person the ordinary guardianship of his orphan Church, we find, nevertheless, the Son of God appearing not infrequently in person for the instruction and consolation of his Apostles. Nor will it follow from the appearance of the Divine Word on particular occasions to Adam, to Abraham, and to Moses, that the Holy Spirit was not their other and their more frequent Monitor, any more than it would follow that the interference of the Paraclete is disproved in the diffusion of the Gospel, because it was Christ himself who appeared in vision to St. Stephen, St. Paul, or St. John.

Nor will it be, perhaps, a very difficult task to show, on the diligent comparison of Scripture with itself, that the distinction of Persons in the Diety is little less evidently implied in the Old Testament than in the New, and that to the Third Hypostasis in the Trinity, as distinguished both from the Father and the Son, we are to ascribe, on the authority of the Sacred Writers, not only the inspiration of the Scriptues of the elder Covenant, but the tutelary guidance of the Church of Israel, and the disposal, as a general and superintending Providence, of the political fate of empires, in so much at least as those empires were connected with the chosen people of the Lord.

When Joel predicts the more abundant fulness of glory and power which was to adorn the Dispensation of Grace, he ascribes, as it should seem, this ampler inspiration to the same influence, (the influence, that is, of the same identical Person,) as that whence his own prophetic powers proceeded. And our Saviour announces the Spirit who was to comfort the Apostles, as a Person whose name, at least, was already known and familiar to the devout expectation of his hearers.

The Church is therefore fully justified, when, in that common Confession of Faith in which both East and West agree, she ascribes to one and the same Divine Spirit, under either Covenant, the dispensation of prophetic knowledge.

Nor is this all.—For, unless we assign a certain and a very important part to the Holy Ghost in the original institution and conduct of the Jewish Theocracy, it will be impossible to reconcile Scripture to itself, or to understand the apparently different language of Moses and St. Stephen, when speaking of the same occurrence. The Law, says the Author of the Pentateuch, was received by Moses from God himself, face to face, as a man speaketh with his friend. The Law, says the Protomartyr, (and he is supported in his assertion by the similar assurance of St. Paul,) was given by the dispensation of angels.

It is evident, then, that the beings, to whose conduct was entrusted the guidance of Israel, were such as were at once divine and messengers of divinity. But wherefore do we hear of more than one? Wherefore, unless that both the one and the other of those mysterious persons, to whom only the apparently discordant terms of God and angel are equally applicable, were engaged in the former, as they were, doubtless, both engaged in the latter covenant of Jehovah with mankind.

And that more than one divine person was actually manifested in those awful transactions, an attentive examination of the book of Moses will be sufficient to make us sensible. The mysterious being who promulgated the law from the flaming height of Sinai, who is called in Scripture both Jehovah himself and Jehovah's messenger, the Creator of the world and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; this awful person is, by all these circumstances, still more than by the accordant opinion of the Christian fathers and the elder Jews, identified with the Logos or eternal word of God. But, of the further progress of the tribes into Canaan, the legislator of Horeb was not himself the guide. "Behold," are his words, "I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him and obey his voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions, for my name is in him."

It will not, however, be denied that he, whose peculiar presence thenceforward hallowed the tabernacle; who spake with Moses from between the cherubim of the mercy-seat; who announced himself to Joshua as the captain of Jehovah's army; and whom the prophets invoked as the tutelary Deity of the former temple; this person in himself, it cannot be denied, must needs have been both God and Lord. Nor is it easy, on a due comparison of these several premises with each other, to do otherwise than acknowledge, in that almighty person who was sent by God the word as his vicar and delegate; who was to reveal to the chosen tribes the more perfect will of heaven; and against whose authority all rebellion was, apparently, irremissible; a conformity of office and character with him by whose inspiration the prophets and evangelists alike composed their volumes; who is the Comforter and Patron of the Christian church, as he was of old the Ruler and Defender of the church of Israel.

And this conclusion will receive additional force from the similarity of those actions and ordinary influences which believers in Christ ascribe to the Holy Ghost, with those which the Jews impute to the Schekinah or tutelary and inhabiting Spirit of their tabernacle and former temple. The name of Schekinah has been indeed confined by some modern theologians to the open appearances of God's glory, and more especially to a certain luminous form, which (contrary to all probability of reason and all authority of Scripture) they suppose to have occupied with its actual presence the golden mercy-seat of the ark, or to have hovered, as a visible object of adoration, between the wings of the emblematical cherubim.

The falsehood of this popular doctrine the present is not the time to show; but it is sufficient for my purpose to observe, that, though the Jews undoubtedly ascribe to the agency of the Schekinah whatever display of God's glory has been made to man, whether in the sanctuary or elsewhere; yet is it certain that their doctors speak of it, not as a phantom only, or bodily vehicle, whereby the eternal father thought fit to announce his presence to mankind; but as a rational and (for the most part) an invisible person, who bore witness before the Father in behalf of those who were unfeigned converts to the truth; who dwelt in the hearts of such as rejoiced in the ways of piety, and received their departing souls; who protected the faithful during travel; who presided over their congregations in prayer, and over the private studies of the Scriptural student; whom, lastly, in the ceremony of ordination, they identified with the Holy Ghost as descending with unseen influence on the appointed ministers of religion.

It may be thought, then, that it was indeed the Son of God who spake with Moses from Sinai, but that it was the Spirit of God, peculiarly so called, by whom the work was completed of Israel's deliverance. Nor can any better solution be desired of that apparent difficulty which arises from the comparison of the accounts afforded by Isaiah and St. Paul to the same identical transaction, the disobedience of Israel in the desert.

When the first of these Evangelists (for to both that name is applicable) describes his ancestors as having grieved the *Holy Spirit*, he means, we may suppose, that person in the Godhead who was their guide into their promised territory. But when the latter instances their sin in tempting *Christ*, it is plain from the context that by Christ he intends that Jehovah who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and of whom the manna, which they sinned in refusing, was a type and bodily image.

And so perfect is the parallel between the corresponding features of that vast design whereby the salvation of mankind is secured, that as, in either case, it was the second Person of the Trinity by whom the Church was brought out of bondage, so was it in both the third in that mysterious union who was to conduct them to their appointed Canaan.

The most important, however, and certainly the clearest discovery of the existence and functions of God's Holy Spirit under the Mosaic dispensation, is communicated by that Prophet who, of all the servants of the Almighty, had the most perspicuous notices of his nature and the general scheme of his government. And as the chapters of Daniel in which this account is found have been the subjects of very general misapprehension, and as they have been even perverted into a source of error the most childish and idolatrous, I may be excused if I enter somewhat at length into the circumstances which they detail.

On the banks of the Tigris, we read in the tenth chapter of his prophecy, was Daniel visited, after a long preparation of fasting and prayer, by a Person clothed with every attribute of celestial majesty and terror, in a white and glittering garb, and cinctured with a golden girdle; "his body like the beryl, his face as the appearance of lightning, his eyes as lamps of fire, his arms and his feet in colour like polished brass, and the voice of his words as the voice of a multitude."

This awful Spirit, whose words, no less than his appearance, betoken the highest pitch of majesty and power; who describes himself as the sustaining Providence of the Persian empire, and to whom the angels of God apply as to an oracle for a knowledge of futurity; has been variously regarded by the greater number of commentators, either as the Divine Logos or second Person in the Trinity, or as a created though very powerful angel.

The former of these opinions has, I apprehend, been founded on the supposed similarity of attire and dignity between the Person here described and our Lord Jesus Christ, as he appeared in glory, after his decease, to the beloved Writer of the Apocalypse.

But on a correspondence like this no such conclusion can be justly founded, inasmuch as the features are those general ones only of royal and celestial authority, adopted, as it may seem, from the usual attire of eastern and Jewish monarchs, which belong not only to the Son of Man, but the minister of God's will, whoever he was, who descended to unlock the sepulchre wherein that blessed Son lay buried; and which, as may be seen in the seventh chapter of the same prophecy, are ascribed not to these alone, but to the Ancient of Days or Eternal Father himself.

And that, notwithstanding such general similarity, he who stood on the waters of Hiddekel was not the second Person of the Trinity, is apparent from his speaking of Michael, the Prince of Judah, as another and distinct Intelligence.

For that Michael is one of the names ascribed to our Saviour in his pre-existent state, may be proved, not only by the clearest evidence of Rabbinical tradition, but also by the more forcible and unexceptionable proof which is obtained by comparing Scripture with itself.

Michael is represented in the books of the ancient Jews, as the Chief Priest and Expiator of heaven; as offering, on that celestial altar which John in the sixth and eighth chapters of his prophecy describes, the souls and the prayers of all faithful Israelites; as defending his people, before the tribunal of almighty Justice, from the malicious accusations of Satan. He is described as the pillar of cloud and fire which guided the Tribes through the wilderness, and guarded them in the sea from the pursuit of the Egyptians. He was, they tell us, the Spirit on whose peculiar intercession David relied; who alone was able to obtain the admission of the bloodstained but penitent monarch into the assembly of the blest in paradise; and who knows the wants and who pleads for all the necessities of the faithful in this nether world. But the Jews do more than all which I have hitherto mentioned.

They expressly distinguish him from every created angel or spirit, and assure us, that wherever Michael is said to have appeared, it must be understood of the Divine Majesty.

And that these opinions, however wildly expressed, are not, in their essential features, at variance with the Scriptures of either Covenant, a comparison of the first verse of Daniel's twelfth chapter with the seventh verse of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, is in itself sufficient to prove. In the former, Michael is described as "the great Prince" who, in the latter days, was to stand up for Israel; in the latter, the expulsion, by his means, of the powers of evil from heaven is predicted in terms and under circumstances which can only suit the Messiah.

He is called by St. Jude the Chief or Prince of Angels, and the voice of that mighty Prince is identified by St. Paul with HIS voice, whom, if we believe St. John, all those who are in the grave shall one day hear.

He, then, who is distinguished from the Archangel Michael cannot possibly be identified with the second Person of the Triune Godhead. At the same time, the language of the Person described by Daniel is no less inconsistent with the character of a finite or created Intelligence.

"In the first year," he tells us, "of Darius the Mede, I, even I stood to strengthen him." Is this the language of a merely ministering spirit; or have angels authority over the destiny of mankind, to overturn or establish empires at their pleasure? "There is none," he subjoins, "that holdeth with me in these things save Michael your prince." But can a finite being compare with Michael in any thing; or will the very chiefest of heaven's officers assume a tone so nearly approaching to equality with him whom all the angels worship; who sits enthroned above all dominations and principalities and powers, whether they be in this world or in the world to come?

Those, indeed, who have considered Daniel's instructor as no more than a created spirit, have been obliged, for the most part, in consistency with themselves, to degrade the Archangel Michael also to a level little superior; and to adopt, with various modifications, that wild and portentous system, which would commit the government of earth and heaven, like the empire of Darius son of Hystaspes, to a number of celestial but created deputies.

It is thus that learned and holy men have unintentionally sanctioned the grossest and wildest superstitions, and have built up in their imaginations a hierarchy of tutelary spirits; who watch, as they would teach us, with an active, but often with an erring zeal, over the insulated and jarring interests of individuals and dynasties and nations.

All this arose from their opinion who regarded the celestial visitant of Daniel as a created and angelic agent. For, if he who spake to the Prophet were an angel, it was concluded that the Prince of Persia, whom he had at first supported and with whom he was now to contend, must needs have been an angel also; and that Michael, who aided him in his quarrel, was another, and a yet more potent celestial satrap, (the Vizier, perhaps, of Paradise,) who either interfered with his good offices, or arrived on the field of battle with such an overpowering army of cherubim as might reduce the contumacious provincials to order and obedience.

If we desire to know the grounds of debate, which thus, according to the ancient Fathers, had kindled war in heaven, we may find them laid down with historical precision by Ephrem Syrus, in his commentary on the present chapter. "After the confusion of languages," are his words, "and the division of tribes which took place at Babel, each nation received its Angel-Governor; and Michael was the Guardian of the Hebrews. This people being captive in Assyria, Daniel prayed for their return after the appointed seventy years of bondage were accomplished. The Angel of Persia, however, opposed the measure, and maintained, on this occasion, a vigorous war against Michael and Gabriel. He desired to detain the Jews at Babylon, because he was glad to have under his jurisdiction a people who worshipped the true God, and because he hoped that, in process of time, the Jews would convert to their faith the nations both of Assyria and Persia."

How naturally such opinions would lead to the worshipping of angels, has been shown by one of the ablest and most learned advocates whom Providence has raised up for the defence of the Catholic faith; and who, both before and since his death, has been, of all others, most honourably distinguished by the rancorous abuse which the enemies of that faith have heaped upon his fame and memory.

But of such a system the bare enunciation is sufficient to prove the unsoundness. What could be, in such a hierarchy, the limits of each angel's sovereignty; or how were those limits to be adjusted in the perpetual changes of polity and language which have passed over the face of the world?—Are we to suppose, with Ephrem and Theodoret and Origen, that an angelic guardian was allotted to each particular language? How were these guardians to act when the parent tongue branched out into a multitude of distinct and corrupted dialects? Is the tutelar genius of the Goths at once the sovereign of the German, the Swedish, the American and the English nations? If a language becomes extinct, does the angel abdicate his throne? When one tribe subdues another, is the guardian of the conquered race himself in captivity with his clients? or are the wars which desolate our lower world the echoes only and more faint reflections of those quarrels which shake the empyrean? Is it possible that the pure inhabitants of that peaceable world, "wherein the wicked cease from troubling," should have strife and faction among themselves; that, like feudal chieftains, or the old Homeric deities, the ministers of heaven should oppose each other's plans, and the mandates of their common Master; or can he to whom all things bow down be swayed by the secret influence or senseless mutiny of those glorious but fragile beings, whom, as he has created them from nothing, the withholding of his breath can annihilate?

These are, however, conclusions, to which, on Socinian principles, the book of Daniel must inevitably conduct us. For, if we refuse to acknowledge a distinction of Persons in the Deity, we must needs regard as created Spirits both the Person who spake with Daniel, and that Michael who assisted him to subdue or conciliate the Prince of Persia. And as the language of Daniel's monitor is not the language of one who was the mere instrument of another's will, but of one whose proceedings were guided by his own discretion; that conclusion must follow, against which the modern Socinians with so great indignation contend, that created spirits are associated with the Almighty in the moral and physical government of the world. If, however, we suppose that glorious apparition who conversed with Daniel, and who was the fellow-labourer of the Word of God, to be himself no other than the Holy Ghost, the whole perplexed machinery of tutelar spirits fades away like the shadow of a dream. The princes of Pars and of Javan become, according to the obvious purport of the expression, the moral governors of Persia and Macedon; the resistance which, during one and twenty days, the first opposed to the will of Heaven, is the reluctance exhibited by the government of that country to dismiss the Jews to their home; the victory which Daniel's Informant, assisted by Michael, obtained over those evil passions, is meant of that gracious influence, which, joined to the Redeemer's intercession at his Father's throne, overpowered the selfish policy and softened the idolatrous hatred of those lords of Israel's captivity.

And of the protection, even in temporal matters, and unconnected, apparently, with the return of the Jews to their mountains, which the providence of God, during a certain space, afforded to the Persian empire, the same conversation affords a remarkable instance. "In the first year of Darius the Mede, I, even I," saith the Spirit, "stood to strengthen him." "I now return," are his words in another place, "to fight with the Prince of Persia; and when I am gone forth, the Prince of Grecia will come."

In this sentence, if we understand the Hebrew particle עם to signify *against* or *in opposition to*, his meaning will be, "I return to renew my gracious influence on the heart of the Persian governor, correcting his evil habits and prejudices, and restraining by my presence the natural excesses of an idolatrous and arbitrary monarch." But if עם be rendered *with*, as *on the side of*, and *favouring his quarrel*, it will import that the Spirit of God was about to assist for a certain time the empire of Persia, in its triumphant progress over Asia, Thrace and Egypt; and that, while his presence abode with the counsels and armies of the king, those counsels and armies should be alike irresistible and prosperous.

But, whichever of these interpretations is preferred, what follows can admit of no interpretation but one. "When I am gone forth, the Prince of Grecia shall come." As if he had said, "I now return to that residence which the intercession of Michael hath for the present allotted me; I return, to shed light, prosperity and empire on the throne of the successors of Cyrus. But, when the intentions of the Most High are answered, for which that government hath been raised from obscurity; when their hardness of heart hath a little longer resisted, and their tyrannies have a little longer grieved me; when I depart, (and depart I will,) the valour of their bowmen shall wither away, and the craft of their elders shall be ashamed. Let them look, in that day, for far sorer reproofs than mine; let them expect far other visitants than my peaceful and gracious discipline! When I depart, the sentence of God is gone forth against their land, and the sword of Macedon is already brandished at the door."

The sum of all will be contained in that great doctrine which is, perhaps, the most prominent of all the lessons conveyed in Daniel's Prophecies, "that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men;" and that the chain of political events, and the course of good or evil fortune, are to be numbered among the invisible operations of that tremendous Spirit, from whom all knowledge and power and understanding do proceed; who directed the artist powers of Bezaleel and the political wisdom of Solomon; and in whose hand not only Jephtha and Othniel, but Nebuchadnezzar and Pul and Cyrus were alike the chosen instruments of his providence.

Nor is it any sufficient objection to the present hypothesis, that the appearance of the Holy Ghost in the human form is at variance with the acknowledged fact of his manifestation of himself, during the Messiah's residence on earth, under the corporeal shape of a dove, and at the time of Pentecost under the likeness of flames of fire.

To those who regard all such displays as symbols only of the favour of him whose presence fills infinity, it is plain that all alike are phantoms adapted to human weakness and ignorance, and calculated to impress on the mind of the spectator, a stronger feeling of confidence or respect or piety; nor can any of them be singled out, without exceeding presumption, as more peculiarly appropriate than the rest to set forth that majesty, which it is in symbols only that our mortal sense can contemplate.

And if the Son, according to the usual opinion, have appeared successively to Moses and the Patriarchs under the various forms of a cloud, an angel, a consuming fire; we can, surely, feel no reason for surprise that the same Spirit, who has manifested himself to the reverence of mankind, as a dove, a disparted flame, and a rushing mighty wind, should have also, on certain occasions, assumed a semblance such as the Prophet Daniel here describes. If a more definite precedent, however, be required, I am greatly mistaken if the beginning of the eighth chapter of Ezekiel be not found, on diligent examination, to present an instance of an apparition of the Holy Ghost in a form almost precisely similar.

It may be yet farther observed, that, in the passage already quoted from Ephrem Syrus, that writer supposes, (and it is an idea in which the great majority of commentators agree with him,) that the person described in the tenth chapter of Daniel is the same with him who had, on former occasions, declared the date of the Messiah's coming. And this opinion is doubtless countenanced by many circumstances of similarity in the manner of each visitant's salutation, and in the deep astonishment and terror (greater than what is, in any part of Scripture, attributed to an apparition merely angelical) by which, on his approach, the mortal beholder was overcome.

On those former occasions, however, the celestial Instructor is called by the name of Gabriel. And, as this is a name which, though it only twice occurs in the Old Testament, is familiar to every reader of the New; it will not be unimportant or uninteresting to add some few remarks as to the general opinion which the ancient Jews entertained of this personage, and as to the manner in which he is first introduced to our notice in the book of Daniel.

Not only, then, to Michael, but to Gabriel, do the Jews ascribe the name of "Chief Prince," or Sovereign of Jerusalem and Sion; it was from their joint agency that the wonders of the Messiah's kingdom were expected to proceed; these two alone, of all the host of heaven, were supposed to bear the likeness or image of God, and the "Saviours," whom Obadiah describes as "going out of the mountain Zion," are explained, in the Shemoth Rabba, to signify Michael and Gabriel. It is this latter who is to destroy, in the end of the world, the power of the leviathan or evil spirit. He it was who is expressly called Jehovah, when in the act of raining fire on Sodom; and who is called the Son of God, when he descended to protect the faithful worshippers of God in the Babylonian furnace.

To Michael and Gabriel alone, of all the angelic host, it is given, according to some of the more ancient Rabbins, to stand in the presence of the Most High, as his counsellors and confidential ministers; nay, of them alone is eternal duration predicated; while the remaining multitude of heaven are supposed to enjoy not only a temporary being, but an existence literally ephemeral.

Of these last it was fabled, that they every morning rose from the exhalations of a certain heavenly river, to sing their hymns and perform their services before the eternal throne. And, those brief hymns and little services concluded, they were absorbed, with the dawn of the following day, in the insensible beatitude of their parent stream; which yielded at the same time, a fresh swarm of pure and happy beings, to be occupied, in their turn, in the harmony of heaven, and bask a few short hours in the radiance of their Maker's favour.

With such absurdities, I need hardly observe that a Christian has no concern. But it may appear important even for a Christian to recollect, that some vestige of truth may be generally detected amid the rankest weeds of popular superstition. And such a vestige, perhaps, is that immeasurable distance which these ancient doctors conceived to exist between the ordinary inhabitants of paradise, and those two awful Persons, who only, among the princes of heaven, have received appropriate names in Scripture; names which the Jews profess to have derived from the date of this very prophesy, and of which the former, Michael, can hardly be under such circumstances considered as less than a claim to Deity, while the latter, Gabriel, is literally translated "the Strength or Active Power of God.

Who the first of these persons is we have already seen on a comparison of the Prophet Daniel with the equally prophetic Author of the Book of Revelations: who the second may be supposed to be, may, perhaps, still further appear from an examination of the circumstances which preceded his first appearance to Daniel.

In his eighth chapter, and after describing the visionary representation of the Macedonian symbol, and the future fortunes of the Persian empire, the Prophet proceeds to inform us, that he heard two invisible persons conversing, whom he calls by the name of Saints or Holy Ones. "I heard," are his words, "one Saint speaking; and another Saint said unto that certain Saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice?"

Now here it may be reasonably inquired, to what class of beings do those Saints belong, whose words are thus partially recorded? Men they will not be supposed to have been; for they were invisible, and competent to interpret the visions of futurity. To angels the name of Saint is no where given in the Book of Daniel; nor, that I can recollect, in the course of the entire Old Testament. But the same word, when joined with the term of Watcher, is applied, as Bishop Horsely has shown, in the fourth chapter of this same prophecy, to those who alone, of all existing things, are properly and essentially holy, the Persons of the Triune Godhead. Those Saints whose voices Daniel heard, may be, perhaps, considered, therefore, as divine.

But one of these Saints is distinguished from the other by the Hebrew epithet Palmoni; a word which our translators, following the authority of Jerome, and Theodoret, have rendered by "that certain Saint which spake." The force of the two words Peloni Almoni, of which they suppose it to be a contraction, is, "Some one I know not who," "Some unknown person," "That unknown Holy One." It is also susceptible (if we derive it from the word Palah) of the meaning of "secret" or "wonderful." I will not now examine which of these renderings is best or most probable. Essentially they both agree, since he whom Daniel describes as "a certain Saint," was, at least, unknown to and secret from the Prophet who thus describes him.

But, wherefore is one of two invisible personages distinguished from the other by the name of "the secret Holy One," "the Holy One whom I know not?" Was the other better known to him previously? That will scarcely, I apprehend, be supposed. Did he become better acquainted with him afterwards? This last is, surely, the most natural inference. But the person who, immediately afterwards, becomes visible to him "in the appearance of a man," is that Gabriel, whom a voice from heaven enjoins to explain the vision to Daniel; on whose approach the Prophet falls on his face in the posture of adoration, and is not reproved for doing so. But it has been already shown to be probable, that Gabriel is the same with that majestic apparition on the waters of Hiddekel, who spake of himself as the coadjutor and equal of "him who is like God." Gabriel himself is here represented as a Holy One, and acquiesces in an honour which we are not permitted to render to any but the Most High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity. The inference is as obvious as it is awful.

Of Gabriel we, by name, learn something more in the gospel according to St. Luke; and there is, certainly, nothing in either of the passages wherein his name occurs, which can derogate from his character of Divinity. The name of angel is given, we know, to the Son; and the same everlasting Word or Son is said, like Gabriel, to stand in the presence and at the side of God the Father.

We may rank it, then, at least, among the probabilities of Scriptural conjecture, that, in the visions of Daniel and Ezekiel, in the prediction made to Zacharias as to the birth of John the Baptist, and in the annunciation of our Lord's miraculous conception in the virgin's womb, the spirit or power of God was manifested, in a visible form, though of what likeness we are not told, to the faith and reverence of the mortals thus distinguished.

To the Angel Gabriel both Jews and Mahommedans (by the latter sect he is expressly called the Holy Ghost) are apparently correct in assigning a rank superior to the ordinary inhabitants of heaven. It may, possibly, be thought, that the rank of this angel is not yet estimated high enough either by Jews, Mohammedans, or Christians; and that in him, whom we honour as an angel of God, we shall recognize a person, in himself eternal and divine.

Let, then, the above observations suffice as to what is known or conjectured concerning the part sustained by the Spirit of God in the general government of the world, and the several manifestations of his person and power during the times of the elder Covenant. On his subsequent showers of glory and of grace,—on Christ in his baptism, and on the apostles at the time of Pentecost,—it is unnecessary, as I conceive, to enlarge; and of those blessings which either are or are supposed to be peculiar to Christians, and the consequences of his last named advent, I shall speak in a future sermon.

There is yet, however, another occasion on which the words of Scripture give us reason to believe that the influence of the Holy Ghost was immediately and conspicuously exerted, during the night, I mean, of Christ's interment, and during his resurrection from the dead.

I am well aware of the reasonable doubt which may exist, whether the spirit whereby, according to St. Peter, Christ was quickened, be understood of the third person in the Trinity, or of our Lord's own immortal nature. Nor do I forget that the Son of Man has ascribed the act of his resurrection to himself and an immediate act of his own divinity. But we also learn from St. Paul that he was raised from the dead by the same glorious Person who regenerates us to newness of life, —and by whose agency, according to the Jews, our own dust and ashes shall hereafter be formed anew into the likeness of the Lord from heaven. Nor can we better reconcile these, seemingly, conflictive statements than by the belief that as all the persons of the Trinity were concerned in this awful resuscitation,—so he, more particularly, who is the soul of the material world and its preserving and pervading Providence, —by whose sole operation the body of Jesus was framed in the virgin's womb,—and by whom, as by the finger of God, the Messiah wrought his wonders, was active, on the present occasion, in undoing the work of death, and in preparing the deserted body of Christ for the return of its Divine Inhabitant.

But, having ventured to call your attention to topics so mysterious as those which have engrossed the present lecture, (among the most mysterious they doubtless are which can occupy the thoughts or inquiry of man or any created being,) let it be remembered that it has rather been my object to excite, than my expectation to gratify, the devout curiosity of my hearers. Be it remembered, that the more we search into the wonders of revelation, the more strongly we shall feel our own weakness and blindness; happy if the painful sense of conscious ignorance induce us to look forward with increased intensity of hope, to that moment when every doubt shall terminate!

Be it observed, above all, that these wilder or more fanciful speculations of theology, though, if correct, they may illustrate; if false or exaggerated, cannot, by their failure, affect the more solid columns of Christianity,—those doctrines of the atonement and Triune Deity, against which the gates of hell are destined never to prevail; which, of whatever materials be the superstructure which we seek to rear on their basis, are themselves impregnably founded on the rock of eternal wisdom.

And though, in such conjectures as have been this day offered to your notice, there be little which can lay claim to the praise of original research, and less, as I should hope, which can incur the blame of an unreasonable desire of novelty: yet, if any thing have been unintentionally spoken in rashness or in folly, may the Church of Christ forgive it; and may He, above all, by whom we are sanctified to salvation, forgive, for His sake and through His merits by whose blood our salvation is purchased!

LECTURE V.

I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

The several dispensations have been already explained, whereby the Spirit of God is represented, during the continuance of the former Covenant, and during our Saviour's earthly pilgrimage, as concurring in the great designs of almighty Wisdom and Mercy, and co-operating in the redemption of the world.

It yet remains that we inquire into the nature of those benefits, which the family of the Lord on earth are, since his departure, authorized to anticipate from the advent of the Spirit of God; in what manner that awful Person has performed the promise of the eternal Word, and by what dispensation of mercy and of what power he has evinced and continues to evince himself the peculiar Comforter of Christians.

I call the Spirit of God our *peculiar* Comforter, because (though, in all the works of God, and in all his mercies, however bestowed, there be doubtless, as we have already observed, a correspondence and general harmony,) yet, in the name of a Comforter, and in the act of his mission to any peculiar class of beings, is the idea conveyed of appropriate and exclusive privilege; of a something which distinguishes the favoured individuals from the general condition of mankind, and from that which had been their own condition before the occurrence of the event described.

By a promise made to one definite object all others are necessarily excluded: if a province be conferred on Marcus by name, it is apparent that Lentulus or Messala can expect no share in its government: if we are told that the Almighty on Mount Sinai made a covenant with the children of Israel, we understand immediately that Moab and Amalek had no concern in such particular transaction.

Accordingly, it is apparent that the comfort which the Spirit of God was, after the decease of Christ and on Christ's behalf, to confer on his orphan followers, must have been of a nature in which not only all the faithful, but the faithful alone were to be partakers; something which should distinguish the church from all other terrestrial communities, and should separate, with a broad and perceptible line of demarcation, the enlightened children of God most High from the darkness of an unconverted world. The gift, then, of the Holy Ghost in his capacity of Paraclete, is appropriate and peculiar to the followers of our blessed Lord.

But, further, the promised comfort must have been something of which the disciples themselves, to whom the assurance was originally given, were not in previous possession. Our Saviour does not speak of it as of something which they should not *lose*, but as of something which they were thereafter to *receive*. It may be said, indeed, that the very terms of "coming," and "visitation," and "mission," (though, as applied to a Person who is already omnipresent, they can only be considered as figurative and adapted to our earthly capacities,) in themselves imply and are invariably used to signify some distinct and new manifestation of the power or mercy of God. When it was promised, therefore, that the Holy Ghost should *visit* the disciples as a Comforter, they could do no less than anticipate some certain advantage which that advent should confer, some advantage which they had not before received, and had, otherwise, no reason to expect, either as men, or as Jews, or as the followers of Jesus of Nazareth.

And this becomes yet more evident when we consider, that this visitation of God the Holy Ghost was announced to the disciples as a compensation for the heavy misfortune which then impended over them, the departure of their beloved Lord. The coming of the Paraclete was to counterbalance this affliction, and to counterbalance it so effectually that, on this account alone, our Lord himself declared it to be "expedient for them that he should go away." But, that they should not lose, by the departure of Christ, the advantages which they enjoyed before his coming, or those which they had since received from him, though it might be a topic against the violence of despair, could by no means be called a compensation. For, that is a compensation only which we receive in consequence of our loss; but that which I either did or might enjoy without any loss whatever, can with no propriety of language be said to come to me in consequence of my misfortunes, nor (though the balance of good may, on the whole, preponderate in my favour) to repay me for what I have suffered. That many other old and valuable friends are left me, may soften indeed my grief for the loss of one whom I love; but it cannot be said, that my not being altogether forsaken can make it *expedient* for me to lose a friend.

It follows, that the compensation promised to Christians for the loss of their Master's visible presence, must be an advantage peculiar to Christians alone, and one which the followers of Christ did not possess before the descent of the rushing mighty wind at Pentecost. And, if I should seem to have bestowed too tedious an argument on a point, apparently, so plain, let it be remembered, that on these first principles many truths may be found to depend, which have been the subjects of more arduous contest, and which possesses in themselves a more obvious and practical interest.

To return, however, from this seeming digression. It was observed in the preceding Lecture, that through all the scheme of man's salvation, as revealed to us in the sacred Writings, so strongly is the character displayed of a general and harmonious analogy, that it was, *a priori*, reasonable to expect that in the operations of the Spirit, during the development and conduct of the new dispensation, we should find a connexion and similarity with his more conspicuous interpositions for the furtherance and completion of the old.

And such a correspondence is, even on a hasty view, discernible between the tokens of the divine favour and presence originally afforded in the tabernacle, and by those which qualified the earliest teachers of Christianity for the arduous service to which they were ordained; which enabled them to maintain their Master's quarrel against all the deeply rooted habits and inveterate ignorance of mankind, and supported them with a supernatural wisdom, and a vigour not their own, under the many and bitter trials which assailed their faith and patience.

Thus, if the Schekinah descended in clould and fire to take possession of the shrine appropriated to his service in the ancient tabernacle, the Holy Ghost came down with similar circumstances of wonder and majesty, to signify in a visible manner his approbation and protection of those early teachers of and converts to the faith of Christ, whose bodies were thenceforth, in the expressive language of St. Paul, to be his nobler and living sanctuaries.

Did the face of Moses shine with reflected glory, when he returned from coversing with the God of Israel?—The same angelic splendour adorned the Protomartyr's countenance; when Stephen, in the presence of his murderers, bare witness to the resurrection and exultation of his Lord. As Moses was permitted to enter into the Holy of Holies, to receive, in that figurative heaven, the commands of God;—so was St. Paul, on a certain occasion, caught up into paradise itself, to that celestial temple and holy place not made by hands, of which the earthly edifice was but a shadow. The gift of prophecy, which was communicated, in Horeb, to the seventy elders of the Israelitish nation, was not only equalled but greatly surpassed by that fiery stream of power, which in the earliest days of the Messiah's kingdom was poured out on the sons and daughters of Jerusalem: and we may advantageously contrast with the tremendous and destructive evidences of God's presence which were given under the ancient Covenant, those miracles of blessing and of peace, whereby the Apostles of Christ could raise the dead, and cast out devils, and take up serpents in their hands, and open the eyes of the blind, and proclaim, in the proper tongues of every kindred and nation and people, the things which belonged unto their eternal peace.

So striking, indeed, are the instances recorded in the apostolic writings, in which the miraculous and visible patronage of God's Spirit was afforded to the orphan Church of Christ, that it cannot reasonably excite our wonder, that some eminent commentators should seek no further than these extraordinary and temporary aids for the accomplishment of our Saviour's promise; and should recognize, in the powers accorded to the primitive teachers of the Gospel, the whole of that comfort which it was the office of the Paraclete to bestow.

But notwithstanding the acknowledged value of the advantages thus conferred, it may be doubted, whether, great as they were, they could have in themselves compensated to the immediate followers of Christ for the recent loss of their Master. And it is certain that many are entitled, by the words of Christ, to a share in the peculiar comfort of the Holy Ghost, to whom these definite advantages have been at no time accorded.

The promise, as we have seen in the preceding Lecture, was not to the apostolic age alone, but to every succeeding generation of Christians from the death of the Messiah to the moment of his triumphant return. But though there be more, perhaps, than a single church in Christendom, which has not as yet explicitly abandoned her pretensions to supernatural endowment, yet by even those who still advance such claims, the gifts of healing and of exorcism are acknowledged to be enjoyed by a very small number of individuals only; and the general avowal of the several Protestant sects, and the tacit admission of the best and wisest individuals in the Greek and Roman communions, evince at least that, whatever exceptions may be pretended to the general rule, and however we may fail to fix the period at which the miraculous aids of our religion were withdrawn, such miraculous aids have not been for many ages vouchsafed to the preachers of any Christian community.

Nor is that a sufficient answer by which this objection is usually encountered;—the answer, namely, that "the difference of situation and circumstance between the Christians of the present day and the original planters of our faith, has justified the Almighty in withdrawing from the maturer growth of the tree of life those props and standards which were needful in her sapling condition: that we have, at present, no occasion for supernatural powers, and that therefore we enjoy them no longer."

For, 1st, The fact itself on which this argument reposes, that miracles are no longer required for the progress of the Christian faith, is one which, though it be a favourite topic with the great majority of apologists for the truth, is, nevertheless, not easily to be defended.

There are many Christians at the present day, and there have been many at every period since the cessation of supernatural gifts, who have spent with little fruit, but with a sincerity which it would ill become us to impeach, their labours and their lives in the instruction of Mohammedans and Pagans.

But have not men like these occasionally experienced a perplexing and a painful want of supernatural credentials, in situations in which such credentials are most especially needful and appropriate? Or to what other cause than the lack of such apostolic endowments can we ascribe the feeble advances of our faith in later times, compared with that most rapid and abundant growth of converts which in every corner of the world rewarded the labour of the primitive missionaries?

That miracles would now be useless, is a conclusion which we have no right to draw from the fact that they are seen no longer. The dispensations of our almighty Father are too full of mystery for us to determine, whether he design the conversion of the remaining Gentiles by the credit of those recorded miracles which brought their first-fruits to his altar; or whether he may defer a while, till the time of their ingathering be come, those fresh manifestations of his glory and power which are to enlighten their uttermost darkness.

For the rarity of miracles a better reason may, perhaps, be found, in the consideration that, if they were common, they would be miracles no longer. Those visible predges of God's interference which are calulated in an especial manner to arouse the attention of mankind, would, if often repeated, excite no more attention than the dawn and sunset, or the receding and returning tide. They are restricted, therefore, by almighty Wisdom to those solemn occurrences which are to be ever memorable among men; and not only may it be said that such displays of power are wonderful because they are rare, but that they are therefore rare in order that they may be wonderful. And, instead of urging that miracles have ceased because they are no longer needed, it may be said, perhaps, with more conformity to truth, and, certainly, with as much humility, that God in these later days has left us to ourselves, that we may feel more perfectly our own weakness, and our want of his assistance.

But, 2dly, If we should concede that supernatural aids are now no longer needed, as being superseded by the diffusion of knowledge and the protection of Christian Sovereigns; though this, beyond a doubt, would admirably justify the ways of Providence in ceasing to concede such powers to men, provided their continuance were a matter of free grace and favour; yet, if the grant of such powers to the Church be the whole or even any essential part of the promise made by Christ, the reasoning will apply no longer.

For that which is once promised is no longer in the power of any one to give or to withhold at pleasure. However free the bounty may at first have been, the promise is a covenant not to be dissolved without the full concurrence of the recipient party: and though his circumstances may have, since, so completely altered, as no longer to require our bounty; yet, if such a change were not foreseen and provided for, or tacitly, at least, implied in the original nature of our agreement, the promise may itself be chargeable with improvidence, but we cannot, with honour, dispense ourselves from its full and fair fulfilment.

Nor, further, can it be said with truth, that, in the present instance, the circumstances which were contemplated in the original promise of a Comforter have at any time ceased to operate. It was the blessing of an infallible Guide, the guardianship of a visible and incarnate Deity, the presence of the Son of God himself, for which the coming of the Paraclete was to compensate. And, till the return of Christ to earth, and so long as we no less than the apostles are mourners for his absence, and for that unequal state of worldly things which his last great advent is to remedy, we are entitled, equally with the apostles, to look up with pious confidence for the same comfort which, for the same reason, was promised to us as to them.

It is plain, therefore, that a temporary and partial benefit is by no means, in itself, an adequate fulfilment of a promise made to every generation of the faithful, and to each individual believer; and it is necessary, if we desire to evince the accomplishment of our Saviour's gracious assurance, to understand it of some more general and pervading benefit, in which not the apostolic age alone, but every succeeding Christian either has or might have partaken.

Accordingly, it has been supposed by the great majority of commentators, that, though the promise of our Saviour was immediately and literally fulfilled to the apostles in the gift of those miraculous powers which were necessary to their peculiar situation, yet did it, in its implied and secondary sense, extend to all believers, in the ordinary means of improvement which the same good Spirit has never ceased to bestow. And, when they are further asked, in what peculiar blessings we experience, in modern times, that present and abiding Paraclete whom our Saviour has promised to his Church? it has been usual to refer us to those sacred institutions which are the outward badges of our profession, as well as to that inward grace by which only the external sign is made available to our holiness here and our endless happiness hereafter.

The presence of the Comforter has thus been sought in the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Baptism; in the succession of a ministry apostolically ordained and governed; and, above all, in those secret aids and blessed influences, which, from the greater frequency of their occurrence, and not from any supposed or real inferiority in their value, are distinguished from the gifts of supernatural power and knowledge as the ordinary graces of the Holy Ghost.

And, by thus supposing that our Saviour's promise has been fulfilled in different ways to different generations of his people, our Protestant divines have appeared to elude, with sufficient dexterity, the opposing and almost equal difficulties of admitting, on the one hand, the arrogant and superstitious claims of the Romish Hierarchy, and of confining, on the other, to certain persons and periods only, a comfort which was announced without limitation, as the future privilege of all believers in the Messiah.

Nor, if the compensation which the church was to receive had been described by our Lord under the general name of Grace or Comfort only, can it be denied, that this solution of the difficulty would have been recommended to our adoption by very strong apparent reasons.

Both grace and comfort, if they are not necessarily inherent in the washing of regeneration and the Eucharist bread and wine, may, at least, be attained by a proper use of these external means. Both grace and comfort are dispensed to the church in the preaching of God's word by his appointed messengers, and by the pardon which, on his behalf, they announce to the truly penitent. Both are in like manner perceived to flow from those secret aids to which the name itself of grace is peculiarly and emphatically given; those aids which, as we believe, both prevent and follow our every endeavour after holiness; which, as preliminaries to conversion, and as helps to perseverance, are absolutely necessary to unlock the gate of heaven to our entrance, or to support us in our upward journey.

Had, then, our Saviour's words amounted to no more than a general assurance of help and comfort to be, on his behalf, afforded by the Spirit of God, any spiritual grace whatever might be regarded as sufficient to discharge the debt of mercy to which that promise made him liable. Or, if the terms of the promise were sufficiently answered by those less brilliant aids, which only are continued to these latter ages of Christianity, it might be urged with reason, that we have no ground to complain, if, when we ourselves receive even a bare fulfilment of our Lord's assurance, we beheld a more abundant mercy exercised by God in the case of former generations. While we ourselves have all which was agreed upon, our "eye" must not "be evil," if the goodness of our Master should, in other instances, "do what he will with his own."

Had the promise, then, been general, we might, with the learned Hammond, have readily acknowledged, that the comfort of the Paraclete is perpetual in the church, inasmuch as our external and internal exercises of devotion and piety owe their value to his unseen fellowship; nor should I hesitate to reckon in the list of his benefits, that continued protection amid the changes and chances of the world, whereby all things are made to work together for the benefit of those who love the Son of God, and who hope for his second appearance. Of this providential guardianship of the church, its duration through the various dangers of eighteen centuries is in itself a proof, if other and more definite instances were wanting, which might suffice most amply to confirm our faith and justify our gratitude. It is a guardianship, too, which, from the testimonies collected in my last discourse, we may, without, I trust, a criminal presumption, ascribe to the especial and definite agency of him, to whose honour these labours are devoted; who is the ruling principle, by whom the Almighty Father disposes of the fates and fortunes of mankind; in whose protection the devout and innocent of every age and country are partakers; whose larger bounty clothes the lilies of the field, and extends the broad shield of omnipotence above the sparrow's wing.

But though, in all these instances of mercy and of power, we have sufficient reason afforded us in Scripture to adore the presence and the bounty of God's Spirit; it is impossible to conceal from ourselves that, so far as this particular promise is concerned, these instances are all inapplicable. While the promise of a Comforter is made to all, its terms are too definite to allow of such inequality in its distribution; and they are terms which, neither the institution of sacramental observances, nor the succession of an apostolical ministry, nor the providential disposal of worldly affairs in favour of the church of Christ, can in themselves be said to fulfil.

The Paraclete, whose advent our Saviour foretold, (under which definite character only we are now considering the Holy Ghost), the Paraclete was "to teach the disciples all things, and bring all things to their memory, whatever Christ had spoken." As the vicar of our Lord, and the advocate of the Christian cause, he was to refute the calumnies to which the Messiah's name had been exposed, and to convict the world of sin in the great controversy between God and his creatures. As doctor and president of the church, he was "to guide" the faithful "into all truth," and he was to "show them things to come."

Now it is plain that, any otherwise than as significant and pious ceremonies, neither baptism nor the eucharist can be said to teach us any thing. And, though it be the office of bishops and presbyters to instruct their weaker brethren, and to guide them, so as far as their own lights extend, into the knowledge of religious truth, yet have not, in these latter ages of the world, either presbyters or bishops any peculiar source of knowledge, which is not accessible to whichever of their hearers shall bestow a similar time and labour in its acquirement. And some instance must be found, in which the Spirit of God instructs the clergy themselves, as he instructed their apostolic predecessors, before they can be allowed to identify, as the Apostles did of old, their canons with the canons of the Holy Ghost; or to maintain, that it is by their agency, that the protection and guidance of the Comforter continue to be afforded to the Christian church.

But there is another and a yet more convincing reason, why neither the sacramental ordinances, nor the appointment and succession of the Christian ministry, can have been intended in our Saviour's promise. They neither of them answer to the character of peculiar privileges; and neither of them can, in point of fact, be considered as emanating from the Holy Ghost in his peculiar character of Paraclete. 1. They are not peculiar nor distinctive marks of Christianity. The rites of baptism and the eucharist (I need hardly recall the circumstances to the memory of my present audience) were ceremonies already not unknown to the Jews, and (excepting in their application to the trinity and the Christian covenant) are rather to be considered as points, in which the followers of Jesus continue to resemble the house of Israel, than as points, wherein we are distinguished from them.

In like manner, the form of ordination, which our Lord employed, the powers conceded, and the duties imposed on the elders of the new covenant, were precisely the same as, from the time of Moses downwards, had belonged to the Scribes and Rabbins of the old; and it has been doubted, by men whose opinions are entitled to no common attention, whether, where Rabbinical imposition of hands had been previously conferred in the synagogue, any second ordination was required or practised, in order to admit a convert to the ministry to the apostolic church.

But whatever degree of weight we may assign to this last hypothesis, (and the foundation on which it stands is, doubtless, too weak to support any very solid superstructure), it is certain, 2dly, that both the sacramental ordinances, and the consecration of the Apostles to their pastoral office, were institutions of the Messiah himself before his final departure from the world, and his triumphant return to the Father. But this final departure, as is evident from the tenour of our Saviour's promise, was to precede the Holy Ghost's great advent in his peculiar character of Paraclete. And it is universally acknowledged, that the completion of this promise did not, in fact, take place till the day of Pentecost, nor till after the Apostles had repeatedly partaken in the spiritual benefits, whatever they are, which are necessarily inherent in the eucharistic banquet, and had, in the ordination of St. Matthias, as one of their number, proceeded to the most solemn exercise possible, of their Rabbinical or Episcopal function. It will be shown, indeed, hereafter, that these several institutions of Christ have all been made subservient to the diffusion or perpetuation of that distinguishing grace after which we inquire; that the peculiar blessing which the Paraclete has dispensed has given an additional value to these previous customs and graces; and that the office of the Christian ministry and the dispensation of the Christian sacraments have derived from this source an efficacy and blessedness to which the corresponding institutions of the Jewish synagogue had, in comparison, a very slender claim. But, from that which I have already urged, it follows that the *source* of this difference yet remains for us to seek after, and that the benefit, which the Spirit of God was to dispense to the church as its Paraclete, and as the Vicar of the Messiah, was something distinct from the powers communicated to the Apostles of guiding and governing the flock of Christ, or from our mystical fellowship with the same good Spirit in ordination or the sacraments.

To that circumstance of the hypothesis, indeed, which recognizes the Holy Ghost as Patron and Comforter of the Church, in his providential guidance and protection of its temporal interests, the above objections do not, with equal force, apply. This protection, which, while Christ was yet in the world, he himself afforded to his followers, has since, apparently, been afforded by that Spirit of God, who, in elder times, made the mountains plain before the counsels of Zerubbabel; and such protection so perfectly answers to the general character implied by the word Παράκλητος, that I should not, perhaps, have sought elsewhere for the accomplishment of our Saviour's promise, if it were not for the consideration, 1st, That the departure of Christ was not compensated for by the mere continuance of that protection from the third person in the Trinity, which the apostles had already, in yet more ample measure, received from the second in that awful union; 2dly, That the terms of the promise under consideration have no reference, direct or implied, to the temporal and providential guardianship of the Christian community. The providential government and protection of the church is not, then, that particular dispensation of mercy or power, whereby the assurance of our Lord is, in these latter days, accomplished.

Let us proceed, then, to consider, how far its characters correspond with those internal and ordinary influences of the Spirit, by whose fertilizing dews our hearts are softened, and by their mild and gentle beams ameliorated and subdued; which console us under the evils, and correct us amid the dangerous prosperity of the world; which direct our choice to happiness, and strengthen our resolution in the pursuit of that which we have chosen; which rouse us by their wholesome terrors from the swinish lethargy of sin, and rebuke in our awakened soul the no less fatal whispers of despair.

And we shall do well, in this inquiry, to employ no common share of attention and accuracy, on account both of the extreme importance of the practical results which it involves, and of the opposite and fatal errors to which an inaccurate conception of the benefits conferred by the Spirit of God, have conducted the enthusiast and the unbeliever.

For with unbelievers the modern Socinian will, in this respect, be, not unjustly reckoned; inasmuch as (disdaining the timid dissent of his more cautious and more learned predecessors of the Rakovian and Batavian schools) he has denied not only the personal existence of Him to whose peculiar agency we ascribe the gift of grace, but that gift itself, by whomsoever dispensed, from which our strength proceeds, and on which our hopes of triumph are founded.

Those illapses of blessedness, that hallowed intercourse with God which unites our spirit to the eternal mind, and which renews the brilliance of our borrowed flame by approaching it to that source of living light whence first its stream proceeded; that life of God in the human soul, which, in every age of Christianity, has cheered the labours of the saint, and revived the hopes of the penitent, are all alike discarded by the modern reformers of our faith, as the dreams of enthusiastic self-conceit, the hyperboles of Monks and Platonists. It may, therefore, be advisable, before we consider the connexion of those aids with the particular promise now under consideration, to show, that such aids are really afforded; and to extricate the definition, which is given of them by the church, from the confused and contradictory circumstances with which it has been encumbered by indiscreet religionists, and which, more, perhaps, than any other cause, have led the Deist and Unitarian altogether to deny that such aids are given to us.

The influence, therefore, of which we now are speaking, is not supposed by rational believers to convey any fresh ideas intuitively to the mind, nor to encroach, even in the smallest degree, on the bounds of miracle or prophecy.

Though distinct, in itself, from all external sources of knowledge and improvement, it is from a reference to the knowledge acquired by such means that its practical advantage is derived: it is a blessing whereby our learning, our pains, and our prayers, are sanctified to our instruction and salvation, not, in itself, a substitute for prayer or pains or learning.

But though such aids and such exertions are not hereby dispensed with, yet, without this gracious influence, such outward helps can, as we believe, avail us nothing. Without that holy energy, which it is in the bosom of God to grant or to withhold, we may vainly study the evidences of religion, and vainly aspire to show forth in our practice the lessons of holiness which our outward ears have imbibed. Where grace is wanting we have neither power nor effectual will to raise our affections beyond the narrow circle of mortality; nor, having once assented to the hopes and precepts of religion, can we retain those hopes and precepts in our minds as a pervading and triumphant principle. This power, then, of desiring, and (so far as guilty but repentant creatures can deserve it) of deserving future glory, we ascribe to the immediate agency of a celestial Spirit on the soul.

I say, his *immediate* agency; because, as the first and universal principle of nature, and as, on a fixed and general system, dispensing by his will all secondary causes, not only the Unitarian but the philosophic Theist will probably allow that our ideas, our motives, and our affections are regulated by the will and permission of the Almighty.

But, that effect which they ascribe to God through the instrumentality of second causes, and the objects of bodily perception, we are taught by Scripture to impute to a primary and purely intellectual intercourse, which differs only from those aids which were afforded to the ancient Prophets in the comparative frequency of its illapses, and the subject-matter of its communication. A grace it is, which, as distinguished from the inspiration of supernatural knowledge and power, may be defined, perhaps, without impropriety, as the inspiration of religious feeling and recollection.

That an intercourse of this kind may exist to an inconceivable extent between the Maker of the world and his creatures, will be admitted, I apprehend, by all reasonable Theists, to rank, at least, in the number of those moral possibilities, which may be received as facts, on the production of sufficient evidence.

The Theist will allow, that it is as possible that the Supreme Being should direct our minds by an immediate act of his will to the perception of certain important inferences from those objects which are offered to our senses, as that the objects themselves should be so modified by his disposal, as to produce the same concatenation of ideas as their natural and inevitable result. And if the Theist be not a materialist; if we have sufficiently considered the circumstances of our intellectual nature, and the probability that those powers which have no imaginable connexion with the body, belong to something distinct from it, he must admit, that we can form, at least, a notion as clear of the manner in which one intellectual being can make an impression on another, as of the manner in which body and mind can exert a mutual influence. He must acknowledge that it is at least as possible that God should, occasionally, communicate with the souls of his creatures, as that he should, sometimes, affect their material composition.

Nor will the materialism of our modern Unitarians prevent their perceiving that, in the same manner as the Almighty infused into the organic intellect of the ancient Prophets a supernatural acquaintance with truths unknown before; he may, whenever he sees fitting, and by whatever process, infuse into ourselves a clearer perception or a seasonable recollection of those truths which are revealed already. Against the possibility, therefore, of our hypothesis, there is nothing which can be reasonably objected, while all which has yet been urged against its probability or certainty may be reduced to the following assertions; that an interference of this nature is one of which we have no distinct experience; that it is unnecessary, inasmuch as the phenomena ascribed to it may be resolved from other causes, and that it is no where revealed in Scripture.

To the first of these objections an answer is hardly necessary, inasmuch as we are justified, on every principle of reason and revelation, in inferring the reality of an operation from its perceptible effect, even where the act and its agent are, by our present faculties, indistinguishable. But the existence of those effects which we ascribe to grace, the conception, namely, of holy thoughts, and the kindling of religious affections, is fortunately, in itself, no matter of controversy; and, of the only conceivable operations by which this effect can be produced, the one being as possible, at least, as the other, so the question which of the two is most probable, is one which remains to be decided from the evidence produced by their respective advocates.

We are told, however, in the second place, that the habits of Christain faith and virtue may be acquired like any other habits whatever; that it is by evidence and not by feeling that we have been originally converted to the faith; and that the same conviction of the importance and truth of Christianity which a due consideration of those evidences will engender, is sufficient to enforce its doctrines on our practice without any other or supernatural assistance. It is urged, that in worldly interests, we are enabled to postpone the less to the greater advantage without calling down the Holy Ghost from heaven to strengthen us in our resolution; and that there is no more necessity for his assistance to make the scale preponderate in favour of virtue against vice, than on the side of worldly ambition or avarice against the temptations of sloth and sensuality.

Whatever, it has been said, either from prejudice or conviction, is regarded as the chief earthly good of man, will be pursued, for the most part, with sufficient steadiness, notwithstanding all the seductive influence of other and interfering objects. And if we are but as well convinced that the promises and threatenings of Christianity are true as we are that renown and wealth will, in this world, yield us happiness, we shall find our natural perceptions of good and evil, and our natural recollection of principles before received, no less sufficient motives to perseverance in our pursuit of endless life, than we find them now sufficient to support and stimulate our labours after transitory happiness.

But, where supernatural influences are not required, we cannot reasonably expect to receive them; and it is therefore, we are told, improbable and unphilosophical to resort to a special interposition of the Almighty, where the same effect may be reasonably ascribed to natural and external causes.

I have stated this objection with all the force of which it is fairly susceptible, though it will be observed that much of its apparent plausibility in the writings of our religious opponents arises from the dexterous use of two particular epithets, the epithets of "supernatural" and "especial."

In a certain sense these terms are, doubtless, applicable to whatever is not effected by our own bodily or mental powers, or by that chain of external causes which belong to the visible and material world. It is plain, however, that in their popular and usual sense of rare and miraculous interference, they are no more applicable to that influence which we suppose the Almighty ordinarily and usually to exert on the souls of men, than to that which our adversaries are willing to confess he, in the visible world, and through the medium of material agents, exercises on our nerves and senses.

In the definition itself which is usually given of these spiritual interferences, we call them "the ordinary graces of the Holy Ghost;" and (if the Holy Ghost has been correctly stated to be the directing and sustaining Providence of the world) these ordinary graces may, for all which yet appears, extend as widely and act with no less conformity to the general rules of the Almighty's government, than the annual return of the seasons or the rising and setting sun.

Nor, if mind can act on body as well as body on mind, is it possible for us to say to what extent, in the ordinary affairs of life, and in matters which are only incidentally connected with religion, the government of the world itself may be carried on by a similar influence, and the Spirit of the Most High be, more or less, continually present, to direct our attention and determine our choice between the various motives which contend around us for our preference, and the various lines of action to which those motives point the way. The grace, then, of which we speak, may be, in truth, a constituent part of the most extensive and important of all our Maker's dispensations; of that inspecting and corrective care whence the moral world derives its power of controlling and conquering the material creation, and by which and through which all things work together for the welfare of those who love him.

And this may show the weakness of an objection advanced by the same person to whose works I have already frequently referred; that "the agency which is ascribed to God by the sacred writers extends to evil as well as to good;"—that "it hardens the heart of Pharaoh as well as opens that of Lydia, and therefore it is a general and not a particular influence;" and that, "consequently, the popular language of the sacred writers by no means authorizes the conclusion, that God ever interposes supernaturally to produce moral effects on the world."

If it be possible to distribute this elaborate argument according to the usual rules of logical precision, it would form, perhaps, the following syllogism.

Both good and evil are ascribed in Scripture to the influence of God.

But we cannot impute evil to his particular influence.

Therefore, the influence which produces good is not particular, but general.

Now in this argument there are the following radical errors. First, the Unitarian notions of Scripture must, surely, be very different from those which, with the orthodox, render that sacred volume the guide of our lives, and our comfort in the hour of dissolution, if they suppose that any action really and intrinsically evil is therein ascribed to the influence of the Almighty. Undoubtedly, the example which Mr. Belsham produces is by no means sufficient to give rise to an imputation so horrible. The sentence of judicial blindness and abandonment pronounced on the Egyptian tyrant, is not in itself more inconsistent with the goodness of our heavenly Governor, than any other dispensation by which an incorrigible offender is doomed to shame and suffering for the advantage and instruction of the world; or by which the same offender, after sentence has finally gone forth, is prevented from escaping his danger. By those who recollect the opinion of the ancient Jews as to the seat of the rational faculties, to "harden the heart" is readily understood to be nothing else than to confuse the understanding. But surely, when a criminal is reserved for exemplary publishment, it matters little, so far as the individual is concerned, whether the fetters be on his body or his mind; whether he be detained in the captivity of an earthly dungeon, or in the labyrinth of prejudice and foolish hope; whether repentance be rendered vain and escape impossible by the pressure of external circumstances; or whether the yet more awful spectacle be displayed, of rendering the sinner his own executioner, and of depriving (as God is said to do, not only by Jewish, but by heathen moralists) those miserable persons of their natural prudence, whom for their crimes he purposes to destroy. The hardening, then, of Pharaoh's heart may be ascribed (as Moses, doubtless, does ascribe it) to an immediate and particular interposition of Providence, without any even the smallest imputation on the goodness and wisdom of the Most High.

Secondly, I will not insist, (as, neverthess, it were easy for me to do,) that the distinction supposed in the minor proposition between general and particular providence, when applied to a Being by whom not only the principles of his laws, but the detail of their consequences is known, is altogether futile and unphilosophical. For,

Thirdly, Though we should admit, (which has not as yet been proved,) that the moral evil which exists in the world takes its rise from God's appointment; and though we should also admit that its particular instances flow from some general law of his government, of which the consequences to individuals were, by the Lawgiver, overlooked or unknown; yet still it would by no means follow, that the same analogy will hold with all the particular instances of good which occur in the world's administration.

If a machine be employed to answer a general purpose, are we forbidden, with our own hands, to extricate any unfortunate insect which may have become entangled in it wheels? If not, then surely, though we were to seek the cause of Pharaoh's obstinacy in the general operation of external circumstances, yet might the humble faith of the Roman centurion in the Gospel, and the candid attention of Lydia as recorded in the Acts, be regarded as especial interferences of their eternal Guardian, to deliver them from the natural but fatal effects of early prejudice, or national and official pride.

But, Fourthly, I am loth to impute to our adversaries the practical epicurism of those who would teach that, the machine of events once set in motion, the agency of the Almighty is at an end. They will not, I trust, maintain, that the sabbath of Providence has lasted since man was framed, and that, without any sustaining or superintending care of that goodly system which he has contrived, our Father has left his creatures to float at random down the current of circumstances, and to draw out our blanks and prizes of vice or virtue, happiness or misery, as the wheel of events turns round. With such an error the Socinians are not, I trust, infected; since they admit, in words at least, that an influence or energy of the Almighty "is exerted in every event of life, according to certain rules which God has prescribed to himself."

But would they reduce this energy to a merely colourless fluid, which takes its tint of good or evil from the subjects on which it is successively or severally exerted? Or can they conceal from themselves, that such an influence as is here described is equivalent to no influence at all? Or what definition can these philosophical inquirers produce of that which they call a general providence, if it be not a succession of particular interferences; an influence by certain means and in certain cases exerted, whereby the course of events is varied in our favour, or in order to our punishment, from that natural succession which, without such interference, would have followed?

Were it otherwise, all prayer were vain, whether for temporal deliverance in this world, or salvation in the world to come; and, if vain, superstitious, then, and abominable. For prayer, in its very essence, implies that the object sought for is as yet uncertain; that it is something which we fear to lose, unless it were asked for earnestly from God; something which God may continue to withhold notwithstanding all our warmest devotions, but which without such devotions we cannot reasonably hope to obtain.

It were an impious flattery of our Maker to entreat at his hands those blessings which, whether we prayed for them or no, would be given or withheld indifferently; and, if it be true indeed that "time and chance happeneth to all the sons of men," our Master has but laid on us a fruitless labour in enjoining us to ask for daily bread, for peace, for deliverance from evil.

But if a special interference be in any case admissible, is it not, at least, as probable that such divine interposition takes place by mental as by external influence? Is it not as easy to believe that our thoughts are turned to those objects, which, properly employed, may conduce to our advantage, as to expect that the course of external events shall be on our account superseded, or that the properties of the material world are continually altered by our prayers? There have been those (we are taught by an authority which no Unitarian has, as yet, ventured to deny,) who "were saved from their distress when they cried unto the Lord in trouble;" and it is a question which may teach us, at least, humility in our speculative inquiries, whether they were thus delivered by the gift of internal light to avoid their danger, or by the abatement of the dangerous objects themselves.

And if those assertions be correct, which in so many passages of Scripture impute to celestial inspiration, not our virtues only, but our temporal endowments and prosperity; are we blamed for suspecting that the grace which softens our hearts to the impressions of goodness, and which preserves those lessons once inscribed there from the dangers of neglect or temptation, that this grace (so far from being an anomaly in our Maker's government) is, perhaps, the most conspicuous, and surely the most important instance in which that parental love is manifested, which, as it first created, still continues to sustain the universal frame of nature?

Should we concede, then, to the objection of our adversaries, that the habits of religion and virtue are acquired like all other laudable and useful habits, (for every habit of mental exertion, unless when ill directed, is useful, doubtless, and laudable,) it will by no means follow, that the agency of the Holy Ghost is not displayed in the particular instances of repentance and regeneration. The concession may teach us rather to adore his presence in a yet wider range of influence than that which is generally ascribed to him, and to beseech his blessing not only on our almsdeeds and our prayers, but on every other useful and innocent pursuit in which we are occupied. Thrice happy then when all our toils and objects are such as he may favour!

Unhappily, however, it will appear on farther inquiry, that the improvement of the heart is, indeed, attended with more and greater difficulties than any other pursuit or occupation; difficulties so peculiar as to demand at every step a stronger arm than human resolution can supply to support and rein our progress.

Those worshippers of nature who, with so much eloquence, maintain that our innate tendency is, on the whole, to truth and goodness, forget that every act of real virtue implies a degree of self-control, and that every vice is, in itself, an act of indulgence. But, is that condition natural which is accompanied by labour and pain? or can that be considered as any thing else than an innate propensity to evil, to which our bodily constitution inclines us? Do we paint our way to hell as any other than a smooth and downward passage? or, are we so constituted by nature as, like Milton's angels, to ascend with greater facility than we fall?

It is no solid objection to these fatal truths to observe, as has been observed by ancient as well as modern sophistry, that "the childhood of man is playful and comparatively harmless;" that "no man has, at once, attained the summit of wickedness;" that "there is, on the whole, less vice than virtue in the world;" that "we are what God created us."

The first of these is a privilege which we possess in common with the wildest and most ferocious animals, and that the progress of vice is, in maturer manhood, gradual, may be accounted for from very different causes than a natural preference of virtue.

It will be recollected, that from our earliest years, we have all been in a state of severe and unceasing discipline; that, even with those who have been most indulged in their youth and infancy, the habit of obedience to form and the restraint of natural inclination has been induced to a degree which in the case of no other animal but man is practised or practicable; that the control of his passions, to a greater or less extent, is taught, for their own ease and safety, to every child by his parents, and is enforced in every youth by the strong arm of public opinion and public authority. From these restraints emancipation cannot be instantaneous; and so long as any vestige of such chains continues, the recollection of past or the fear of future punishment must necessarily embitter the guilty draught, and strew with thorns the bed of sensual pleasure. The chained lion who has torn a passenger may tremble lest his keeper should return while he devours his surreptitious booty; but will any doubt that the taste of blood is sweet to him? Let them try the experiment, and restore him to his savage freedom!

Though it be true then, which I am not inclined to deny, that the first indulgence in forbidden things is accompanied with doubt and alarm; and though it were proved, which I would to God it were possible to prove satisfactorily, that the balance of good in the present stage of our existence predominates over evil; yet would neither the one nor the other of these admissions affect the general truth of our position, that we are by nature prone to evil. Both the one and the other are sufficiently accounted for by that state of social restraint, which, though it be universal, cannot be regarded as natural; and still more, perhaps, may both be referred to the ameliorating influence of that spirit, to whose blessing, if our faith be true, the Christian should attribute every victory which he gains over himself and his selfish passions.

That we are as God created us, (though so far from being an axiom in revealed or natural religion it has been denied, both in ancient and in modern times, by some of the wisest assertors of both,) that we are as God created us, I am not myself disposed to deny. Without attempting, on the present occasion, to penetrate that mysterious veil which hangs over the original state of man, or the nature and necessary consequences of that offence which was so severely visited on his posterity, it is plain, that how great soever were the privileges which Adam lost by his transgression, yet, whatever propensities to evil we individually bring with us into the world, we bring, at least, by his permission, by whose hands we are made and fashioned.

But will it follow from hence, that God has created man perfect, or that the nature which he has given us is any otherwise good than as it answers a definite purpose? Is it not possible, at least, that the Allwise may have made us weak in order that we might learn humility? That he may have created us prone to sin, and to all the wretched consequences which are the natural effect of such a propensity, in order that we might taste a purer happiness in those sensations of joy and gratitude which are excited by deliverance and mercy, than can ever be the lot of that hopeless and fearless content which belongs to those who have never felt the want of happiness or virtue? What if the universal good be more effectually consulted by the permission of partial evil? And may not the sin and wretchedness of the present world be a necessary feature in the vast scheme of that Providence, whose paternal care extends through infinite space and time? Of physical mischief we can discern the beneficial consequence; why may not moral ill conduce to results yet more glorious?

But, fathomless as are the depths of God's Providence in the permission of evil at all, its existence is, unfortunately, no matter of doubtful speculation. Whether our natural corruption be deduced from Adam's offence alone, or whether the propensity to sin existed in our first parents themselves, before it was called into action by the tempter, our sinful nature is a matter of daily experience; and though we cannot cease to wonder why such things are allowed to be, we cannot, if we are accurate observers, permit ourselves to doubt that such things really are.

And though we should ascribe to ignorance or prejudice the bitter complaints which the contemplation of human weakness has elicited from the heathen moralists; though we should refuse to acknowledge with the Grecian Poet, that "the majority are always wicked," or to complain with Ovid's Medea that "while we see and approve the better course, we are urged by a necessity of our nature to follow that which we ourselves detest and deprecate;" we may admit, nevertheless, that some degree of credit is due to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, to the Psalmist, and to St. Paul, when they severally lament the impiety and ferocity of their contemporaries, when they teach us that the feet of man are swift to shed blood, and his heart deceitful and desperately wicked; that the inhabitants of the world have turned aside together from following after God; that the carnal mind is enmity with him, and neither is nor can be subject to his law.

And, that our human resolution is, without celestial aid, sufficient to preserve us, notwithstanding these natural propensities, in the paths of virtue, can by no means be inferred from the circumstance that these propensities are daily conquered or suppressed in the pursuit of worldly advantages.

For, though the motives for self-controul which true religion offers are, doubtless, of more momentous interest than any which this world can supply, it may admit of rational and serious doubt, whether the proximity of the latter and the more distinct and vivid colouring which, in consequence of that proximity, they offer to the mental view, do not more, much more than counterbalance the awful but remoter prospects of death and judgment and an eternal Being.

It is the faintness of that sensation which hope presents, when compared with that which actually affects our bodily organs, which constitutes, in every pursuit of life, the difficulty of postponing present to contingent happiness; and this faintness will be found to increase in exact proportion as the object recedes into futurity. And as every one who lives is disposed to think that of all his prospects death and its consequences are most distant, it is probable that (however powerful in themselves to move our hope or fear may be those objects which such a prospect offers) their distance or fancied distance will often leave them less efficacy to compel our attention than those expectations of earthly praise or prosperity, which, though of value far inferior, appear at least to promise a more speedy return.

Nor can it be concealed that the conviction which we actually feel of those most awful truths which are the sanctions of religious principle, is, from the nature of things, of a fainter kind than that which we possess of earthly comfort or applause or misery. We have heard or read of hell or heaven, but we have felt the pangs of disease or hunger; we have seen the punishments inflicted by the law; we have witnessed, perhaps with envy, the parade of worldly wealth and power; and our cheek has burned, it may be, with that delightful glow which is communicated by the world's approbation.

The recollections, then, by which faith would, in the hour of temptation, direct our practice, being no more than fainter reflections of images which were originally embodied by fancy, (for on whatever evidence we believe, we can only fancy that which we have never seen,) must needs be less forcible than the memory of that which we have actually in our own persons experienced; and while we *believe* that the punishments of another world are something terrible, we *know* the keenness of the tortures which disappointment or disgrace can, in the present world, inflict on us.

Were it otherwise, indeed, the sanction of temporal penalties would have become, since the promulgation of the Gospel, altogether useless among men; and the knowledge of God's will and the apprehension of his justice would have suspended, long since, the axe, the fasces, and the chain, as trophies beside the Christian altar. Unfortunately, however, we cannot avoid observing daily that such restraints are necessary still with those who never doubted the return of Christ to judgment; and the best and the wisest of us all may recollect, perhaps, occasions when his knowledge and his faith and his godly fear would have failed with their united strength to preserve his feet from sliding, if it had not been for the fear of that disgrace or chastisement which, wicked as they are themselves, the commonwealth of mankind by God's appointment continue to inflict on wickedness.

"If, I say, I will speak thus," (said an experienced and inspired observer of the human heart, when describing the blasphemy which arose in his soul against the ways of providence,) "If, I say, I will speak thus, behold I should offend against the generation of thy children." The recollection of the scandal which he should cause to the godly restrained those murmurs which his faith in Providence was unable entirely to quell; nor do those good men display any knowledge of our common nature, who reject as carnal and unholy those secondary and human principles of action, whose aid in the time of his temptation even David would not disdain.

There is yet another reason why the objects of worldly prudence are more easily and, therefore, more steadily pursued by our natural powers than those which Christianity offers. They demand, in general, far fewer sacrifices at our hands. The self-control which avarice enjoins regards our luxury and profusion only. Ambition has only to overcome the fear of death and the feebler snares of idleness: hypocrisy, to avoid those particular gratifications which are scandalous in the eyes of mankind. Nor are any of these any further renounced than as they are inconsistent with the ruling passion; and, what is of still more importance, the self-denial is always understood to be only for a time, and he who now, from some overpowering motive, resists these secondary inclinations, looks forward to a moment when, that previous object being attained, he may enjoy himself without control. Even now they have their refreshments of vice, in which the master-fiend is not unwilling to indulge them. The miser may riot at another's cost; the conqueror, in the intervals of more serious action, while his shield hangs idle in the hall, and his battered galley is repairing on the shore, may strike, like Alcæus, his harp in the shades of revelry, and relax his toil-worn sinews in the lap of licentious indulgence. The hypocrite has a somewhat harder task to perform; but his self-control and his cloak are cast aside together, and he enjoys with a keener zest the moments of permitted sensuality, from the contrast of the cumbrous disguise which he has relinquished.

And by all alike the mighty empire of the heart is left without coertion. Their affections, their hopes, their wishes, their fancies may riot in the boundless scope of possible and impossible gratification, and defy, from that dark and polluted asylum, the menaces of their earthly deities. What wonder, then, that those who have, in other respects, so large a liberty, should, without any great reluctance, offer up at the shrine of their idols those few indulgences which such idols, in truth, require?

But the warfare which the Christian is enjoined to wage with himself is as endless and universal as the platonic strife of principles. It is not sufficient that we purchase by the surrender of a single vice a liberty for every other. It is not enough that we be occasionally abstinent, or that we refrain from overt actions, while the inward corruption remains unheeded and unknown. The free-will offering of ourselves, the subjugation of our entire affections and propensities; the confinement of those thoughts whose wanderings are open to the eyes of him who reads the soul; the government of those winged words over which the angels of vengeance watches; a devotion consistent and uniform; a faith which faileth not; a love which thinketh no evil; a courage which can support the contempt of man, and which can dare to forgive those injuries which to endure is agony; these are the daily struggles to which the Christian soldier is liable, and this the steep and thorny path which only leads to glory!

And, for these things, who is, of himself, sufficient? What knowledge, what faith, what hope or fear shall stimulate our feeble limbs to a task so far beyond their forces, if His power do not sustain us, from whose mercy-seat all power and wisdom flow, who gives us "grace," if we believe his Scriptures, "to help in time of need;" and will not withhold, we learn from the same Divine authority, "His Holy Ghost from those who ask him faithfully."

It may seem, then, that the same surviving chief of English Unitarianism (whom the single circumstances of his being thus conspicuous has compelled me thus frequently to notice) is not more fortunate in his metaphysics than he had previously shown himself in his reference to the ancient Fathers, when he styles the interference of the Almighty with our thoughts and actions "an unphilosophical doctrine." Whether it be, as he supposes, "unscriptural," the following observations may enable my audience to form a judgment.

That the assistance of God is, in some shape or other, accorded both to excite and sustain the natural feebleness of our exertions in the cause of holiness, is apparent from several passages in Scripture. Before Lydia could receive the Gospel, it was needful that God should "open her heart:" it was "the Lord," who "added daily to the Church of the apostles such as should be saved." But not only the commencement of our Christian calling, but its furtherance by our perseverance in the duties of our profession, is ascribed by St. Paul to Him, "who, having begun a good work in us, bringeth the same to an end:" and who, as the same apostle elsewhere expresses himself, "both worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure."

On the abuse of this doctrine, for as such I cannot but consider it, which Augustin appears to have introduced into the Church, and which, though both Romish and Protestant Doctors are divided on the question, is among the latter more frequently known by the name of Calvinism, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. At present I need only observe, that such deductions, even if they necessarily flowed from the doctrine of spiritual influences, could not be safely urged against it by the modern Unitarian, since they apply with, at least, an equal force, against his own hypothesis as to the predisposition of events and causes, in whose inextricable chain we are necessarily, no less passive than the component parts of a cotton-mill.

And with whatever indignation the Fatalists may disclaim the system of absolute decrees, it is evident that the effect is the same, whether the character of each individual be, from all eternity, elected, or condemned to holiness or vice by the immediate agency of God's Spirit; or whether the same character be destined to receive its tincture from the circumstances through which it must inevitably pass, and of which the brighter or darker hues no less necessarily communicate themselves to the mind, than the ingredients of a dye determine the colour of the web which is immersed in it. The only difference seems to be, that the Unitarian ascribes to the action of a machine those dispensations in which the Calvinist contemplates the immediate hand of the Almighty; but both the first as well as the second (unless he be really disposed to install the Aristophanic "vortex" in the room of Jupiter) must, in consistency with his principles, ascribe to the absolute power of God, whatever God is supposed, whether mediately or immediately, to perform.

But, further, not only are our birth and growth in holiness imputed in Scripture to the preventing and furthering grace of God: this grace is, moreover, expressly identified with the grace or assistance of that same Holy Ghost, by whose agency the Prophets were taught futurity, and from whom and by whom the Apostles gained their knowledge of the will and Gospel of the Lord. "Thy Spirit is good," are the words of David when praying for power to amend his life; "lead me to the land of uprightness!" "Uphold me," are the words of the same illustrious penitent, "with thy free (or liberating) Spirit!" Not only are "counsel and knowledge" ascribed by Isaiah to the Spirit's operation, but "the fear," moreover, "of the Lord." Christ in like manner assures us, that his Father will not deny "the Holy Ghost to those who ask him" faithfully. The conscience of St. Paul "bare him witness in the Holy Ghost." "The Holy Ghost," as the Giver of virtue, is reckoned up by the same Apostle, in the same breath with "kindness and brotherly love." To the influence of the Spirit, not only "knowledge," but "faith" and "patience" are ascribed. It is through "the Spirit" that we are enabled to "mortify the works of the flesh;" and the same Spirit is said, by inspiring our souls with fervour and holy desires, to intercede for us with "unutterable groanings."

But, that it is a sanctifying and improving grace, and not the grace of miraculous knowledge or power, which is to be understood in these expressions, is apparent from their general tenor. Miraculous power and knowledge can neither set us free from sin, nor are able, of themselves, to make us holy. Those cannot be *miraculous gifts* which our Saviour, in a discourse not directed to his Apostles alone, but to the mighty multitude who attended his preaching on the mount, engages to accord to *all* who ask them. With the testimony of a good conscience the power of tongues or prophecy has no imaginable concern. The gifts of kindness, of patience, of brotherly love, were so far from being implied in the possession of those miraculous endowments which the early Christians enjoyed, that it was possible to possess these last in their highest perfection, and yet to perish for want of the grace of charity; while the tumultuous inspiration and factious wonders of the Corinthian Church may prove that (far from being necessarily productive of peace and holiness) such lofty distinctions were often by the perverseness of their possessor, themselves converted into a snare. Had Balaam been no prophet, he would have escaped, at least, one fatal temptation to disobey the Lord; and St. Paul required, we know, a keen though a merciful chastisement, lest his human pride should be exalted above measure, through the dazzling abundance of his revelations.

Since, then, the gifts of holiness and peace are entirely different from the gift of miraculous power, while yet both the one and the other of these are imputed in Scripture to the Holy Ghost; the one of two conclusions must, I apprehend, inevitably follow; either that both the one and the other are produced by a similar operation on the mind; or else that they are distinct operations of the same personal agent, the everlasting Spirit of God.

And, of these admissions, either is sufficient for the purpose of my present argument. Either is sufficient to prove that the influence of the Holy Ghost, however we define him, (on which point, however, my previous Lectures have, I trust, left little difficulty,) is productive of and necessary to produce, not only the extraordinary powers but the ordinary graces of the Christian Church and character. From his bounty we derive alike those rare endowments which fall to the lot of a very few, in order that the remainder may, by their means, be edified, and those not less blessed though, perhaps, less brilliant aids, which, though they do not qualify us to perform, on earth, the distinguished parts of Prophets or Evangelists, are a necessary preparation for those far nobler privileges in whose meridian splendour both prophecies shall cease, and tongues shall fail, and knowledge shall vanish away!

Whether these sacred influences be they of which the gift hath entitled the Holy Ghost to the character of the Christian Paraclete, must remain for future inquiry.

LECTURE VI.

I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

It was my endeavour, when I last addressed you, to remove those doubts and to refute those cavils which the disciples of modern Unitarianism have suggested against the usual faith which Christians hold in the ordinary and sanctifying influence of the Spirit of God.

But, however certain and however valuable those blessed aids may be, which support us, as we believe, through the perils and the snares of life, and, in the hour of death, as we hope, will not forsake us, it will by no means follow, that it is by these definite influences that the Holy Ghost still manifests himself to the Christian world, as the performer of our Saviour's promise. To entitle them to this distinction it is necessary, first, that they should correspond with the description of the Comforter's office as afforded us by Christ himself; and, secondly, that they should answer to the necessary characteristics of a compensation for the loss of Christ, and a privilege peculiar to his followers.

It is evident, however, that in the description of the Paraclete, as given by our Lord himself, there are many circumstances, which (without a degree of enthusiasm, whereof all existing sects of Christians, I believe, are guiltless) we cannot refer to the internal and ordinary influence of the Holy Ghost.

By its agency on the natural faculties of the soul, that influence, indeed, supplies us with recollections ever seasonable to support or to subdue our weak or rebellious nature; it hallows our thoughts by attracting them to hallowed objects; it strengthens our virtuous resolutions by renewing on our mind those impressions which gave them birth; it elevates our courage and humbles our pride by suggesting to our recollection, at once, our illustrious destiny and the weakness of our unassisted nature.

By itself it teaches nothing, but without its aid all human doctrine is but vain. It is this which gives life and strength to every religious truth which we hear; this which imprints on our soul and recalls to our attention those sacred principles to which our reason has already assented. Distinct from conscience, but the vital spark by which our natural conscience is sanctified, it both enables us to choose the paths of life, and to persist in those paths when chosen: and, though, like the free and viewless air, it is only by its effects that we discern it, it is the principle of our moral as the air of our natural health; the soul of our soul, and the Schekinah of our bodily temple.

But, by itself it teaches nothing. It prepares our hearts, indeed, for the word of life, and it engrafts the word in our hearts thus opened; but that living word and whatever else of knowledge we receive must be drawn from external sources. "Faith," we are told, "must come by hearing, and hearing by the word of God;" nor can we hear "without the voice of a preacher."

The inspiration (as we have already defined it) of religious perception and memory, God's ordinary grace induces the soul to behold the truth of those doctrines which external opportunities of knowledge offer to her understanding; it preserves and refreshes in her memory those principles of action, of which we have already perceived the force; it is the blessing of God and his pervading energy, which prospers to our salvation what we learn and what we have learned: but when we pass beyond these limits, we invade the regions of miracle and prophecy; and it is no less inaccurate to suppose, that in the ordinary course of things we receive a new idea from the grace of God, than it would be to maintain that our knowledge is derived from the lamp which lights our study.

Like that lamp, the grace of the Most High enables us to trace, in the oracles of salvation, the things which belong to our peace: like that lamp, it helps us to renew the decayed impression of knowledge long since obtained; and, without such heavenly aid, the unassisted soul would be as unequal to the pursuit or perception of her eternal interests, as the unassisted eye to read in darkness. But, whether by celestial or earthly delight, we can only learn from that which is before us; and the one can no more be said to communicate a new revelation to our souls, than the other to place a fresh volume on our table.

I do not say, that grace does not possess an active power, which not only enables us to attend and recollect, but frequently compels our attention and recollection. Nor am I rash enough to deny, that God may, by any operation or any medium whatever, communicate to our souls, when he thinks proper, any imaginable, or, to us at present, unimaginable knowledge. But this may be without offence maintained, (and I am the more anxious to state it clearly, because it is this particular point on which enthusiasm is most frequently mistaken,) that it is by the *illustration*, not the *revelation* of truth, that God's Spirit ordinarily assists us; and that the latter is one of those cases of divine interference, of which neither the present age of Christianity, nor, perhaps, any preceding age since the time of the Apostles, affords us an authentic example.

That measure, then, of internal aid, which the modern Church receives, can neither be said to "teach us all things," nor to "show us things to come." And with as little reason can the Holy Ghost be asserted to bear public "witness" of Christ, and to plead against the world as the patron and advocate of Christ's religion, by an influence which is, confessedly, thus gentle and unseen. With the exception, indeed, of that which the circumstances of the whole discourse seem evidently to appropriate to the Apostles; the recollection, namely, of "all the words" which our Lord "had spoken unto them;" no single characteristic can be found in the description of the ancient Paraclete, which corresponds with those illapses of ordinary grace which the modern believer hopes and prays for.

We may reasonably, then, conclude, that some other benefit than the internal aid of the Holy Ghost was intended by our Lord in his memorable conversation with the Apostles.

And this conclusion will receive no small additional strength from a reference to those general principles which were, I trust, sufficiently established, in the commencement of my preceding Lecture.

It was there laid down, from the nature of our Lord's declaration, and from the circumstances under which that gracious declaration was made, that the comfort which the Holy Ghost should dispense, on his behalf, to his followers, must have been an advantage confined to his followers alone; a blessing enjoyed neither by the Heathen nor the Jew; a blessing unknown to the Apostles themselves at the moment when their Master thus addressed them.

And this necessity, though it has never, that I know of, been clearly stated before, has, nevertheless, been virtually admitted by the greater part of those who content themselves with the usual exposition of Christ's assurance. They have esteemed it the peculiar happiness of the Christian Church, above the condition either of Jews or Heathens, that not only are we instructed in the perfect will of God, but that we are spiritually assisted in its performance; and, identifying the gift of the Spirit with the process of regeneration, they have confined its influence to those alone who are purified with the waters of baptism.

It has been a subject, indeed, of long and angry discussion, whether (admitting, as both sides have admitted, the inseparable union of the gift of the Spirit and regeneration) the former were accorded to all who received the outward sign of the latter; or, whether both were the peculiar treasure of a far less numerous body than the outwardly baptized, the invisible Church of Jesus. But, whether the promise was given to the professors of our faith in general, or solely to those who are turned in their hearts and conversations from darkness to light, in either acceptation it has been supposed to belong to Christians only; and the majority of mankind have been allowed no other assistant in the performance of their duty than the natural light of reason.

If, however, the ordinary gifts of the Spirit were peculiarly appropriate to Christians, the question would naturally arise, and it is a question which either Arminian or Calvanist would find it a task of no small difficulty to elude or satisfy,—"By what means are men enabled to become members of the body of Christ?"

If grace be conferred on the faithful only, then must a previous belief be necessary to the reception of grace; and the faithful, before they can have obtained such inward help from heaven, must first, by their natural strength, have believed.

And this, we know, was the opinion of the more moderate followers of Pelagius; of the early Socinians of the Rakovian school; and, as may be suspected from a remarkable passage in his first book against Pelagius, of him who in every other point was orthodox, the learned and excellent Jerome. It is an opinion, however, directly contrary, not only to the acknowledged tenets of that Church to which we have sworn allegiance; but, which is of an importance far more awful, to the most pointed expressions of Scripture, which teach us, that without the grace of God, no man can come to Christ; nor, consequently, receive his Gospel. But if these sacred truths be conceded by the defenders of the popular hypothesis, they will find themselves involved in the hopeless absurdity of regarding faith as the cause or occasion of grace, and grace the cause of faith; or, in other words, of making the same thing the cause and effect, the antecedent and consequent. Nor will their statement become less defective, if we admit the distinction usual with divines between preventing and assisting grace, of which the one precedes, the other follows the mental action of belief in the Gospel.

For, if the first of these be limited, as the natural meaning of the term should seem to limit it, to the implanting in our mind those good desires which cannot be brought to effect without the subsequent furtherance of the other, it is plain that preventing grace by itself could do no more than induce in our hearts a perception of the happiness enjoyed by the faithful, a desire that God would help our unbelief; but could not, without additional help from the same good Spirit, conduct us either to external confession or hearty internal conviction of the truth which is in Christ Jesus.

So that to the very act of faith itself, even to the lowest degree of faith, both species of grace are necessary; and the reasoning of those who maintain that the assistance of the Holy Ghost is, at once, the cause and the privilege of Christianity, must remain as inconsistent as ever.

It will be urged, indeed, by some, and their method of stating the question is free, apparently, from the objections to which the ordinary hypothesis is liable, that, though faith be of grace and not grace of faith, yet is faith in Christ, with all the blessed fruits which spring from it, inseparably connected with grace as its sure and necessary consequence; and that, therefore, Christians only receive the help of the Holy Ghost, because such help is given to none who are not, thereby, irresistibly called to Christianity.

But, if we avoid, by this statement, the inconsistency of the usual opinion, we avoid it only by incurring the yet more portentous contradictions which are involved in the system of Augustin, Bradwardine and Calvin.

For, as none have, without the aid of the Holy Ghost, received the religion of Jesus, so if, as they maintain, none have received the Holy Ghost, excepting those who are thereby inevitably conducted to embrace the Gospel, it will follow, not only that these last have believed in Christ in consequence of an irresistible act of the Almighty, but that all who have rejected him have chosen thus unhappily, not from perverseness, but because they could not possibly have chosen otherwise; not from wilful obstinacy, but from a blindness which it was no more in their power to remedy, than, by their unassisted strength, to scale heaven.

And, if it be further true, which is allowed on all hands, that the rejection of the Gospel by the unconverted Jews and Heathens was imputed to them by God as, in itself, a heinous sin, and will be punished with more grievous damnation; that conclusion must follow which every *modern* Calvinist at least, with amiable inconsistency, disclaims, not only that the Almighty punishes men for rejecting what they had no power to accept, but that he offers (I almost fear to speak it, but it is necessary that the natural tendency of every doctrine should be known) salvation to the reprobate on terms which they cannot accept, in order that, by this, their seeming refusal, he may obtain a pretext for punishing them more severely. A statement this, which involves in itself, as applied to the Father of truth and mercy, a degree of blasphemous extravagance which can hardly be conceived without impiety; which imputes to God a conduct from which the warmest defenders of the hypothesis would, in their own persons, have shrunk with abhorrence, and which the angels who excel in power and might, would hardly have brought as a railing accusation against the enemy of God and man himself!

But if, to avoid or to soften this horrible corollary, we suppose with Owen, that those miserable persons to whom the gospel is a savour of death are punished, not because they were unable to believe and repent, but because they did not *desire* to do so, that they *loved* the darkness to which they were condemned, more than the light into which they had no possible hope of entering; it may be urged in reply, that to be content with an inevitable condition, is a part rather wise than wicked; and that if it was in their power to *love* the light, it was in their power to *choose* between the light and the darkness.

For it is allowed on all hands, that the obstacle which condemns the reprobate to impenitence is seated in their will alone; and that, if they heartily desire to devote themselves to the service of Christ, that merciful Redeemer will in no wise cast them away.

If Owen, therefore, teaches that the reprobate may *choose* between light and darkness, he must either mean that they have, without grace, power to make their option, (an assertion which is Pelagianism no less explicit than that which called forth the bitterest censures of Augustin,) or else, that grace is given them which they may optionally resist or improve to salvation:—an admission altogether inconsistent with a belief in absolute decrees, and sufficient in itself to prove, that the assistance of the Holy Ghost is not a peculiar privilege of the gospel.

For if none are punished for not performing impossibilities, and if some are punished for refusing to receive the gospel of Christ, it is plain, that such sufferers must at one time have had it in their power to avail themselves of that gracious offer. But this is a power which is only conferred by the influence of God's Spirit; and it follows that his influence is bestowed on some who neither are nor ever will be Christians.

Nor must we suppose that this influence is, as Clagett seems to intimate, attendant only on the immediate hearing of the gospel; and given to be resisted or improved by those individuals alone to whom the glad tidings of salvation have extended.

If we do not maintain, with Pelagius, that our unassisted nature can quicken itself to faith and everlasting life, we cannot allow, what St. Paul expressly teaches, that the Patriarchs and ancient Israelites are fallen asleep in hope, unless we at the same time allow, that those worthies of the elder world had obtained the same graces of the Holy Ghost, as those by the assistance whereof we hope to imitate their righteous and memorable examples.

Nor can any reader of those sacred poems which, though composed under the law, express, in almost every line, those feelings and virtues, which it is the end of the gospel to develope, entertain a doubt that the operations of grace, whereby the psalmist was awakened, and purified, and guided, and established in holiness, were the same with those to which we daily look up for help and hope and victory. Nor, though we should omit or neglect the testimonies of the later Rabbins, who ascribe, like ourselves, all goodness to the Spirit's dispensation, can we venture to disregard the authority of our Lord himself, who, under the yoke of the Law, and long before the Paraclete was foretold, assured the multitude of his hearers, that his Father would not deny the Holy Spirit to those who asked him.

It is true, indeed, as the admirable Bishop Bull inculcates, that these spiritual gifts, like the gifts of pardon and salvation, though they extended to those under the Law of Moses, were not derived from the Law itself, but were purchased by that foreseen expiation of sins on the rock of Calvary, whereof the blood and the merits gave efficacy to the sacrifice of Abel, and won a pardon for the deep offence of David. But the assertion, however true in itself, is irrelevant to the present inquiry, since I am not maintaining, that the power of repentance is given to man through any other than the merits of Jesus Christ; but I am urging, that through those merits the ancient Jews received it as well as the Christians, and that the promise of a Comforter, which had respect to a future and peculiar benefit, could not be fulfilled by the continuance of an ancient and general blessing.

Nor would this conclusion be materially affected, though we should also grant, as the same learned Prelate supposes, and as in itself is not improbable, though it be not revealed in Scripture with sufficient clearness to enable us to assent to it with unqualified conviction; that, not only the external motives to holiness, (which are irrelevant to the present inquiry,) but the internal and sanctifying Spirit, whereby such motives and knowledge are improved to individual salvation, has been given in more ample measure to the Christian than to the Jew. For a difference simply modal was surely not described by our Lord as an advent of the Spirit in a new and unknown character; and the gift of a new privilege is no less distinct from the improvement of one possessed already, than the plantation of a tree is different from its silent growth when planted.

But the ordinary graces of the Spirit were not confined to the house of Israel alone. The Heathens themselves, as may be proved, both from heathen and sacred testimony, were by no means utterly devoid of them. In support, however, of this assertion, and, since the case of these last is, doubtless, extremely different from the cases of the Jews and ancient Patriarchs, it will be necessary, and it is not impossible to demonstrate, first, that the circumstances in which they were placed were not different from those under which the Holy Ghost is actually promised; and, secondly, that they have evinced the reality of such assistance by the only proof of which the fact is ordinarily capable.

And here it will, in the first place, be readily conceded, that though we presume not to limit the undeclared and uncovenanted mercies of the Most High, yet, in the ordinary course of his dealings with mankind, and, so far as those dealings are made known to us in the sacred writings, there must be always premised a certain portion of external information, without which those internal suggestions of which we are speaking can have no previous principles to which to refer, no data on which to operate.

It is true, and it should never be forgotten, that as the Spirit of God is the governing providence of the world, the Disposer of all earthly occurrences; so the outward means of knowledge and of grace, no less than the spirit of internal improvement, are accorded to us by the same free bounty. But, where the first of these is denied, we cannot perceive by any light either of nature or revelation how the second is to act on the soul. For as grace (this ordinary grace at least) of itself teaches nothing; for, if it did, it would, as we have already seen, be no less than miraculous inspiration: it must ground, as is plain, its awakening and supporting faculty on a reference to previous knowledge. And, consequently, before we can assign to the heathen world the inspiration of attention and of memory, it will be necessary to show that such a knowledge was accorded them concerning the source and measure of their duty, as, when faithfully received and recollected seasonably, might enable them to render an acceptable service to their almighty Creator and Redeemer.

Now that degree of previous knowledge on which a justifying faith may be founded, is, in the case of Enoch, stated by St. Paul to be the knowledge of God's being and attributes. "He that cometh to God must first believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Unless, then, it can be satisfactorily shown, that the heathen had a knowledge of God, and that they believed in his justice and his power to reward men according to their works, it is apparent that, the foundation not being laid, we may vainly look for a superstructure; and that, so far as the lights extend which are supplied by God in the sacred Volume, we must not venture to ascribe even their fairest outward actions to the ordinary assistance of God's grace. And if, on the other hand, it shall appear, that the heathen did really possess even this, the lowest rank of religious information, it is no less evident that we cannot, if we assent to the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, deny them the possibility at least of receiving the further aids of the Holy Ghost.

For when the Apostle tells us, that without this knowledge, or lowest degree of faith, no man can come to God, he evidently implies, at the same time, the reverse of this proposition, and teaches us, that where this knowledge and faith are possessed, a man may come to God, and like Enoch, please him. Whether Enoch himself were better taught, is a question which I need not now examine; and, however probable in itself, is that which is neither told us by St. Paul, nor was, perhaps, revealed to him. But St. Paul is reasoning from the fact of Enoch's acceptance with God, that he must have enjoyed a saving knowledge of him; and, consequently, the limits, at which he fixes the extent of such a knowledge, must needs have been, how barely soever, sufficient, in his opinion, to conduct its possessor to Paradise.

But we know that a man cannot come to God except God draw him; that he cannot please God, nor persevere in holiness, excepting he have the gift of God's good Spirit, and it must therefore follow, that the mere belief in a Deity, in his justice, his mercy, his power, is sufficient to entitle him to the visitation and comfort of grace, and to raise him, through grace, to a share in the mercies of Christ, and to the inheritance of the Christian heaven.

It remains then to be proved, that this knowledge was really possessed by those ancient heathen nations, of which, as we are best acquainted with their history and writings, we are enabled to speak with greatest certainty; and which, as they extended over the most populous and civilized countries of the world, may be regarded as no insufficient specimen of the general condition of mankind before the Messiah's coming, no less than of those to whom from remoteness of situation or from other causes not imputable to themselves, the light of the gospel has not hitherto arisen in glory. And, if there be any tribes so savage as not to have attained the degree of religious knowledge which the Greeks and Romans enjoyed, we may leave, without alarm, a proportion so trifling to the indulgence of him from whose care neither idiots nor madmen are rejected; and with whom, we may be sure, external impediments are as ample an excuse as natural incapacity, for the ignorance of good and evil.

That the ancient heathens acknowledged a divinity, the Creator and Governor of the world, it would be, before my present audience, a presumptuous waste of time to demonstrate at the length to which the subject would naturally carry me. By Plato the creation and directing care of the world are repeatedly and expressly ascribed to him. By Aristotle his unity, his excellence, his omnipotence, and eternal activity, are, with yet more precision of language, asserted and maintained. The same exalted notions of the divine nature are inculcated in the preface to the Locrian Code, and the various Pythagorean fragments preserved by Stobæus. Of Seneca, and of Thales, as quoted by Cicero, the opinions are sufficiently known, as well as the testimony of Menander reprobating the idolatry of his countrymen, and instructing them that God is "every where, and that he beholdeth all things." And, though the Epicurean taint be sometimes, unfortunately, visible in the philosophical writings of Cicero; yet, in the midst of all his contradictions and inconsistencies, though the faith of the moralist himself may frequently, perhaps, be questioned; yet is it apparent, that the public decency and established opinion of his time, (and they are the sentiments of the people at large, not those of a single sceptical statesman, which I am here concerned to vindicate), forbade him to deny, in express words at least, the existence of a Being such as is here represented.

And that the God whom the heathen thus acknowledged as supreme was, in truth, the same with him whom all nature ought to reverence, is apparent not only from the propriety of their notions respecting his nature and attributes, but from the infallible testimony of St. Paul.

That great Apostle of the Gentiles came not, if we believe his own express declaration, to reveal to them a new divinity, but that God, whose existence their poets and their sages had taught, and whom they had themselves, in former ages, however ignorantly, worshipped. He acknowledges that, among the darkest heathen, the Almighty had not left himself without a witness; and while, in the person of a jealous Hebrew, he lays to the charge of the Gentile world that they glorified not God as became his nature, he admits, at the same time, and he grounds the criminality of their conduct on this admission, that they were not without a knowledge of God.

And, grievously as we must deplore the apparently universal prevalence of idolatry and its consequent vices among them, yet must we, at the same time, remember, that a similar depravation of manners had, not unfrequently, threatened the extinction of religious truth among the ancient Israelites themselves.

Amid the apostasy of these last, however, the Almighty failed not to preserve a remnant: and a similar remnant, as is apparent by the works of their leading philosophers, had been also preserved among the heathen.

The heathen, therefore, imperfect as was the glimpse which they continued to enjoy of the true God, his nature, and his attributes, were at no time so entirely blind as to be deprived of that saving degree of knowledge which is the necessary groundwork for internal grace; and the apparent and shining virtues of many among their number are an argument that such grace was sometimes not denied them. From its fruit the tree is recognized; and not only by the authority of the gospel, but by the admission of the best and wisest among the pagans themselves, are we taught that our mortal nature cannot, without the inspiration of God, be quickened to acts of noble self-denial or to sentiments of genuine morality.

It is unnecessary, and it would be presumptuous, to recal your attention to those maxims and precedents of heroic excellence with which our childhood and our youth are chiefly conversant; those lessons from which, next to the sacred oracles themselves, we form our tempers and enlarge our understandings. But I may be allowed to observe, what is not so generally noticed, that, like ourselves, the sages and heroes of antiquity were accustomed to ascribe whatever of either good or great or wise was found among men, to the influence of a present and pervading Deity.

The comedian Epicharmus, in a remarkable fragment preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, describes that inspiration of wisdom which proceeds from God, as the source of all truth and of all knowledge necessary to man. Menander taught his countrymen, that "God himself is the understanding of the virtuous. The Theages and Epinomis of Plato inculcate the necessity of the Divine assistance and blessing on our endeavours, in terms little different from those which a Christian would employ in speaking of grace. Even Cicero expressed his own opinion, or the opinion of his countrymen, when he observed, that no man could attain to excellence "without a certain divine inspiration;" and the expressions of Seneca on this subject may be read with improvement and delight, by the most rational and pious among Christians, "God is present with us," are his words to Lucilius; "he is with thee, he is within thee. This I say, Lucilius; a holy Spirit dwelleth within us, of our good and evil works the observer and the guardian. As we treat him, so he treateth us; and no man is good except God be with him. Can any rise above external fortunes, unless by his aid? He it is from whom every good man receiveth both honourable and upright purposes."

And is it possible that sentiments thus pious and rational should be founded in superstition or delusion? Can carnal pride or earthly wisdom have prompted confessions almost evangelical? Or shall we esteem it a sinful feeling which induced these noble heathens to refer to the giver of goodness those sentiments and actions from which Christians might take example? Οὔκ ἐστιν οὔκ ἐστιν ὅπως ἡμαρτηκασι! It cannot have been flesh and blood which revealed to them their dependance on the Deity: in the wreck of our nature, this fragment of God's image has not utterly fallen from its shrine; and, as the beams of day enliven those with their warmth whose dimmer eyes cannot receive their perfect glory, so must that Spirit, whose name the Gentiles knew not, have girded them with secret blessedness.

It is urged, however, on the other hand, and the objection is as old as the time of St. Augustin, that the seeming virtues of the heathen were prompted by human motives only, and not from any desire of pleasing God, or from any practical application of that degree of knowledge, which they cannot be denied to have possessed respecting him. But it is one of the most generally acknowledged positions in Christian ethics, that the searcher of our hearts does not form his judgment of our conduct by the outward action only, but by the fountain, yet more, from which those actions flow. And it will follow, that a seeming good deed, if it be secretly prompted by self-interest, or passion, or pride, so far from being lovely in the eyes of an Omniscient Being, may, in proportion to the sordid nature of its motives, and not without a reference to the hypocrisy wherewith those motives are concealed, be an object of indignation and punishment. And this may explain the apparently harsh assertion of Augustin, that "the virtues of the heathen were only sins;" and may fully justify the more guarded censure conveyed in the thirteenth article of our church, on "works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit."

If, therefore, the apparent virtues of the heathen can be traced to impure or earthly sources, it is obviously worse than idle to adduce such counterfeits of heroism as proofs that they had the help of God's grace: and it behoves us to inquire by every light in our power, whether the principles of action by which these ancient worthies were swayed, were really the same with those which only can proceed from celestial inspiration; a desire, that is, to serve and please the Almighty, and a practical faith that he is the "rewarder of such as diligently seek him."

But, that we cannot, without a gross defect in that charity which "hopeth all things," deny that such a principle was to many, at least, of their actions, the main and master spring, is apparent from the assertions of their poets as well as their philosophers, who had no interest in ascribing to their countrymen and contemporaries a motive with which no heart could sympathize, nor could have themselves conceived or described a motive of which their own hearts were altogether insensible.

The decrepid husbandman, who could not himself hope to reap the harvest of his toil, was content, as we are assured by the Roman moralist, to "labour for the gods who never die." To Plato, to Pindar, to the Grecian comic writers, the idea of a future retribution seems to have been ever awfully present. "There is a God," saith the captive in Plautus, by whom our words and actions are both heard and seen; it shall go well with him who deserveth well, and he who doeth evil shall receive the like again:" and the fear of those gods "by whom our good and evil deeds are remembered," was the argument which Virgil supposed best qualified to soften the hearts and conciliate the hospitality of a barbarous and suspicious people.

Nor is that true, which has been sometimes asserted in the ardour of speculative controversy, that these motives of action, or the future life on which, mainly, they depend, were involved by the heathen in the gloom of their sacred colleges; that they were the suspicions of their priests and sages only, or revealed, at times, and sparingly, to the perishing multitude, through the "ivory gate" of symbolical ceremonies, and under the sanction of mysterious secrecy.

The creed of poetry is always the creed of the vulgar. The lofty strains of Pindar resounded through the streets of Elis and Corinth, and amid the promiscuous and crowded solemnities of republican festival. Menander was the darling of the Athenian stage: and the hymn which placed Harmodius in the green and flowery island of the blessed, was chanted by the potter to his wheel, and enlivened the labours of the Piræan mariner.

And, as their professed incentives to virtue were thus perfectly consistent with the expectation of spiritual aid; so were there many of their habitual actions which would have been utterly preposterous, if they had not originated in a faith that God rewardeth those who diligently seek him.

If the continence of Scipio, if the generosity of Aristides, if the noble self-devotion of Socrates to what he regarded as the will of heaven, be deduced (as heaven forbid they should be deduced!) from the whispers of ambition or of policy; yet to what exciting cause, if not to a dependance on Providence, can we ascribe the prayers and sacrifices of antiquity? Institutions these, however obscured by superstitious pollution or misdirected to false and foul divinities, which intimate, nevertheless, in their very essence and necessary elements, a sense of guilt, a desire of expiation, a confidence in that mercy whose everlasting gates are open to receive the penitent. And, that some at least of the sacrifices offered by the heathen, were not offered to evil or imaginary beings; that there were not wanting those, in ancient times, who regarded the several greater divinities of Polytheism as only different titles of the One Supreme; that, with by far the greater portion of the multitude themselves, an awful distinction was made between the father of gods and men and the herd of subaltern immortals; that, lastly, the name itself of Jupiter or Jove is, probably, nothing more than a corrupt pronunciation of Jehovah; as Cudworth and others have long since elaborately shown, I need do no more than call to your recollection. Nor can it be doubted, that the common faith in a God and the universal institution of sacrifice are alike the relics of that primeval and patriarchial religion, whose altars have smoked wherever man has passed to raise them; and which was appointed as a pledge of expected salvation, not to the Jews alone, but to every descendant of Adam.

Nor can we reasonably doubt that symbols of expiation, originally appointed or approved by the Holy Ghost, were available and helpful even to those who obeyed the form without understanding its inward mystery; who sought atonement for sin through the blood of unoffending animals, though they were ignorant of the one great sacrifice of which their hecatombs were types and shadows.

The Jews themselves, to whose holocausts we cannot deny a reflected efficacy, were, notwithstanding, if we rely on the accordant authority of the whole New Testament, little better acquainted than the Gentile world with those destined sufferings of the Messiah, to which their symbols bore a prophetic reference. Nor, has any reason as yet been offered, why the ignorant Gentile might not, as well as the ignorant Israelite, derive imparted blessedness from a faithful though unskilful use of those appointed means of grace which were ordained because of offences, till that seed should come on whom the offences of the world were laid.

Between a type, indeed, and a sacrament, as the one is a shadow of good things to come, the other a representation or memorial of good things already received, the distinction is of the same kind as that which exists between a prophecy and a history, of which the latter is nothing if it be not intelligible and actually understood; but the former may be faithfully and profitably used by those by whom its secret meaning is either utterly unknown, or, at best, very imperfectly comprehended. Thus, if the narrative of Moses were, as some have fancied, allegorical, it would, doubtless, be to those who knew not its hidden meaning a vehicle of falsehood only; but the Apocalypse of St. John may be studied with instruction, (and a blessing is promised to those who meditate its prophecies), though they should understand erroneously, or not attempt to understand at all the several events which are therein mysteriously shadowed, contented with that general certainty which it every where inculcates, of the providential care extended over good men, and the final triumph of Christ's kingdom.

In a sacrament, accordingly, we acknowledge with gratitude that definite act of mercy whereby the Almighty has already freed the world from the dreadful consequences of sin; and it is therefore absolutely necessary to our worthy participation, that we should understand the evils from which we are preserved, and the manner in which we have been delivered. But in a typical sacrifice the penitent offender looked forward with humble hope to an undefined but implied atonement; and the means whereby this atonement was to be effected, as they were a mystery as yet in the bosom of God, so a knowledge of their nature was, clearly, not essential to those objects for which God had instituted the prophetic ceremony.

And, as the significant nature of the ceremony itself was, no less than the uniform tradition of their ancestors, sufficient evidence to the pious Gentile, that the Almighty had, for whatever reasons, appointed this mode of expiation for sin, so was it no less incumbent on the Gentile than the Jew to bring his oblations to the Most High: no less than the Jew, the Gentile might expect, through such atonement, forgiveness from their common Father and Judge; and the piety and penitence of the great family of mankind, no less than the piety and penitence of the chosen and peculiar nation, must have proceeded from the Spirit of God.

If, then, these ordinary aids of grace, this internal influence by which alone we are enabled to profit from external means of knowledge, have been accorded to many both of the Jews and Heathens, it is plain that, in this sense at least of the expression, the fellowship of the Holy Ghost is no distinctive badge or peculiar privilege of Christians, and it is still more evident that such a benefit could not have been consistently held forth by the Messiah as a compensation to his Apostles for his own departure from the world. For, as I have shown in a former Lecture, the continuance of one blessing is no compensation for the loss of another; and, doubtless, if to any of Jewish or Heathen race such salutary influence had been accorded, the grace of God, which sanctifieth to salvation, had not been denied to those who were called by Christ; who had through faith obeyed the call, and who, in the course of the conversation here recorded, had been styled by God himself, his friends.

I conclude, then, that the prophecy of Christ, which has furnished a text for these discourses, is not fulfilled by the dispensation (however such bounty may be purchased for us by his merits only) of the ordinary and sanctifying graces of the Holy Ghost. It is, indeed, most true, (and for a reason which will appear in the sequel), that this internal and gracious influence, as enjoyed by the Christian church, is more mightily blessed to the salvation of souls than it ever was in the days of old and while the veil was on the face of nature. And it is also true that the event which has produced this important difference in its ordinary efficacy is no other than that very dispensation of God the Holy Ghost which Christ has described, in his prophecy, as the advent of the Comforter. But I need not caution my present hearers aganst confounding the effect produced with the circumstance which has produced it,—and wherein this last named and peculiar blessing consists, is a question which will yet remain for discussion in a future lecture. The remainder of my present discourse must be chiefly employed in obviating two material objections, which may, not impossibly, occur to several among my auditors against the system which supposes God's sanctifying grace to have extended to the Jews and Heathens.

That system, I am aware, may be accused of detracting from the efficacy of sacramental ordinances, and even from the necessity of faith in the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. And as either one or the other of these imputations would be sufficient, if well founded, to overturn the most plausible hypothesis, I am most anxious to show, before we proceed any farther in our inquiry, that neither the one nor the other are consequences with which my opinion is justly chargeable; that this opinion is perfectly consistent with the importance of Christianity itself, and of the symbols whereby its mysterious benefits are represented; and that the value of both will be yet more firmly established, when disencumbered from those extraneous circumstances with which the indiscreet veneration of some learned men has adorned them.

It will, in the first place, be readily acknowledged by the advocate of universal grace, that with us, to whom the knowledge of the gospel is given, and who are called, by that merciful communication, to enrol ourselves in the army of Christ's faithful followers on earth, the sacraments which Christ has ordained are not only the solemn and indispensable forms of expressing our allegiance and fidelity, but the necessary and appointed means whereby we are to seek at God's hands for grace and hope and happiness. In baptism, which is the outward sign or image of that death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness, which we, through Christ, receive, we declare our faith in him, and our desire to be admitted, through his merits, to the privileges which his death has purchased for mankind. In the eucharist, of which the outward form is a symbol or representation of Christ's death, we in like manner express our perseverance in our profession of faith once made; we implore the pardon of the Most High for our subsequent transgressions, and his grace to assist us for the time to come. But, though the forms enjoined be expressive of those great events on which we found our hopes of heaven, yet is it to these events themselves, and not to their images and material representations, that we look for peace and pardon: nor is our use of the appointed form expressive of any thing else than our hearty desire and humble hope of grace and forgiveness.

The spirit and internal principle of sacrifice are the same with those of prayer; as the last of these is often styled *a vocal offering*, so may the former be without impropriety defined as *a silent entreaty;* and sacraments, which are an oblation of ourselves to God's service, and a token of our desire that he would grant us his love and favour, no otherwise differ from the expression of the same sentiments in prayer, than as the language of ceremony and symbol differs from the language of the tongue. But, as it is by convention only that either our actions or our words are significant, it was, *a priori*, as natural that our heavenly Benefactor should appoint the one as the other to be expressive, in his presence, of our wants and our affections. And as every benefactor has an undoubted right to determine what services he will require, and what acknowledgment he will receive; it follows, that we are to approach the mercy seat of God in whatever manner is most pleasing to him, and that we must thank him for past favours, and entreat his future protection in those words or by those ceremonies which he hath himself thought fit to institute.

To this we are bound under the implied and most righteous penalty of having our requests rejected, if, despising the ordinance of God, we offer them in any other than the commanded form; and to this we are moved by the implied assurance of Christ, that, asking in the manner which he himself has chosen, our prayer shall not return without its answer.

It is therefore that, the ceremony of baptism performed, we proclaim with so much holy confidence that our prayers are already heard, and the neophyte even now adopted. It is for this reason that, after the celebration of the eucharist, we thank the Almighty for assuring the devout participant in those holy mysteries, that he is a member incorporate into the mystical body of his Lord: and it is in this well-founded hope that we style the Christian sacraments, in our public formularies of instruction, the pledges of our Master's love.

Not that we conceive any necessary or mysterious connexion between the forms themselves and the grace of which they are the outward image; far less that any overt and voluntary action of our own can possibly be a proof or token of the good-will of another person towards us: but because the words of Christ enjoining us to seek such blessings by such ceremonies are in truth a most ample pledge that our service thus rendered is acceptable to God, and that we are consequently entitled to look forward in humble confidence to the blessing which we seek at his hands. The sacraments, accordingly, are styled the means whereby we receive grace; not as if they were vehicles through which the Spirit of grace thinks fit exclusively to convey his gifts to the hearts of men, but because they are the appointed medium of our devout and acceptable aspirations to his throne. They are not the means whereby God gives us grace, but they are the means whereby we ask and obtain grace from God: and it is evident that we cannot, if either the one or the other be wilfully neglected, expect from our Maker either pardon of our sins, or that spiritual assistance whereby only we are enabled to serve and please him.

Nor can any consideration more strongly evince the dangerous error or still more perilous obstinacy of those who, from mistaken principle refuse, or from fondness for the world neglect, observances in themselves so rational, and commanded by such awful authority.

From the correspondence thus explained between sacramental and devotional ordinances, it is evident that the practice of infant baptism may be defended on a different and, perhaps, a more satisfactory ground than the usual arguments derived from precedent and human authority. For whether the infant be a legitimate object of covenant or no, it is certain that he is a proper subject of prayer and intercession; and the devoting of a child to the service of his Maker, and the supplication that his heavenly King would dispose him in due time to ratify those engagements, when, above all, our own endeavours may by education mainly contribute to the end proposed, is a proceeding, surely, no less reasonable, than it is pious and affecting and charitable.

But it will also follow from the above definition of a sacrament, that the necessity either of baptism or the eucharist can only rest with those to whom their obligation is known, and their observance possible; and that we cannot, on any principle of reason or revelation, exclude any part of mankind from those benefits which the blood of Christ has bought for all, on the plea of inevitable or ignorant noncompliance with the positive institutions of Christianity. Were it otherwise, the parallel would altogether fail between the rites of circumcision and baptism, the passover and the eucharist, inasmuch as the Jew was pardoned, who, during his abode in the wilderness, or, afterwards, from bodily infirmity, omitted the former rite. Nor was the Holy Ghost at any time bestowed in more ample measure than on those prophets of Israel's captivity, who were, by their situation, effectually excluded from all participation in the appointed offerings for sin.

And, though our Saviour insists, in his conference with Nicodemus, on baptismal no less than spiritual regeneration as equally necessary to the character of a perfect Christian, yet does the whole tenour of his argument imply, that these were not the same but different things; which, though neither of them was, without the other, sufficient to make us members of his church, might exist, nevertheless, distinctly and with different individuals. And, in point of fact, and if we take as our example the particular case of Nicodemus, so far from internal grace being the effect of baptism only, this order appears to have been absolutely reversed, inasmuch as a considerable spiritual change had already taken place in the Jewish Rabbi, who acknowledged Christ to be a teacher come from God, although his remaining prejudices or timidity as yet forbade the public profession of this faith by baptism.

On the whole, if we admit that, to those whom God hath commanded thus to approach him, the sacramental ordinances are indispensable means of grace; it will from thence by no means follow, that no other inlet of scriptural hope remains for those to whom such opportunities are denied: nor if, on the other hand, we maintain, that his mercy may dispense to *others*, where he will, and freely, those powerful aids for which himself hath taught us to pray, can *we* therefore hope that our disobedience will meet with the same indulgence as their misfortune. The arm of God is not so short or feeble as that his Spirit should be confined to those who after a particular form desire it; but neither is the word of God so changeable as that he can be expected to communicate or to continue his sanctifying grace to the church on any other terms than those on which he first engaged to grant it.

The importance, then, of the initiative and commemorative ceremonies of our religion, as necessary means of asking and obtaining God's help and favour, will remain more firmly fixed than ever; though they will be deprived, perhaps, of that unreasonable dignity which assigns to them not only a relative value as expressions of our faith and hope, but a positive efficacy which no act of our own, except with this limitation, can claim. Nor is the awful danger which belongs to a perverse rejection of revealed religion, impaired or slighted by the defender of that hypothesis which admits the uninstructed heathen to a share in God's sanctifying grace: nor are the blessings undervalued which follow from a faithful profession of that doctrine which maketh wise to eternal glory.

Between inevitable ignorance and a wilful refusal of offered knowledge, the difference is great indeed. And, though the help of the Most High has sometimes girded those who have been constrained, in the darkness of heathenism, to seek after a God whom they knew not, what hope is left for him who hath done despite to the Spirit of grace, and hath openly rejected that Prince and Saviour by whom and for whose sake the power is given to repent, and repentance rendered available?

But error of all kinds, even conscientious or invincible error, can never be accounted any other than a very great and grievous misfortune. From such, though grace be not withheld, yet (as the strength and character of the motives and principles which that grace recalls to our mind must depend on our previous knowledge) it will follow, that the support of the Holy Ghost as promised to Christians must be of greater and more blessed efficacy than any which the heathen can look for.

Nor, though the state of these last be freed, on this hypothesis, from thar hopeless abandonment to which some misjudging Christians have consigned them, is the Christian left without sufficient grounds of peculiar exultation and gratitude; nor shall we lose those motives which by every bond of love and pity would induce us to labour in the conversion of our heathen brethren.

While we contend that the heathen have received such a measure of knowledge and of grace, as, when properly improved, may elevate some of them, through the merits of Christ, to a seat even in the Christian paradise; while we delight to reckon among our future associates in glory the wise and virtuous of every age and every country, it will not, therefore, follow, that more of the benighted multitude might not have been wise and virtuous, had they enjoyed the same advantages with ourselves. It will not follow that those who sinned against the degree of light allowed them might not have repented in sackcloth and ashes, had they known those important truths of whose value we are so negligent, or that those, be they many or few, who have been snatched as brands from the burning, might not, with greater means of improvement, have attained to greater blessedness.

An equality of gifts or graces is nowhere to be found in the analogy of nature or religion: nor is it any imputation on the justice or mercy of God, that, where enough is given to all, he offers more to some than to others. But it is the duty of the favoured part to remedy this seeming partiality, and to remember, that the more advantages have fallen to their share, the more clearly are they marked out by the common parent as instruments of dispersion and distribution. The rich must feed the hungry, the seeing must conduct the blind; the Christian must join his efforts with the church towards the illumination of heathen darkness.

And, while we indulge our gratitude for that unspeakable gift of the Gospel whereby we are admitted to the inmost sanctuary of mercy, and rendered spectators of those secret springs of grace, from whose diffusive dews and larger channels the universal earth derives fertility; let us remember, that not as spectators only, should we approach the well-head of salvation; and that, unless we drink more deeply of its purer stream, the virtues of the heathen will hereafter be reckoned to our shame, when they shall come from the east and from the west to sit down in the kingdom of God, and when the men of Nineveh and the queen of the south shall rise up against us in judgment!

I have now examined the most important, indeed the only serious objection which occurs to me as likely to be urged against the doctrine of my present lecture; and have shown, I trust, satisfactorily, both from profane and sacred testimony, that both Jews and Pagans may have been partakers like ourselves in the graces of the Holy Ghost, and inheritors with us, through Jesus Christ, of everlasting life and glory.

But from the facts which I have established, we are authorized to deduce some important though incidental corollaries.

1st. While by expressly attributing to the grace of God every single instance of good, whether done or thought, or spoken, we cut up by the roots all human pride, and all tendency to Pelagian error, it is apparent that we exhibit in a yet clearer point of view the improbability of that opposite system, which supposes that sanctifying grace is, wherever bestowed, irresistibly exerted; and which, by referring our destiny to a previous infallible decree, would leave to the human will but an empty name of freedom. For since no single instance can be found in Scripture where the title of Elect is assigned to any other than Christians, and since it is assigned in the Epistles of St. Paul to communities of Christians generally and without exception; it must follow that it denotes some privilege in which all Christians and Christians only participate. But if there be certain heathens from whom sanctification to eternal life is not withheld, and if there be certain Christians (as is too lamentably and familiarly known) who, by their own ingratitude, have lost all claim to this inestimable privilege, it must follow that the election spoken of by St. Paul has reference to some other blessing than that with which the followers of Augustin are accustomed to identify it.

Nor can any doubt remain, that the only privileges to which this election applies are a knowledge in this world of God's more perfect will, and a share in the comforts of the gospel; a preference, no doubt, sufficiently great to call forth our unbounded gratitude, but which does not extend so far as to give us the exclusive possession of our heavenly Father's love and mercy.

But, the distinction once removed which confines to Christians only the sanctifying grace of God, no reason can be given why such grace should be restricted to any particular persons, either among the Heathens, Christians, or Jews; or why the merciful patience of God which leads us to repentance, should not, together with his ready help by which only repentance is possible, be extended to every capable subject. That equal grace is given to all, both religion and experience alike deny; but that any are altogether excluded from its influence, the observations which have been already made will, apparently, forbid us to maintain. I can duly appreciate, and I can sincerely honour that reverence for the power and purity of God's Spirit, which has induced so many wise and holy men to limit its presence to those only who are finally triumphant over sin: but do we indeed diminish the value of his gift or tarnish the brightness of his mercy, when we suppose it, like the sun of our mental system, to dart its pervading blessedness from the midst of heaven on all who do not wilfully shut their eyes against the day? Or shall we, who have the privilege of approaching nearer to its beams, be indifferent to our brightest prospect, because the ends of the earth are not immersed in total darkness; and because the witness of the Most High has not entirely forsaken those tribes on whom the purer day-spring has not dawned?

From this universality, however, of grace, a second corollary arises; that grace, namely, may, so far as our personal sanctification is concerned, be resisted and rendered vain. Were it otherwise, indeed, there could be no condemnation at all, since no man is punished but for neglect of grace. But, if grace may be at first withstood, no reason can be given why it should ever, in this life, become irresistible; or why we should not, till death, retain the fatal power of falling from our highest proficiency. It follows that the doctrine of assurance, as that doctrine, at least, is commonly expressed, is an opinion groundless and illusory; that though on our present state of acceptance with God our conscience is reasonably said to bear us witness, yet is it impossible, without the gift of prophecy or the crime of presumption, to anticipate our final perseverance in godliness; with that degree of confidence which many pious men profess to feel.

It may be suspected indeed, (and well it is for them that such a case is possible,) that those excellent persons have not, in reality, that unbounded assurance of final salvation to which they, however sincerely, lay claim; and that they confound those feelings which arise from a high degree of probability, with that stronger effect which is produced in the soul by the contemplation of what is absolutely certain.

The circumstances are of very rare occurrence, in which this certainty is possible to man; and the highest degree of faith will, perhaps, fall vastly short of it. But, though the sense of probability is in its nature a conditional expectation, we may, doubtless, by inferring the future from the past, exhilarate or depress the soul to a degree of joy or misery very hardly to be distinguished in definition from that certainty which belongs, it may be thought, to present objects only.

In practice, however, and in their effects on the subsequent conduct, such feelings are easily distinguishable. What we indeed regard as certain we are never found to strive against or to forward: but that confidence of which we only persuade ourselves is by far too weak to hold out against the excitements of hope or terror. The merest fatalist, if life be dear to him, will take care, notwithstanding his professed opinions, to guard his head in battle: the sturdiest predestinarian, when temptations arise, is truly and piously disquieted.

And, though the recollection of frequent victories over sin may, doubtless, yield a well-grounded hope that we shall not be hereafter defeated; though the probability that we shall be supported to-morrow as we were yesterday and the day before, may kindle in the good man a holy joy and gratitude, which, for the moment, casts out fear; yet that this troublesome but necessary guest must, nevertheless, ere long return, is apparent from the circumstance, that the good man does not fail to continue those precautions which the apprehension of danger alone can dictate.

There is an awful difference between the absence of doubt and the sensation of perfect confidence. That we shall sleep to-night as safely as we slept the night before, there is none of us, perhaps, who questions; and, if we think on the subject at all, we rejoice in our sense of that merciful protection, without which the watchman waketh but in vain. Yet do we none of us neglect to secure our doors against assault, which, if assault were impossible, would, surely, be a futile trouble. The mariner in sight of his desired haven is as glad as if his voyage were already concluded: and the saint beside his funeral pile may exult with reason that a crown is laid up for him for evermore. But neither the one nor the other is so sure of his safety, as to confound what is only extremely probable with what is absolutely decreed by heaven. The seaman, till the anchor is cast, forsakes not the care of his helm; the martyr, whose pardon was laid before him on the conditions of his apostasy, exhorted his persecutors, as they loved his soul, to remove from him that temptation. With both, the intensity of hope is allayed with an attendant anxiety, lest by any fault of theirs they should perish in the very moment when all their toils were about to terminate.

To a wicked man the doctrine of predestination is too often the cause of a dangerous and deadly downfall, because he is glad to use it as an excuse for neglecting those interests which he does not really regard. To a good man, if his reason be sound, it can, probably, do little harm; and may, sometimes, beyond a doubt, administer comfort under temptation, and inspire him with a gratitude which is not less warm or pure because the hope on which it rests is founded on an erroneous opinion.

But, neither the good man nor the sinner can be really asserted to believe in predestination, inasmuch as without hope enjoyment would be impossible, and without danger caution superfluous. The great detector of sophistry, our natural apprehension, exclaims aloud against every attempt at self-deceit; and, if we value our lives or our souls, we dare not commit either the one or the other to the hazard of those principles which we stimulate our fancy to conceive, and torture our understanding to maintain.

LECTURE VII.

I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

That the name of Comforter here given to the Holy Ghost was given in anticipation of some peculiar and permanent favour to be conferred by him on the orphan church of Christ, it has been already my endeavour to prove. And I have shown, in like manner, that these essential characteristics of permanence and peculiarity will evince that benefit, whatever it may be, to be something distinct both from the gifts of miracle and prophecy, which were accorded to a single generation only of Christians; and from those more common aids and larger influences, whence not the Christian virtues only, but every act and word and thought have issued, which hath thrown a transitory gleam of light and beauty over that gloomy prospect which is offered to the mental view by the natural state of mankind.

For, as the comfort of God's Spirit was promised to Christians only, and as it was promised to the universal Church of Christ in every age of its duration, it is plain that such specific benefit could not consist in a bounty, however great, in which Christians partake with some of those to whom the name of Christ is unknown; and that we can with yet less ground of probability identify it with a privilege which was confined to the Apostles and their immediate successors.

We have still, then, to inquire after an instance of celestial bounty more accurately corresponding with the terms of Christ's prediction. And such an instance it is not impossible to find, to which external aids and internal graces are attendant only and incidental appendages; a bounty in the hopes and promises of which, the Christian alone, and Christians of every age and nation are partakers and proprietors, and of which the privileges, as they were purchased by the sinless obedience and meritorious sufferings of the second Person in the Deity, so were they conferred on us in plenary enjoyment, by the advent and inspiration of the Third in that mysterious essence.

That the Son of God is the object, yet more than the teacher of the Christian faith; that he did not "bear testimony of himself," and that he left to the subsequent doctrine and illumination of the Paraclete to record and explain those awful dispensations whereby he triumphed over death and hell, is evident from that ignorance which, till the advent of the Holy Ghost, the chosen followers of our Lord displayed as to the nature of their Master's kingdom. An ignorance it was indeed, so total, and to us so extraordinary, that the greater number of commentators have been rashly induced to ascribe it to a degree of national prejudice or natural incapacity in those whom Christ selected to instruct the world, which, as it would be beyond all bounds of probability, so is it altogether needless to enhance the wonder of the fact, that the world has been, by their means, converted. Enough there is of miracle to confound the wisdom of the wise, and to establish the celestial origin of our religion, in the event which all parties allow, that the fabric of Paganism was overturned by a few Galilean peasants, without the further supposition, that these instruments of God's will were less favoured in intellect or acuteness than others of their rank and nation. Nor must we forget that, by how much the more we underrate the extent of their intelligence, by so much do we decrease the weight, which, even in facts most obvious to their eyes and ears, we can reasonably assign to their testimony.

In truth, however, I can discover no single passage in Scripture from which we may infer that they had either stronger prejudices against the truth, or less of natural capacity, or greater ignorance of the sacred writings of the ancient covenant, than even the wisest members of the Sanhedrim. At all events, the phenomenon to which I have alluded may be more reverently and as satisfactorily accounted for by the recollection of that fact which is implied in so many passages of the Gospel; that the time, namely, was not come at which the veil of mystery should be withdrawn from the designs of God, and that the work of our redemption was to be complete in all its parts, before it was exposed to the public eye and to the curiosity and devotion of the universe.

It is thus that the atonement for sin by the meritorious sacrifice of the Messiah, which is expressed, in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, with a precision and a copiousness answerable to its vast importance, is conveyed, in the language of our Saviour while on earth, by scattered hints and through the darkness of prophecy and parable. It is thus, too, that though the supercession of the Mosaic law be, undoubtedly, deducible from the moment in which a new and better covenant was established by our Lord's fulfilment of that which was to pass away, yet the *authoritative explanation* of this mystery, (which, while Christ was yet on earth, his disciples were unprepared to receive) can only be found in the teaching of God's Spirit through the Apostles.

The Holy Ghost, then, as I have already had occasion to observe, was the Hierophant of the Christian mysteries; the Dispenser of that universal pardon which the Son had purchased with his blood; the Herald to mankind, by the means of his Prophets and Apostles, of that better covenant of grace which should supersede, in after ages, the fleshly ordinances of Sinai.

But that such a discovery was, to the followers of our Lord, sufficient both of comfort and compensation for his departure from the world, is apparent from the importance of the communication itself, no less than of the practical results and illustrious hopes to which their eyes were thenceforward opened. They no more looked forward with mistaken and painful anxiety to the restitution of a national greatness which their countrymen were unfit alike to maintain or to enjoy. No more did they contemplate their Master as the sovereign of a great, indeed, but not an unbounded empire. They beheld him seated on the throne of Omnipotence itself, confining in his invincible grasp the keys of death and of hell; and worshipped by all the countless multitude of those whom his blood had ransomed from the grave. Themselves they found released from a yoke which neither "they nor their fathers had been able to endure;" translated from the elementary bondage of ceremonies and sacrifices to the glorious liberty of God; no longer servants but sons.

The Gentile was not now excluded from the more perfect knowledge and nearer favour of the common Parent of mankind: the Jew was no more the member of a small and unpopular community, divided from the great family of earth by exclusive, and, in their effect at least, invidious privileges. The tabernacle of adoption, like the canopy of heaven, overshadowed all the children of Jehovah; and the nations of the East and the West were gathered in peace together under the wings of the Christian Dove.

Can any wonder that, by their admission to these glorious prospects, the very temper of the Apostles' souls was changed? that they, thenceforth, no more shrunk back in terror from the fulfilment of their arduous ministry, no more lamented their departed Lord; no more shut their doors in selfish timidity from the notice or displeasure of their countrymen? that they from that moment rejoiced under affliction, and glorified God that "they were counted worthy to suffer shame in the cause of Christ?"

As a comfort, then, and compensation to the afflicted followers of Jesus, the discovery of that new and better covenant, which was revealed by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, was amply sufficient to entitle that blessed Person to the name of Paraclete. Nor do the effects which this dispensation produced on the world at large, less strikingly answer to those other features whereby the Paraclete was to be distinguished as a Patron to the Christian cause, and a Defender of the Son of Man against the slanders of his hostile countrymen. The Spirit of God, in his character of Paraclete, was to testify, it will be remembered, of the innocence and inspiration of the Messiah: he was to convict the world of the guilt which they had incurred in rejecting him; he was to vindicate at once the character of Jesus from the charges of imposture or enthusiasm, and the name of God from the suspicion of injustice and cruelty. His appointed function it was to reconcile the righteousness of the Deity with those awful dispensations which had lately doomed the innocent to death, and to make the dignity of the Messiah consistent with the sufferings of a houseless wanderer in the kingdom of his ancestors, a crucified victim to the jealousy of the state, beneath the walls of his own Jerusalem.

Objections these, which, great as the miracles of Jesus doubtless were, those miracles could not entirely solve; much less could the exercise of power by which his followers were, after his exaltation to the throne of glory, enabled to bear witness to his truth. Such powers were, indeed, a very sufficient evidence that he was a Prophet sent by Jehovah. But this was not enough to answer the purposes of the Apostles and of the truth; and it was required, moreover, to prove him to be that particular Prophet and Saviour on whom the hope of Israel depended; and not of Israel only, but of all the nations in the universal earth.

And to such a claim two objections might be raised, which no miraculous powers on the part either of Christ or his Apostles could obviate, inasmuch as they arose from facts which could not be denied, and which, if unexplained, were absolutely inconsistent with the character of the Messiah promised by God. And these circumstances were the lowliness of his rank in life, and the manner in which he suffered death.

The first of these was inconsistent, as every Jew might urge, with the character of a great deliverer; since, whatever might have been his innocence and extraordinary powers; however dear he might have been to God, and however approved in his sight; nay, though he were allowed to have risen from the grave like Lazarus, and, like Enoch and Elias, to have ascended to heaven; yet, neither during his public life, nor after his alleged resurrection, had he, in fact, any more than Enoch or Elias or Lazarus, accomplished any visible deliverance, whether for the world at large, or for the chosen people of God.

But, if he had wrought no deliverance, then was he no deliverer, and, if no Saviour, no Messiah. "How," say the Rabbins in that work to which they have prefixed the ostentatious title of Nizacchon or "the Victorious," "How can Jesus be called the Admirable Counsellor, whose designs even Judas rendered vain? How is he strong, who was subdued by Death? How the eternal Father, who perished in the midst of his days? How the Prince of Peace, whose life was spent in trouble?"

It was necessary, then, to prove that, by the agency of our Lord, some great salvation had in reality been affected; and this *was* proved by the promulgation of that covenant, wherein, for the sake of the Son of man, and through the merits of his obedience and sacrifice, the burden and curse of the Law were removed, and forgiveness of sins accorded. His title was thus established to the appropriate name of JESUS, because "he saved his people from their sins;" and the most formidable of those objections was removed, which could not be obviated either by his blameless life, or by the acknowledged greatness of his miracles.

The objection which arose from the manner of his death was, doubtless, less considerable; yet was it to Jewish prejudices a very material scandal; inasmuch as, though they might be brought to acknowledge, on the authority of Daniel, that the Messiah was to "be cut off," and, from the testimony of Isaiah, that he was to be "sent to prison and to judgment;" yet that he should perish by a species of death which, we find it urged again with malignant triumph by the author of the Nizacchon, the Almighty had declared accursed, was a difficulty only to be solved by the knowledge of that mysterious and awful dispensation whereby the innocent was made a curse for the guilty.

It was thus that the revelation of the covenant of grace, which was made through the Apostles to mankind, was both needful and efficacious to lead them into truth, and to bring to their knowledge or remembrance those awful lessons which had been communicated under the veil of mystery or parable during the Messiah's abode among men.

Nor can a stronger objection be required against that which is called the simplicity of the Unitarian system of theology, than that, by denying the Divinity of our Lord, as well as those other awful truths which supply the only competent answer to the cavils of the unconverted Jew, it takes away all adequate motives for that tremendous apparatus of power and prophecy, by which the birth and life and death of Jesus were distinguished.

As a teacher of morality he told us little which was really new. As a preacher of the resurrection he inculcated no more than the great majority of his countrymen believed already: and it is difficult to say in what manner those understand him to have abolished the Law of Moses, who refuse to acknowledge, in his death, a sacrifice and propitiation for sin.

So far indeed from that simplicity, if real, being admissible as a proof of the truth of a religious system, it may be thought that the credit of any pretended discovery of God's will or nature would, if it did not contain discoveries transcending human reason, be, on that very account, impaired and rendered precarious. No ghost need rise, no angel come from heaven, to disclose to us those truths which we already knew, or those of which a competent knowledge might be acquired by the natural process of induction or experiment. And though that be an absurd refinement of the schoolmen who advance a seeming impossibility as, in itself, a ground of faith; and though there be something still more preposterously unreasonable in the complaint of the author of Religio Medici, that the Christian Religion had not enough of mystery; yet is it certain, that the garb and language of Revelation evince her to be a stranger among men; and that she demands and receives the more attention at our hands, by bringing us such tidings as belong to nothing earthly.

To return, however, from this short digression. The advent of the Paraclete was, moreover, to instruct the followers of Christ in the future fortunes of Christianity. "He was to show them things to come."

Now, it is unquestionable that, with the exception of his own predicted sufferings, and that of the overthrow of the city and polity of the Jews, no single conspicuous instance can be found in which, according to the popular acceptation of the term, our Lord assumed the prophetic character. Nor, of future events, and of that general course of Providence which shall precede and promote the final triumph of truth, is any knowledge possessed by the world, which has not been communicated by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to his chosen servants the Apostles. The rise of Anti-Christ, which has now become a matter of history; his fall to which we still look forward in faithful hope: the terrific events which are to occupy the latest scene of nature's drama; and the manner in which nature herself is to be at length dissolved; as they are circumstances of which our knowledge has been derived from the Paraclete only, so are they essential features in that system of belief and happiness and duties which it was his office to impart to Christians. Essential they are to our belief, which, unless prepared beforehand by prophecy for the bitter trials of the church, might faint and fail beneath the burden of our Master's cross; essential to our happiness, since, without such an assurance of the final triumph of truth, our condition would be of all men most miserable; essential to our duties, inasmuch as they raise our hopes and apprehensions above the limits of a perishable world.

It may be said then, with truth, that by the single discovery of the Christian system of atonement and peace and pardon; by the revelation of the will, and the mercy, and the power, and the future counsels of God in Jesus Christ, the promise of a Comforter, insomuch as the Apostles were concerned, was exactly and most mercifully accomplished. But the promise, it has been already shown, was not to the Apostles only, but to the Universal Church of Christ in every age of her duration. And as, since the time of the Apostles, no fresh revelation of God's will has been made to the church; as no new prophet has arisen to instruct, no open vision to console her, it may be objected with much plausibility that the perpetual abiding of the Comforter with the Christian world has been in no wise accomplished by the gift of supernatural light to one out of many generations.—It is true that we have still, in the volume of the Sacred Scriptures, the results of that inspiration which the earliest teachers of our faith enjoyed.—But this, it may be said, is rather a consequence of the Paraclete's former visit, than a proof of his continuance among us, it is rather the legacy of a departed than the counsel of a present guardian; and the Pilot who should undertake to steer our vessel through the whole continuance of her voyage, would ill discharge that promise if he deserted our helm in the middle passage, though he should leave at the same time, for our guidance, his chart and compass behind him.

But that this objection, however specious, is not unanswerable, will appear if we consider,—first,—that the promise of our Lord, and the office of Paraclete which that promise defines, though they are doubtless explicit as to the points of universal and continual *superintendance and protection*—do by no means lead us to anticipate an unceasing display of vision, or a perpetual and perceptible illapse of celestial knowledge. It was foretold, indeed, that the Paraclete should abide with us always,—but it was not expressed that the Holy Ghost should, in his capacity of Paraclete, be continually guiding us into new truths,—continually introducing us to a fresh Apocalypse. The nature of his office implies that he should be at hand to enlighten, to defend, and to console, where such comfort or illumination were needed;—but the teacher may pause between the lessons which he gives to his pupil,—the advocate when his plea is advanced may wait till he is called on for explanation,—the Comforter when he has dried our tears may sit silent and watchful for a while, till another relapse of grief demands fresh arguments to subdue it. But, as it will not be denied that, in the instance of the Apostles, the knowledge of God's will, which was supernaturally communicated to them, was a sufficient and accurate accomplishment of our Saviour's promise,—so may it be proved, that, to the Apostles themselves this inspiration was not a perpetual and unceasing gift,—and that the hypothesis which maintains it to have been so, would conduct us to inferences no less at variance with the narratives of the Apostles themselves, than with the analogy which might be expected between their endowments and those of the elder Prophets, and with that natural and universal feeling which forbids us to expect at God's hands an unnecessary miracle, or that he should exempt his creatures, while on earth, from that weakness and peccability which is the common misfortune of their kind, any further than is required by the dispensation committed to their charge, and the accomplishment of his will through them.

Accordingly, it may be observed that the Prophets of the elder Covenant were only then acquainted with future transactions, when they were under the immediate influence of the spirit by whom they were favoured;—that his illapses took place at distinct and sometimes at distant periods; and that, in the intervals of such awful visitations, they were in no respect distinguished from the weakness and ignorance of their brethren. Nor is there any ground in Scripture for supposing, with Michaelis, that John or Peter were, in this respect distinguished from Jeremiah or Isaiah or Elijah; or that the ordinary power which our Lord assigned them of officially deciding cases of conscience, or of making laws and administering justice in the community over which they were placed, required in them any more than in other ecclesiastical governors, an inherent and permanent infallibility. Had this been the case, St. Peter would have been no less an object of imitation when he dissembled with the Gentile converts in Antioch, than when he admitted Cornelius into the bosom of the Christian Church; and St. Paul and St. Barnabas must have been equally correct in their opposite judgments on the conduct of Mark the Evangelist. But, in truth, there is sufficient evidence in the New Testament itself, that the discoveries of God's will which the Apostles received were limited and occasional, and the powers with which they were entrusted were, for the most part, temporary only. The time is marked when Peter was enlightened by a vision as to the removal of the ancient barrier between the Gentile and the Jew; and till Peter had himself communicated this knowledge to the remaining disciples, they were strangers, at least in this particular, to the counsel of their Heavenly Director. St. Paul's first mission to the Gentiles, his call into Macedonia, and his knowledge of things in Paradise, were all the subjects of distinct revelations, nor could he predict the escape of his companions from the devouring ocean, till he had first received his information from the "Angel of that God, whose he was and whom he served."—Nor should we omit to notice that the same St. Paul, on more than one occasion, distinguishes his private judgment from his divine instructions; and that the author of the Apocalypse specifies a particular Lord's-Day, during which he was "in the Spirit."—It is apparent, however, that a person continually and in every word and action inspired, could, correctly speaking, have no human judgment at all;—and that in him who was always under the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost, it would have been as absurd to specify any particular moment at which that influence overshadowed him, as it would have been to say that he was at such or such a time alive and in the body.

It is proved, then, that the Divine assistance which the apostles enjoyed was an occasional assistance only, and that there were periods during which the miraculous voice of the Holy Ghost was silent within them.—But if there are periods, however short, during which a cessation of the gifts of the Paraclete is acknowledged, without detriment to the Church or falsification of the Saviour's promise:—this concession may be extended to any period which eternal wisdom might think fit. Whether it be an hour, a day, a year, a thousand years, no difference can be made in the truth of Him to whom a thousand years and one day are both alike,—nor in the interest of the Church over which his unsleeping care presides, and which, when she needs his further teaching, may rest secure in faith to find it. The promise of the Almighty to abide in his Jewish shrine, was as express as that in which the Christian Church receives the assurance of a similar inhabitation.—Yet some intervals there were in which there was a cessation of supernatural endowments among the race of Israel, as total as that which we now deplore.—When Samuel was established as a seer, the word of the Lord had long been precious;—between the appearance of the different Prophets whose works are collected in our canon, a considerable space of time must often have occurred. And in four hundred years, from Malachi to John the Baptist,—we shall find no better pretences to inspiration than the dreams of the Maccabees, and the Bath-Col of Rabbinical Fable. But if God still "dwelt in his temple," though he gave no preceptible tokens of his presence there,—if the Jews were not forsaken, though they saw "no prophet more,"—shall we doubt that our Schekinah is with us still, though his voice be not heard in our assembly, or that he may yet break silence should a case arise, in which the interest of the faith require a new revelation.—But is God indeed silent, when the sound of his words is brought to us every Sabbath-day in the authentic records of our salvation? Or do we hesitate to receive the comfort and counsels of Scripture as a daily and hourly blessing of the Holy Ghost, because we do not receive it from his immediate dictation? Let us then recollect, in the second place, that, though the promise be express that the Comforter should communicate supernatural knowledge to the Church,—the manner of this communication is nowhere limited to a supernatural process only,—and that if we continue to receive his dicta in all essential points unaltered,—it can make no difference whether we receive them at the first or thirtieth hand.

There are two ways, indeed, and only two, by which, so far as our experience enables us to judge,—a revelation from Heaven, or any other supernatural knowledge can be conveyed to the human understanding. The first is by an impulse immediately communicated by God to the perceptions of the individual who is destined to be thus enlightened; the second, by the intervention of some other and more favoured person, who is empowered and commanded to employ, for the instruction of his brethren, that knowledge, which he has himself received from God. But, of a revelation which should be at once universal and immediate, no instance can be found in the history of our Maker's dealings with mankind, on the great majority of whom he has always imposed the condition of being taught by others of their species.

Even in the case which approaches most nearly to that of an universal and immediate revelation, the case, I mean, in which the Almighty promulgated with his own voice the decalogue to the assembled nation of Israel, his auditors, it is plain, were only a single generation out of the many who were equally the objects of the instruction thus afforded, and of whom all the succeeding streams were bound to receive the truth on the authority and from the testimony of their fathers.

And, in the particular instance of the Christian Revelation, as the fact itself on which our faith is founded, the resurrection, namely, of the Lord, was communicated not to all the people but to witnesses chosen of God; so were the doctrines which depended on that fact revealed, in the first place, to certain selected teachers, on the credit of whose testimony the Universal Church was thenceforward to be guided and governed.

It was, then, through the medium only of a few inspired individuals that, in the earliest and golden age of Christianity, the Holy Ghost can be said to have guided or comforted that orphan flock which was left to his care; and it appears from many very remarkable passages of the New Testament, that the ordinary believers of the apostolic period were no more endued with miraculous powers, and no more inspired with supernatural knowledge than the faithful in any subsequent age. Were all apostles, were all Prophets, did all speak with tongues in the days of Paul? Let Paul himself decide the question! Nay more; it is apparent from the writings of that great apostle, with what a holy jealousy he vindicated to himself and to the rest of the Elders the peculiar privilege of delivering to the Church those rules of faith and practice, which only were to be received on the authority of the Holy Ghost: and that neither man nor angel could pretend to the possession of a revelation independent of that which the apostles proclaimed, without incurring the heaviest weight of anathema.

If, indeed, the Spirit of God had communicated an immediate and supernatural assistance to all who once embraced the Christian Faith, it is apparent that the controversial writings which the apostles left behind (and all their writings may be regarded as more or less controversial) would never have existed at all; that doubts would never have arisen, where every individual was alike divinely inspired; and that no appeal would have lain to the superior authority of the Twelve, if the Churches of Rome or Corinth or Galatia had inhaled, no less deeply than the apostles, the unspeakable gift of God.

When inspiration, accordingly, was promised by Christ, and afforded by the Holy Ghost, in the earliest age of Christianity, to the collective and Catholic Church; it was not afforded, and doubtless therefore not promised to the body, otherwise than through the medium of some distinguished members. And though John and Paul and Peter were, in the first instance, guided and comforted by the Holy Ghost himself, it was by Peter or Paul or John that such instruction or consolation was dispensed to Apollos or Onesimus or Philemon.

Nor can a dispensation of this kind be, with any degree of justice, accused of inequality; nor are the inspired individuals more essentially favoured than those to whom their mission is addressed, for whose sake and in order to whose instruction they are thus distinguished from the remainder of mankind; and who, from them, receive a no less perfect measure of knowledge than they have themselves derived from the visions or inspiration of God. By inspiration, it will be recollected, in the scriptural sense of the word, neither universal knowledge is implied, nor, even in religious questions, universal infallibility. Of future events in general the Prophet had no more knowledge than the meanest of his audience; of the nature or will of the Almighty, (abstracted from those particular facts which it was his especial commission to disclose,) the apostle might himself inquire in vain. The veil was never except in part withdrawn from mortal eyes; and, when the vision was described, and the Gospel announced to the world, the world was as wise as its teachers. Those teachers were not the objects, but the transmitting medium of God's favours: the prophetic office was not so much a privilege as a burden imposed: the whole counsel of God, so far as it was freely communicated to them, they were freely to impart to their uninstructed brethren: they were the heralds to the world of those gracious offers which unbounded mercy made to all, and of which they themselves were partakers, if (which by no means necessarily followed from the fact of their official privileges) they really partook in the benefits of the Gospel, not as apostles or prophets or ministers of Heaven, but as men, as sinners and as penitents.

The comfort, then, of the Holy Ghost, both might be and was afforded to the early ages of the church through the means of a comparatively trifling number of inspired individuals. And, if a succession of such individuals had been raised by God's providence in the several and successive generations which have since elapsed in our Sion; if there had been a prophetic school in the Christian church, such as is by most divines supposed to have existed in the church of Israel; or were that claim admitted to official infallibility which our fellow-Christians of the Romish persuasion have not yet ceased to advance in favour of their universal bishop; we doubtless should not hesitate to allow that by such a succession, the promise of our Saviour and the permanent residence of the Holy Ghost with the church were satisfactorily accomplished and exemplified; though we neither beheld (as some of the modern Jews pretend was the privilege of their Fathers) the glory of the Almighty visibly present in our sanctuary; nor could reckon up with St. Paul, as incidents of frequent occurrence, that long and splendid list of miraculous powers and graces for which the Corinthians so earnestly contended.

Of miraculous gifts, indeed, peculiarly so called; of tongues, of healing, of exorcism, of discerning spirits; though they were unquestionably among the most conspicuous and frequent triumphs of the early church of God, the present words of Christ say nothing. The grace which the Comforter was to bring among men, corresponds with inspiration and inspiration only: it was a knowledge of God's will and of God's future intentions in relation to his church, which our Lord engages to send to us; and, where this is afforded, we have no reason to complain that gifts are withdrawn, of which, whether the cessation be foretold or no, the permanence is nowhere promised.

It appears, then, that the advent of the Paraclete and his abode among men would be, during any period of Christian history, sufficiently evinced by the existence of one or more inspired individuals, whose authority should govern, whose lights should guide, whose promises should console their less distinguished brethren; and by whom and in whom, as the agents and organs of his will, the Holy Ghost should be recognized as, in the absence of Christ, the governor and guardian of the church universal. But, if this be conceded, it will signify but very little, or (to speak more boldly, perhaps, but not less accurately) it will be a circumstance altogether insignificant, whether the instruction afforded be oral or epistolary; whether the government be carried on by the authority of a present lawgiver, or through the medium of rescripts bearing his seal, and, no less than his personal mandates, compulsory on the obedience of the faithful. In every government, whether human or divine, the amanuensis of a sovereign is an agent of his will no less ordinary and effectual than his herald; and St. Paul both might and did lay claim to an equal deference, when, in the name and on the behalf of that Spirit by whom he was actuated, he censured by his letters the incestuous Corinthian, as if he had, when present, and by word of mouth, pronounced the same ecclesiastical sentence.

It follows that the Holy Ghost as accurately fulfilled the engagement of Christ as the Patron and Governor of Christians, by the writings of the inspired person, when absent, as by his actual presence and preaching. And, if St. Paul, having once, by divine authority, set in order the Asiatic and Grecian churches, had departed for Spain or Britain or some other country at so great a distance as to render all subsequent communication impossible; yet still, so long as the instructions left behind sufficed for the wants and interests of the community, that community would not have ceased to be guided and governed by the Holy Ghost through the writings of his chosen servant.

But that authority which we allow to the writings of an absent Apostle, we cannot without offending against every analogy of reason and custom, deny to those which a deceased Apostle has left behind him. For the authority of such writings, I need hardly observe, is of an official, and not of a personal nature. It does not consist in their having emanated from Peter or James or John abstractedly considered, (in which case the authority of any one of them might, undoubtedly, terminate with his life), but their authority is founded in that faith which receives these persons as accredited agents of the Almighty. We reverence their communications as the latest edicts of the Paraclete; and we believe all further communications to have ceased for a time; not because these eminent servants of God have long since gone to their reward, for it were as easy for the Holy Spirit to raise up other prophets in their room, as it was originally to qualify them for that high office; not because we apprehend that the good Spirit is become indifferent to the welfare of the church, for this would be in utter contradiction to the gracious assurance of our Saviour: but because sufficient light has been already afforded for the government of our hopes and tempers; and because no subsequent question has occurred for which the Scriptures already given had not already and sufficiently provided.

But, are we free from the authority of an earthly Lord because his orders are not daily repeated? or hath the Lord Omnipotent ceased to reign among men, because he doth not, with the frivolous inconsistency of an eastern despot, continually reverse his own decrees; or delight, as if afraid of being forgotten, to terrify his subjects with incessant displays of his might and majesty? Surely his name is among us and his law is gone forth among men: he sendeth his commandment on earth, and his word runneth very swiftly: by the sword which goeth forth from his mouth shall his enemies be consumed before him; till all nations and people do him worthy reverence, and till the knowledge of Jehovah shall spread over the world as the waters cover the sea!

Nor does the case which has been urged of the pilot and his chart bear any real analogy to the hypothesis which I am now supporting. It was, we may observe, through the medium of this chart itself, or the instructions which this chart contains, (by the doctrine, that is, of the Holy Ghost, as expressed in the teaching or writings of the Apostles), that, even in the golden age of Christianity, the great body of the faithful were directed and consoled, and it is preposterous to tax the pilot with a desertion of our interests in the middle voyage, while we enjoy whatever advantages he conferred on first embarking.—The promise, let it be remembered, was not that he should steer the vessel but that he should give us knowledge to steer it for ourselves; and this knowledge is now and has been always afforded in those Scriptures which he daily offers to our attention. Those who apprehend that the Comforter is fled from the church forget apparently by whose care the Sacred Volume has been preserved to our time, entire and, in all essential points, uncorrupted;—by whose providential guidance all circumstances have been made to work together to give certainty and notoriety to his oracles,—and by whom we ourselves have been conducted to the fountain of life,—and the mirror of God's will held up to our imitation and gratitude. And, while the providence of the Holy Ghost secures to every member of Christ's church, the power of understanding mysteries which the prophets and kings of elder times have vainly desired to see, and which, till thus revealed, surpassed the intellect of angels, it is idle or worse than idle to deny that God is with us, because he works through secondary causes. Though in this dark and dangerous voyage, the lamp of our beacon be only visible, and not the gracious hand which lighted first and now sustains it,—yet may the eye of faith behold our guide standing on the battlements of heaven, directing the beams of comfort where they may best illustrate our course, and watching with a parent's love our progress over the stormy waters.—Shame on that blindness of soul which can look on the lights of the material firmament without blessing him who placed them and supports them there;—which can enjoy the Scriptures of the New Testament without thankfully acknowledging who he is that, by them, makes us wise unto salvation?—

Nor can we be taxed with inconsistency if, having before denied that the general care of Providence over the Church was that blessing which the Comforter was to bestow,—we now insist that he has perpetuated that blessing by this very Providence directed to a particular end. The scent of the rose and the tone of the lyre are wafted to us by the same circumambient air, but it is the distinctive circumstance and not the common vehicle which we mean to signify by the words "fragrance" or "melody." And, by whatever concurrence of events the Spirit of God has placed the volume of his will in our hands, it is by the operation itself and not the "modus operandi," that he fulfils his office of Paraclete.

In a larger sense, indeed, and, as pervaded by the influence of the Revelation of God's mercy and the Messiah's triumphant suffering, those rites of our religion which were already instituted before the day of Pentecost, and those common dispensations of the Spirit's mercy and power which we share with other ages and nations; have all of them received through this his advent, the splendour of reflected truth, and have gladdened the heart of the Christian with more than their original blessedness. The Rabbinical teacher of righteousness has become an Evangelist of Peace and Pardon. The Jewish rites of initiation and thanksgiving have expanded into symbols of celestial power and tropies of the Redeemer's victory. The course of political events has been sanctified by prophecy into an evidence of God's truth and wisdom. The light of grace which could only discover to the Gentile or the Jew the more awful attributes of their Maker's purity and justice,—now flings its steady lustre on redemption bought for us, and merits imputed to us, and everlasting happiness promised to us,—and the same Spirit who was to the saints of older time a guardian and sanctifier, is, to the happy follower of Christ, a Comforter.

But all these dispensations of the wisdom and might and grace of the Most High, derive their power of teaching and consoling us from a reference to Scripture only. By themselves they lead us into no truth;—by themselves they tell us nothing;—their meaning and value can only be fully understood from a previous examination of God's word,—and it is by this book alone which his Spirit first dictated and now puts into our hand, that the same good Spirit either guides us into truth, or shows us things to come,—or pleads the cause of Christ against the malice of the enemy and blasphemer. It is, then, as Dispenser of Supernatural truth, and as Teacher of the Doctrine of Redemption that the Holy Ghost sustains and has sustained his character as the Comforter which should come. And we conclude as Warburton concluded, (though he arrived at the same truth by a process somewhat different, and though he incumbered its definition with circumstances which I have shown to be irrelevant,) we conclude that this instruction is now conveyed to the world, in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

To this, however, two objections will be made: the first against the authority of those writings which are accepted by us as divine; the second against their sufficiency to provide for those spiritual necessities, to which the Church of Christ and the individuals of which it is composed, are collectively and severally liable. The first of these objections proceeds from those various misbelievers who deny the authority or inspiration of the several treatises which our canon of Scripture comprises; the second from such as maintain, that the Scriptures, though divine, are of themselves a rule of wax which the prejudices and passions of mankind may warp to any system which pleases them; and, who seek, accordingly, in the jurisdiction of the Church at large, or of some single ecclesiastical officer, a permanent and perceptible throne, wherein the Spirit of the Lord may dwell as the interpreter and administrator of those laws of which he is himself the Author.

The first of these objectors deny the law to which we appeal to be itself of sacred authority; the second demand some aid beyond the original promulgation of the law, in order, as they tell us, to render the law effectual. But the inspiration of the Scriptures and their sufficiency to answer the promise of our Saviour, are necessarily implied in an hypothesis which makes that sacred volume the instrument whereby the Holy Ghost continues to instruct and console the Church; and I am therefore concerned to maintain both the one and the other of these assertions, against the open enemies or injudicious friends of Christianity.

And, in the first, there are three propositions contained which will require to be severally defended. First, the personal inspiration of the reputed authors of our sacred volume: secondly, that the works which bear their names are with good reason received as their composition: thirdly, that the authors were actually inspired at the time of composing the treatises in question, and that the rules of faith and practice which they contain are, consequently, entitled to be received as the living dictates of Almighty Wisdom.

On all these subjects I am well aware, indeed, that, as from the multitude of my precursors but little of novelty is to be expected, so the approaching termination of the present Lectures affords a very insufficient scope for doing justice even to any single branch of the inquiry. But, if it be allowed me to conduct those doubts, which I want room to satisfy, into channels where satisfaction may be best obtained, if some principles of inquiry may be, at least, established, which may be improved by future diligence; neither my pains nor your attention will be altogether ill bestowed. It is something to point the way to truth, though it be a path which we must travel separately.

The first of those assertions, which our former proposition contains, has been often and satisfactorily proved from the miraculous powers with which the Apostles are said to have been endued, and to the reality of which not Christian writers only, but the earliest and most formidable antagonists of Christianity appear to have borne an ample testimony. Thus Celsus does not deny the fact that the founders of Christianity had a power of working miracles; he only argues against the inference which, from this acknowledged fact, the Christian sought to establish. The same admission is made by Julian the Apostate, as quoted by St. Cyrill. And the "Toldos Jeschu," of all the Jewish libels on our faith the most virulent and outrageous, which (though in its present form it doubtless belongs to a far later period) contains some traditions not unknown to Celsus himself, is full of the miracles both of Jesus and the Apostle Peter.

Nor can the credence which was given to these early miracles by the converts and even the enemies of our religion be justly ascribed to any peculiar readiness in the contemporaries of our earliest teachers, to acquiesce without examination in the fame of whatever was wonderful; and, from previous superstition, to admit the more readily a claim to supernatural power, from ignorance of those natural secrets which have become obvious even to the vulgar. To detect the falsehood (if any deception really lay hid) in the acts which the early Christians through Christ's name pretended to perform, was not a task which demanded the skill of an experimental philosopher, inasmuch as the removing of an obstinate malady is a fact of which the reality may be ascertained by the poorest villager. And of the prevailing parties into which the world was then divided, there were two at least who had every possible interest and inclination to unmask if possible the claims of a new religion, the heathen priests and the Epicurean philosophers. The first of these were disturbed in that monopoly of wonders which they had for so many ages peaceably enjoyed: the second, opposed, as they were from principle, to every thing which marked a superintending Providence, had already, in no small degree, succeeded in making the altars of Jupiter ridiculous; and were little inclined to suffer a new divinity to interrupt their dance of atoms. A time of general irreligion (and such was, undoubtedly, the prevailing characteristic of that period of which I now am speaking) is, of all others, least favourable to a belief in miraculous powers, inasmuch as where attention is refused, all possibility of faith is taken away.

Nor can a stronger proof be required of the prodigious sensation which the wonderful works of the early Christians produced in all the civilized countries of the world, than the total and practical change, a change extending beyond the bounds of the Church, to the shrines and courts and schools of heathenism itself, from that general indifference to all religion which distinguished the world from the days of Augustus to those of Nero; to that spirit of fanaticism which raised up in Apollonius and Iamblichus and Vespasian himself, the imitators at most humble distance of those works which (they could not deny) were, in the case of the Apostles, genuine. Had not Moses first turned the waters of Egypt into blood, we should never have heard of Jannes and Jambres essaying to do the like by their enchantments.

Above all, however, there is an internal evidence of the strongest kind in those works which are ascribed to the Apostles, which shows that their supernatural gifts were circumstances of general notoriety; and that they were of a nature which, had they been so inclined, it would have been utterly impossible to counterfeit. For not only did they assert the power in their own persons of healing the sick, of speaking with unknown tongues, of foretelling things to come; they asserted also, (and, in all the Epistles of St. Paul, we find incidental references to this fact,) that others, through them and by the imposition of their hands, became partakers of the same Spirit with themselves, and performed the same or greater miracles. And many of those Epistles contain specific and detailed directions for the use and improvement of such extraordinary powers, addressed to those who, in common with the writer, possessed and employed them.

Now, supposing it to be possible, that a religious empiric might so far impose on the credulity of his admirers as to instil into their minds the notion that he was himself a prophet and a worker of miracles; yet is it utterly preposterous to suppose, that such a deceiver would attempt at all, much more that he should attempt successfully, to make his followers believe that they themselves were inspired with miraculous faculties. To persuade me into an erroneous opinion, that Paul has the gift of tongues, is not beyond the compass of possibility; but it is neither in the power of Paul nor of an angel from heaven to induce me to believe, in contradiction to my own sensations and experience, that I myself have such a faculty. But the greater part of Paul's addresses to the Corinthians proceed on the supposition that those whom he addresses, had, since their conversion to Christianity, both possessed and exercised this faculty or faculties equally wonderful. So that either St. Paul, if he were an impostor, must have done that which would have immediately detected his imposition; or the miracles of the ancient Christian Church are established as perfectly authentic.

Is it supposed that the Corinthian converts were accomplices with the Apostles in their deceptions on the ignorant majority of mankind? To what purpose then does St. Paul thus gravely address them in a letter intended for their private instruction, as if those powers were real which both he and they sufficiently knew to be counterfeit? Do not confederates, when together in private, make haste to lay aside the mask? or do the kings and prophets of tragedy address each other in ordinary life with the same lofty language which they employ on the public theatre?

For, the Epistles of St. Paul are none of them, we may observe, immediately intended to enlarge the fame of Christianity among those who were as yet without its pale, or to attract from the Synagogue or the Academy an increasing harvest of converts. They are not, like the apologies of a later age, designed to obviate the objections and remove the prejudices which the Heathen entertained against Christianity; but they are addressed exclusively to those by whom that religion had been already adopted. *Their* differences are to be appeased; *their* errors to be corrected; *their* firmness in the faith to be encouraged and preserved; and *their* exertions directed in the proper path to victory. The Epistles to the Corinthians, in particular, (though they contain truths which are interesting to all, and counsels by which all may profit,) do not seem to apply in the first instance to the whole body of the Achæn Church, but are a series of private instructions for the conduct of the Bishops and Presbyters in that opulent and factious province.

And so little do we find of empirical ostentation in the tone with which the Apostle speaks of these extraordinary faculties, that the object of his address is expressly to lower the high opinion which such persons entertained of the gift of tongues and prophecy; to remind them that these powers, however extraordinary and brilliant, were of an utility only temporary; and that it was better and more blessed to excel in the common virtues of mutual temper and forbearance, than to attract by their miracles the gaze of mankind, and to win over others to salvation, while their own hearts continued unimproved.

If, then, the writings of the New Testament be really the production of those whose names they bear, the fact is certain, that their authors were men approved by God as instructors of mankind, and designated by him, through signs and wonders, to be prophets of his Son and organs of his inspiration.

And that these writings are really genuine, is a fact which rests on the united authority of internal evidence at once the most minute and pervading; of tradition primitive and universal; of the acknowledged reluctance which Christians have, in every period of their history, exhibited to affix, without long examination and accumulated weight of testimony, to works laying claim to divine authority, the seal of approbation and reverence. It is in this manner that the rejection by the Church of those numerous pretended Acts and Gospels, and Epistles, reckoned up by Beausobre, and the very difficulty with which some of the works contained in our present canon were admitted to that honourable station, may prove not only the indisputable authority of those in whose reception all ages and parties agree, but will also show that none, even of those which were longest doubted, were received without probable testimony.

Nor is this all: the Scriptures are yet more satisfactorily distinguished from the productions of more recent imposture by the weight of argument, the simplicity of narration, the dignity of devotion, the peculiar grace of candour and authority, which every where may be seen to shine through the rudeness of their Hellenistic dialect; and which, as they would have baffled the imitation of the most artful impostor, so none of those impostors whose works have descended to our time have, in reality, attempted to copy.

We have yet some spurious works which were offered, in their day, to the reverence of the world, as productions of Apostles and Evangelists; and we have fragments of many more, which the lapse of time and the merited contempt of the Church have long since consigned to oblivion. But of how different materials are these composed from those which distinguish the books of our present canon! Unnecessary and childish miracles; discourses tedious and ill-constructed; and a temper altogether alien from that which is displayed in the genuine New Testament; sufficiently mark out the infinite difference between the authentic oracles and human counterfeits of inspiration; and evince their hopeless daring, who, with mortal flames, would strive to emulate the force and brightness of Heaven's own inimitable lightning.

When we compare, indeed, the acknowledged compositions of the uninspired though primitive Fathers of the Church, themselves distinguished ornaments of Christianity, the pupils of the Apostles, and possessed, in all but supernatural aid, of equal or even superior advantages to the Apostles themselves; when we compare their writings with those ascribed to their illustrious teachers, is it possible to conceal from ourselves the utter incompetency of Clemens or Hermas or Polycarp to have counterfeited the narrations of St. Luke, St. Matthew, or St. John; or the masterly train of reasoning which runs through the polemical writings of St. Paul? What monstrous fables would have filled our Gospel history, had Papias been its compiler! What endless refinements of allegorical and cabbalistic learning would have disfigured the Epistles, if the Fathers of the second century had palmed their own compositions on the world as the works of St. Peter and St. John!

I will go yet farther: when we find the Apostolic Scriptures so greatly superior to all other Christian writings of any sect or period whatever, can we forbear inquiring, from what peculiar circumstance should this pre-eminence arise, unless from that inspiration in which only the Barbarian teachers of our faith can be supposed to have excelled their Grecian converts?

On the nature and extent, however, of this inspiration, a great but very natural difference of opinion has, in every age of the Church, prevailed: and not only have the open enemies of our faith attempted to reduce the Apostolic writings to the level of merely human productions; but men, whom it would be uncharitable and unjust to accuse of disaffection to the general cause of Christianity, have sought, nevertheless, to further the views of their particular party by diminishing, as far as possible, the authority of such parts of Scripture as have appeared least favourable to their claims; or, in their controversies with the infidel, have so greatly narrowed their definitions of the Divine assistance accorded to the earliest preachers of the Gospel, as to deprive our hope of the corner-stone of its foundation, and to leave hardly more of efficacy to the written oracles of everlasting truth, than to the dictates of earthly prudence, and the recollection of mortal and fallible witnesses.

It is not, on the other hand, to be concealed, that this low opinion of inspiration is the consequence, in some degree, of that natural revulsion which an opposite and overstrained hypothesis is apt to occasion in acute and inquiring minds; and that, if modern Christians be in the habit of receding too much, the claims and language of some earlier doctors were considerably too high and unbending. To state and to mediate between the several schemes which have, on this important subject, excited and divided the attention of mankind, must be the work of a future Sermon.

LECTURE VIII.

I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.—*John* xvi. 7.

Having established, from the fact of those miraculous gifts wherewith the power of God endued the earliest teachers of Christianity, the consequent fact of their prophetic mission, it might seem, at first sight, to follow as a necessary corollary, that to all their assertions, whether oral or committed to writing, no less a deference was due than to the sacred oracles of God; that the entire New Testament, as their undoubted and genuine composition, must be received as the embodied dictates of eternal truth and wisdom; and that, by this single present to the Christian world, the Holy Ghost has sufficiently redeemed his gracious pledge of becoming through every succeeding age our Guide, our Guardian, and our Comforter.

For, though two of the Gospels, and the narration of the Acts of the Apostles, are composed, indeed, by men who were not themselves of that number, and to whom we have no sufficient grounds for ascribing the gift of personal inspiration, yet were Mark and Luke the companions and amanuenses of the two most considerable elders, and the histories which bear their name were written, if we believe the almost universal voice of antiquity, under Apostolic dictation and revisal. They even bore, among the writers, of the primitive Church, the names respectively of those two illustrious teachers whose sentiments they were supposed to convey; and were known no less as the Gospels of St. Peter and St. Paul than as the works of their familiar attendants.

Had the case, indeed, been different, we have every reason to suppose, from the acknowledged conduct of the Christian world in other and similar instances, that these works would never have been received as standard histories by the great majority of believers, nor have been placed on the same level of reverence and authority with the corresponding productions of persons confessedly inspired. There were, we know, many other distinguished teachers, who were, as well as Mark and Luke, the contemporaries and companions of the twelve; and some of whom, no less than these Evangelists, have left behind them written relics of their zeal in the service of Jesus. Such was Clement, the "fellow-labourer" of St. Paul; such was Hermas, whom the same great Apostle salutes by name; such Ignatius, who has been himself, however truly, accounted as, no less than the Apostles, an eye-witness of our Lord's resurrection.

Yet where can we find in the annals of primitive religion that the acknowledged writings of these men, or men like these, were appealed to by the Church as the charters of her profession, or any otherwise made use of by the assembled faithful than as human sources of instruction?

Again, there are certain treatises in our present canon, and many others which have at different times pretended to a place in it, whose right to that eminent station has been severely contested, both by ancient and modern criticism. But the authority of such works has been contested, on the single ground that they were not in truth composed by the Apostles, to whose writing or dictation they were ascribed. That they are, many of them, of antiquity equal to the Apostolic writings themselves, that they are the productions of men who lived with the Apostles, and were the preachers of a common faith with them, as their strongest opposers have admitted, so has not this admission been accounted by their most eager defenders as sufficient to establish their canonical authority. The dispute has been restricted by common consent to their authenticity, and their authenticity only; nor are they quoted as Scripture by any of the Christian Fathers, who did not, as it should seem, believe them to have been the work either of an Apostle, or his amanuensis. And so perfectly has the authority of this last been in every age identified with that of the Saint to whom he ministered, that, among the various sects whose errors and controversies have deformed the face of religion, while some are not wanting who have professed to build their faith on the testimony of Luke alone; yet have none been found who, receiving the Gospels of John and Matthew, have ascribed to their authority a higher rank than that of the two other Evangelists. A deference this, which there could be no reason for paying to Mark and Luke, rather than to their companions and contemporaries, to Apollos and Hermas and Clemens, if it were not that the former had been in every age regarded as the channels of Apostolic inspiration, the official transcribers of facts or doctrines delivered by infallible authority.

But though the writers or dictators of the entire New Testament are respected by the great majority of Christians as messengers of the will of Heaven, yet, in the application of this common principle to the authority of the works which bear their names, so great a difference of opinion has prevailed, as may lead us to suspect that those who use the term of inspiration, have not been always agreed as to the idea which they meant to convey by it.

In the language of the ancient Fathers, and in the ordinary opinion which, from feeling rather than conviction, has continued since their time to pass current with the Christian world, the gift of inspiration is to a considerable extent identified with omniscience and infallibility. It has not been supposed to consist in a succession of distinct revelations, communicated at various times to the person whom the Almighty selected as his messenger; but it has been considered as a continual and pervading obsession of the Deity, inspiring every thought and prompting every action, in conformity with truth and wisdom, and establishing the favoured individual as a living oracle of God most High, whose lips were the fountain of universal knowledge, and whose earthly sentence was faithfully registered in heaven. And, if such were the fact, no doubt could be entertained that, in their writings no less than their words, and in every fact, every doctrine, every argument which their genuine writings contain, we are bound to reverence and obey the declarations of the Almighty, no less than if we had received them graven on stone by his hand, or heard them proclaimed in accents of thunder from the smoking summit of Mount Sinai.

Between the tongue and the pen, as organs of expression, no difference can be conceived, which should render the last less proper than the former to convey celestial knowledge to mankind. If the inspired oration of a prophet be faithfully committed to writing, whatever authority the sounds at first possessed, the image of those sounds must, on every principle of reason and precedent, retain. If the Prophet himself declare with accuracy those ideas which the Almighty suggests to his soul, it can make no difference whether he declare them by the conventional sign of spoken or of written language.

But this perpetual and pervading inspiration of the Apostles is unfortunately the very subject in dispute; and I have shown, in my Seventh Lecture, that the divine assistance, which we believe the Apostles to have enjoyed, may be more plausibly regarded as a limited and occasional assistance only, a conductor not into all truth abstractedly considered, but into every truth which was necessary to be known to the Founders of the new religion of grace and pardon; to the missionaries of a certain definite creed, which at various times, and with various degrees of clearness, was communicated to them by vision or inspiration. But if it be granted, and I own I do not see on what principle either of reason or revelation it can be denied, that the guidance of the Spirit, as vouchsafed to the Apostles, was, indeed, thus occasional and limited, it must be an inquiry of the utmost delicacy and importance to ascertain the occasions on which, and the bounds within which it was accorded. And so far as the Scriptures of the New Testament are concerned, it will be demanded, first, what reason we have to ascribe any part of them to the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and, secondly, how much of them is to be received as proceeding from a source so sacred, and what is our criterion for distinguishing between the fallible opinion and the authoritative command, between the imperfect recollection of an earthly witness, and the all-sufficient testimony of that glorious Being, to whom the past, the present, and the future are eternally and equally known?

If all was not inspired which an Apostle wrote or uttered, how many and of what nature were the orations or treatises composed under celestial influence? How can we be sure that those works of theirs which have been handed down to our times were indeed among the favoured number? Nay more, what reason have we for supposing that any of their written compositions were inspired at all? What internal marks of heavenly aid do they present? Where do they themselves lay claim to a privilege so extraordinary? or where is the promise of our Lord, which would lead us to expect that such aid would be accorded? The Son of God, indeed, assures them that, on certain solemn occasions of peculiar alarm and peril, when they were called before kings and rulers for his sake, and for the sake of the Gospel, their unpremeditated eloquence should be prompted and sustained by the internal aid of the Spirit. But we find, it may be urged, no similar necessity or promise in the case of such labours as were carried on in the tranquil solitude of the study or the oratory, or which were addressed to private friends. But, are they their public and official communications which only are to be received as divine? At what point does the distinction between public and private begin? Are the letters to Timothy, to Titus, and Philemon official? The writings of St. Luke, which are also addressed to an individual, can they or can they not be said to answer this description? Such are some of the leading difficulties which, on the question whether the Scriptures of the New Testament were inspired, have been a subject of triumph to the infidel, and to the weak believer, of perplexity and alarm. That both the triumph and the alarm have been alike premature, may appear, perhaps, from the following observations.

First, it was, *a priori*, highly probable, that the supernatural assistance of the Almighty, which informed, on certain occasions, the oral and extemporaneous effusions of the Apostles, should direct, on others, their pens no less than their tongues to the instruction and benefit of mankind. It was to be expected that some of their writings, as well as some of their speeches, should proceed from the inspiration of God. And this may be shown from the necessity of the case; from the analogy of the Mosaic dispensation; from the promises of Christ in the Gospel; and from the assertions of the Apostles themselves.

That the comforts and lessons of Christianity were intended as a common benefit to every nation and every age of mankind, it is altogether unnecessary to prove. It is a dispensation in which all are concerned, and which was destined, therefore, to be made known to all. The truths which it reveals are tidings of great joy, which the Apostles were to communicate to all people, and of which the knowledge was to proceed both conquering and to conquer, till the universal earth should be covered with the glory of the Lord, and till the annointed Son should descend again in power to reap the harvest of his sufferings. But, that to the extension and perpetuity of religious truth the existence of written documents is a circumstance of the first necessity, will be allowed by all who have, in common life, appreciated the uncertainties of popular fame, and the corruptible nature of oral tradition. Unless indeed, (what no religion, either false or true, has as yet pretended to,) the truth were in every successive age divulged and guarded by a never-ending line of inspired instructors; unless such instructors, too, were in every age sufficiently numerous to be accessible by every believer; it is apparent that the knowledge which mankind might retain must be more and more imperfect and impure in proportion as it receded from the parent fountain; and that, without some storehouse of original principles, which might confirm the weak, recal the wandering, and expose and repress the wilful innovator, the religious opinions of the world would be little less fluctuating and unstable than the fashions of our attire and the varying idioms of our language.

But that such a rule of practice and belief could be afforded by the compositions of human and unassisted wisdom will be asserted, I apprehend, by none. A rule must, in itself, be absolute and definitive, for it would, otherwise, be no rule at all. But human authority can never be definitive, since whatever right Augustin may possess to propose his sentiments as most agreeable to truth and virtue, the same right, undoubtedly, has Jerome or Epiphanius to question the propriety of his decision. If the apostles thought fit, on their own authority, to recommend to their own followers the practice of celibacy, it was not beyond the authority of any one among those followers to declare himself of a contrary opinion. Or, supposing the recommendation to have been a command, yet, provided that command was given in their capacity of ecclesiastical rulers only, their successors in the government of the church would have, at least, an abstract right to reverse that decree when it seemed to them expedient. Wherefore, indeed, do we appeal in controversy to the apostolic writings, rather than to the more learned volumes of Origen, of Clemens, of Augustin, of Chrysostom, if we do not appeal to them as the dictates of God himself? It is in vain to say, nor will it, I apprehend, be urged in answer, that because Peter or James or John are in certain cases inspired, whatever falls from their mouth is therefore to be received as sacred, whether they are at that time inspired or no. Such an answer would be obnoxious to all the difficulties attendant on the old hypothesis of a permanent inspiration, with the additional and yet more portentous absurdity of ascribing that weight to human authority which the other only imputed to Divine. Who is Paul? Who is Barnabas? Who are James or John or Peter, that we should put our trust in them, if our trust be not reposed in them as the accredited messengers of the Allwise and Alltrue? But, is it the messenger himself whom we honour and obey; or is it not rather that royal message which he bears to all the nations of the world, the subjects and children of Him who sitteth on the throne, the redeemed of the Lamb that was slain? If, then, the speech or the epistle on which we are commanded to build our faith, be not the authentic message of God, the only claim is gone which the messenger possessed on our belief, our obedience, and our attention; and the sentiments of John, of Peter, and of Paul will possess no more authority than the private opinion of an herald or ambassador, abstracted from that law or treaty which only speaks his master's will. And these observations may suffice to show the weak and inconsistent conduct of those who restrict the inspired commission of the apostles to the delivery of certain important truths, which they style the essentials of Christianity. With them it is indeed a frequent boast, that by renouncing the plenary inspiration of Scripture, they deprive, in many instances, the common enemies of the Faith, of that vantage ground from which they have been long accustomed to assail it. And it is, certainly, convenient, in their controversies with other and more orthodox Christians, to reply to such texts as are urged against their peculiar opinions, that the apostles have in these instances spoken without authority; or that, however they themselves may have been enabled to "think with the wise," it was no part of their commission to do otherwise than "talk with the vulgar."

But it is the misfortune of the Scythian mode of warfare, that it is only suited to a territory, which, like Scythia, is little worth preserving; and that the practice once begun, of abandoning to the pursuer whatever parts of Scripture it does not exactly suit us to defend, no means of defence will at length remain for those tenets themselves which we now regard as of vital importance. If it be advanced and admitted, that for any point of faith the assertions of Scripture are not sufficient authority; if St. Paul, for instance, were mistaken or insincere in his expressions as to the existence of evil spirits, or the immaterial nature of the soul of man; what reason have Christians for their confidence, that a future state of retribution may not be a faulty inference from insufficient grounds, or a compliance with Jewish error? How are we to be sure that, on the Unity of God himself, the apostles themselves may not have mistaken their Master, or that the Son of God has not, in this instance, conformed (as, they blush not to tell us, he, in the case of the Demoniacs, conformed his manner of expression) to the established usages of speech, and the popular superstition of his countrymen?

Nor is the case much bettered by supposing with Simon and Warburton, that, though of the New Testament, only a few conspicuous truths are immediately prompted by the Holy Ghost, yet in all the rest the human recollection and reason of the apostles were so restricted by a superintending Providence, that nothing can be found in their volumes by which a material error can be introduced into faith or practice. For that is, indeed, a wretched sanction of a law, to plead that no harm can arise from following its letter; nor does any man obey the Scriptures as a rule of faith and conduct, because there is no danger in such obedience, but because we incur the greatest of all dangers by a contrary course of behaviour, a danger no less than that of disobeying Him whose detailed and definite injunctions are made known by these his testimonies. We cannot, if we would, disguise it from ourselves; if the general inspiration of the Scriptures be not conceded, the Scriptures are not the word of God; and, if not the word of God, then have they no rational hold on our faith, our practice, our hopes, or our fears. They are the law of the Most High, or denouncing, as they do, the vengeance of God against all wilful transgressors of their precepts, that holy name is used by them without authority, and their contents are imposture and blasphemy.

If, then, a written law be necessary to the extension and perpetuity of religion; and if the qualities of a religious law can be only possessed by a rule of God's dictation, it is beforehand to be strongly presumed, that a law which corresponds both to one and the other of these particulars has not been withheld from the followers of Jesus of Nazareth. And this probability is yet farther increased by a consideration of the analogy of God's previous conduct with the Israelites under the Mosaic dispensation. It is no essential part of my present purpose (though it is a task which, on a proper occasion, I should certainly not decline) to demonstrate the general inspiration of the Scriptures of the elder Covenant: but it is sufficient for my argument to adduce the acknowledged fact, that certain written laws were given by divine inspiration to the Hebrew Church; that Moses was commanded by Jehovah to write down his words in a book; and that the Prophets announce their volumes to the world as the express and infallible dicta of the Most High. But, if a written code of faith and morals be as necessary to the followers of Christ as to those who were taught by Moses, it is probable that the advantage, which was graciously accorded to the introductory and less perfect dispensation, would be, *a fortiori*, conceded to those on whom the adoption and the ends of the world are come.

In vain, indeed, was it promised by the Messiah to his chosen Twelve, that the Comforter which was to come, should guide them into all religious truth, if the truths thus revealed were to perish with themselves, or their cotemporaries and immediate audience. In vain did the Spirit implant in the minds of his messengers a perfect remembrance of every word which their departed Lord had spoken, if those blessed words were again to be entrusted to the dubious recollection, or still more dubious integrity, of their human and unassisted successors. I do not mean, that the leading facts on which our Christian faith is grounded might not continue in full force of evidence, and deserve by their native dignity our fullest reverence and wonder, though the writings in which they are recorded were degraded from the rank which they now maintain to the level of human compositions. In point of fact this is even now the case, inasmuch as no one in his senses would begin to prove the life, and death, and miracles, and resurrection of our Lord from the previous assumption, that the histories which we possess of those occurrences were inspired and infallible compositions: but, as unfolding to us the secret springs of Providence, by which those facts were caused, and the results to which those facts conducted; as affording an authoritative rule of life, and, on certain conditions, a no less infallible assurance of immortality; if the Scriptures are reduced to the level of a human composition, their force and efficacy are gone.

We might still believe that Christ was born, and wrought miracles, and died, and rose again: but those awful scenes of power and suffering and victory would present, in such a case, no further and no better practical results to the soul, than the tale of Agamemnon or of Œdipus. It would not more necessarily follow from the resurrection of one man, that all mankind should be raised from the dead, than it would follow from the manner of his death, that all mankind should, like him, be crucified, or that they should rise, if they rose, on the third day after their dissolution. It was for God alone to declare, (and, if the Scriptures be not inspired, I know not where he has declared it,) it was for God to declare, in what respect and for what reason our Lord was the representative of the universal human race. And, if this declaration has been nowhere made, we are dust and ashes still.

And, this probability that some written law would be given to men, which arises from the necessity of such an assistance, is materially increased by the circumstance of that inspiration which, we know from Scripture, was, at times accorded to the unpremeditated discourses of the apostles. There were, we know, occasions, when it was not the preachers of the gospel who spake, but the Holy Ghost who dwelt within them; and, if those orations whereby they themselves alone were delivered from violence; if that preaching by which the immediate hearers only were benefitted, were instinct with such a sacred power, it might be expected, on still stronger grounds, that the same good guidance would not abandon them in the composition of those writings which were to edify a people yet unborn, and to convey the glad tidings of salvation to the extremest corners of the earth, and to the latest march of time. If the κοῦφοι καὶ πτηνοὶ λόγοι were not suffered to go forth without a peculiar and supernatural Providence, is it probable that those documents which are the κτήματα ἐς ἀεὶ of believers, the κειμήλια of our faith, our hope, our daily practice, our apology and our crown among men, should not be stamped with the same broad seal of Almighty truth, the same credentials of infallibility?

It was naturally, therefore, to be expected, that some certain writings of the Apostles would be sent forth under the direction of God's Spirit; and, if this be once conceded, it will not be easy on any ground of reason or likelihood to deny this sacred character to those treatises which are come down to us under their names. They are marked by every character of official and authoritative documents; they are addressed by inspired men in their prophetic capacities, either to the general Church of Christ, or to the particular branches into which that Church was divided, or to individuals who fitly represented considerable bodies of Christians. And whether immediately addressed to individuals or no, they are alike on subjects of public importance; subjects where, of all others, the aid of the Holy Ghost was most needful and most to be expected; the exposition, namely, of the doctrines of the Christian faith, or the regulation of the Christian republic. Nor, however slightly it has been of late years usual to appreciate the value of tradition, can it be denied, that the universal prejudice (if it deserved no better name) which, in the very earliest ages of the church, received as Divine those writings which they then esteemed authentic, must lead us to suppose that these solemn instructions were communicated by the Apostles themselves, and received by those for whose benefit they were intended, with some very perceptible and striking difference from such of their communications, if any such there were, as were dictated by their human reason or their private friendship only: and that, (as St. Paul is acknowledged to have done, in one remarkable passage of his Epistle to the Corinthians,) they observed in every instance a broad and constant line of demarcation between the dictates of the Most High, and the opinion or request of a simple fellow-creature.

And that the Apostles themselves laid claim to a divine authority for the principles and precepts laid down in the several works which are read in the assemblies of the faithful, is apparent from many expressions in those works themselves. In one of them St. Paul addresses the Corinthians, as "an ambassador for Christ," "as though God did beseech them by him." "If any man," he observes, "think himself to be a Prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge those things which I write unto you, that they are the commandments of the Lord." Nor should we omit that the Epistles of Paul are mentioned by St. Peter on the same footing, and in the same manner, with the avowedly inspired writings of the Old Testament, and that the author of the Apocalypse professes to have written, by the express dictation of the Spirit, to the churches of Asia Minor. That objection, then, is no less futile than common, which was first advanced by Spinoza against the doctrine for which I contend, that the Apostles themselves make no claim to inspiration in favour of their writings. And, indeed, as it is a distinction utterly immaterial, whether a man say, "This is the Lord's message," or, "I the messenger of the Lord speak this to you;" the ordinary superscription of "Apostle of Christ," which precedes the greater number of the treatises contained in the New Testament, is an assertion no less absolute of official and inspired authority, than if they were explicitly entitled "The Word of the Lord which came to his servant Paul," or introduced themselves to our attention and reverence by the old prophetic formula of "Thus saith Jehovah."

With still less reason has Spinoza urged, in answer to such claims as these, that St. Paul himself has, on a certain occasion, expressed himself as doubtful whether he spake by inspiration or no; and that, in another and yet more remarkable passage, he cautions his hearers against receiving that particular sentence as any other than his private opinion. The first of these passages has been very clearly explained to be no otherwise than an ironical reproof of those who affected to doubt his apostolic powers. With the solution which Horbery has given of the second, I acknowledge that, ingenious as it is, I am not altogether satisfied. But, in truth, on the principle that *exceptio probat regulam*, this passage, as it is usually understood, is among the strongest proofs of the general inspiration of Scripture; inasmuch as no one would state in his discourses or letters that for such or such particular expressions he was himself to answer, unless he intended to imply, that in the remainder of his address he spoke from another and a higher authority. Nor is the same objector much more fortunate, when he urges against the inspired authority of the Christian Scriptures, that the Apostles, by their frequent appeals to human reason, surrender tacitly the character of God's heralds and instruments, for that of human doctors and disputants. "It is the part," he tells us, "of the Almighty, as it is the part of any absolute sovereign, to command, not to argue: since not only where the will of a sovereign is expressed is argument on the expediency of that will superfluous; but since the very use of argument or persuasion to induce men to obey implies, in itself, a deficiency of power to compel obedience."

But all these circumstances, so inconsistent, as we are told, with the notion of a celestial command, are found in the writings of our New Testament; and it is therefore concluded, that whatever value they may possess as faithful histories of supernatural facts, or judicious expositions of natural and moral duties, they can have none as authoritative declarations of the will of Him whose will alone is sufficient ground of obligation and obedience.

I have given this objection thus at length, because it is, I believe, the foundation, in many instances, of that reluctance which has been so prevalent, to ascribe to our Scriptures the honour which they may justly claim; and because, from its plausibility, it calls for a more satisfactory answer than the learned Simon, in whose Critical History I first saw it, has, in my opinion, supplied. His answer may be reduced to the following assertions: "That prophecy is not to be confounded with enthusiasm; that the Spirit of God which supplied the Apostles with supernatural knowledge did not extinguish or overpower their natural reason or their previous human acquirements; and that it was permitted them to employ both the one and the other of these lights for the purpose of persuading the people."

Now this is nothing else than to admit that, though the subject matter of the argument be divine, and though the facts which is intended to illustrate be communicated absolutely and infallibly, the arguments and illustrations arise from the Apostles themselves, and are, properly speaking, no part of God's revelation. But this, while it is an admission of the utmost delicacy and danger, is by no means a sufficient answer to the objection advanced by the unbeliever; since, if it became, as he supposes, the Almighty, on all occasions where he taught his creatures at all, to teach them dogmatically and peremptorily; it became him no less to direct the tongue or pen of his inspired Apostles in the manner most suitable to his dignity. And, above all, it would have been, on their part, a frantic presumption, to endeavour to supply, by their own glosses or observations, any supposed deficiency in the message of him by whom they were employed. It is more to the purpose to show, (and the means of doing so are fortunately in the Christian's power), that it is unworthy neither of an earthly nor an almighty sovereign to convince and persuade his subjects to obedience; and that there are precedents, to which Spinoza at least could not have objected, where Jehovah has not in his own person disdained to apply to the natural reason and former experience of his people Israel.

If the question were of power alone, it might, indeed, become the majesty of kings to enforce a blind and mechanical obedience to every dictate of their will or wisdom; and it might be sufficient for the King of kings to produce by a single fiat whatever effect he now produces by the intervention of the human will, and by discovering to his creatures such motives for action, as, by their free and affectionate service, may produce the result desired. But the earthly monarch, who proposed the first of these as the object of his highest ambition, instead of the leader of men, would be the driver of cattle only: the Deity who should rule his creatures by the single operation of necessity, would be degraded into the regulator of a machine. But, if it be more worthy of a righteous king to make his people subjects than slaves; if a good God be more excellently glorified by the grateful duty of his offspring, than by the mere accomplishment of certain purposes by the weight of overruling authority; if goodness and wisdom are, both with men and God, more illustrious attributes than strength or eminent station; it can excite no wonder that both should, on certain occasions, convince where they might compel, and persuade where it was in their power to command. If it were unworthy of God to set forth in a true light to mankind the reasonableness of that service which he requires at their hands, or that confidence which it is his pleasure that they should place in him; if he could not, without too much condescension, enforce and explain the motives whereby he seeks to influence us; the same objection would lie with equal justice against the proposition of any motives whatever; and the promise of definite rewards, and the threat of definite punishments, would be superfluous alike in him who might, without warning or explanation, pour forth the full measure of his wrath on those who presumed to doubt or disobey. But if it be not unworthy of an allwise Being to govern mankind by those passions and those rational powers which he has implanted in them, no reason can be given why the same great Teacher should not illustrate and explain, as seems best to himself, from the principles of human reason and experience, those discoveries which he proposes to us whether of his nature or his will.

Accordingly, in the whole tenour of the Old Testament, we find that the Almighty has pursued this course with his people. It is thus that (before he condemns, by the mouth of Samuel, the disobedience of the first king of Israel) he enlarges on the benefit which he had in the first instance conferred, and the ingratitude with which Saul had repaid them. It is thus that, in the fifth chapter of Isaiah, Jehovah calls on the men of Judah themselves, to judge "what more could have been done than he had done for his vineyard?" Thus, too, he explicitly invites, in the first chapter of the same prophet, his people to "reason" with their God, when he urges on their common sense the inutility of that vain parade of sacrifice and outward honour whereby the wicked hoped to conciliate him. Will it be contended, that the prophets in these instances speak from themselves and on their own responsibility? Then are they in the strictest sense of the word impostors; for every one of these passages, no less than innumerable others which might be cited to the same effect, are introduced by them as the message, nay, as the words of Jehovah. But would Spinoza have openly ventured to refuse a divine authority to those laws which God in person pronounced to his assembled nation, under every imaginable circumstance of supernatural majesty and terror? If not, then, certainly we need seek no further precedent wherein the Ruler of the world has vouchsafed to argue with men, since even then he scorned not to deduce his claim on their obedience from the mercies which they had received from him, and to assign as a reason why they should keep his laws, that he was their God, who had brought them out of the house of bondage. The Almighty, doubtless, may draw his children "with the cords of a man," he may humble his language to our conceptions, and exact from us a service reasonable as well as implicit, without degrading his dignity in those dispensations whereby his love is chiefly magnified. For all which we have received at his hands be to him all praise and glory; but for this above all, that, by enduing us with power to know him in part as he is, he has called forth and concentrated the best and most pleasurable affections of our nature, and enabled us to build an image to him in our hearts, to whose awful beauty we may direct our prayers, and whose perfect excellence we may, at humble distance emulate!

But, though the practice of reasoning with his creatures be far, very far indeed, from degrading to the Almighty Teacher; yet is there much plausibility in one observation of Spinoza, against which Simon heavily inveighs; "that there is, in the very act of reasoning, a submission to the sentence of others; and that arguments, by whomsoever advanced, do, inasmuch as they are arguments, challenge refutation." The same may be said, indeed, of every mode by which the Allwise has manifested to mankind his existence, his nature, or his will, since, even in the case of a visible glory, the question might arise, whether the vehicle employed were worthy of him whom it represented; and since, when God condescends for our instruction to become an historian or a lawgiver, he subjects himself, whether he makes use of argument or no, to those rules of criticism by which we decide on human compositions. And if in any of those particulars for which human works are condemned, the work which claims to proceed from him be found defective, though it would be preposterous impiety to attribute error of any kind to God, it would be a conclusion warranted by every principle of reason and reverence, that a composition unworthy of our most exalted ideas of God did not, in truth, proceed from him. Accordingly, if we produce the Scriptures to the world as a code of laws or narrative of events of divine and infallible authority, we may be reasonably expected to prove against all assailants, either that the volume which we revere is both in manner and matter faultless and unimpeachable, or that the faults of its human promulgators are not inconsistent with that aid and authority of the Holy Ghost, which the terms of infallibility and inspiration in their natural sense imply.

But the objections of the infidel are directed at once against the style and the matter of those works whose merits we are now discussing, since in both, as we are told, is the volume of the New Testament assailable. "Its language is, at best, the language of a Jewish Greek: its arguments and assertions, by the confession of one of its own prophets, occasionally hard to be understood; of its contents there are some which its authors might have well supplied from their natural recollection or their natural reason only; and some so trifling, that its seems little less than blasphemy to ascribe them to any higher source than common prudence or civility. Nor is this all. There are circumstances, trifling circumstances indeed, and which, if they occurred in a work of human skill, would be altogether unworthy of reprehension, where the authority of Scripture is at variance with itself, or with uninspired but credible testimony."

Of these imputations, it would be easy to show, and it has, in fact, been often shown satisfactorily, that by far the greater part of the passages on which they depend will by no means bear up the consequences which infidelity has sought to raise on them. As some however will still be found, which the best and wisest of men have deemed it easier to evade than explain, it is necessary and it is sufficient to demonstrate, that the allegations, where they are accurate, do not apply to their intended purpose, and that we have still ample grounds for ascribing to every part of the New Testament, a sufficient though not an equal share of Divine inspiration and authority.

I say, a sufficient but not equal share, because as the works of which our sacred volume is composed are of many different kinds, and have been produced under circumstances extremely dissimilar, it would be unreasonable to expect the same sort or measure of celestial aid to be accorded to all indiscriminately; and it is on every principle of argument sufficient, if we can show that none of them have been without that degree of help which would identify their authority with the divine instructions.

And, here, it will be allowed on all hands, that inspiration and infallibility must, in their strictest sense, be predicated of those expressions which, as they follow in order, have been immediately dictated by God. Such are those ordinances and messages in the Book of Moses, and in the ancient prophecies, where the Almighty himself exactly specifies the sentences to be written down; so that, though the translation of such passages into another language be liable, beyond a doubt, to human error and infirmity, in the original at least, not only the purport but the style and arrangement are truly and exclusively Divine. And, so far as such passages extend, those lofty claims to literal inspiration for which the Jews are ridiculed by Warburton, and the proverbs and parables whereby they were accustomed to illustrate and enforce the sanctity, not of the words alone but of the letters and particles of letters, "every jot and tittle of their law," were justifiable, undoubtedly, and laudable, inasmuch as that form of words, which God had himself made use of, must needs have been, of all others, the best, and best suited to his purpose.

And, though there are very few passages, (two or three at most there are,) in the course of the New Testament, which are given as the very words of the Almighty Father, or as proceeding from either of the other Persons of the Trinity, in their divine and eternal nature; yet can there be no doubt that the words of the Son while on earth are, no less than these, the accents of infinite wisdom and goodness, and that they merit as much of reverence from his followers as those which, before his incarnation, he addressed to the tribes in Horeb, or which, after his exaltation, he spake to St. Paul or St. John. Were error, then, detected here, the most reverent conclusion which we could draw would be, that the Apostles had mistaken their Master; a conclusion at once decisive against the inspiration of the work which they have given us. But, concerning the sentiment and wisdom of our Lord's discourses, we have not, even with infidels, any controversy. And, as these divine expressions were, when uttered, in a different language from that in which they are transmitted to our time, the question of their style and grammatical accuracy must naturally fall under another branch of our inquiry, since, however, the followers of Christ profess to have been divinely assisted in the *recollection* of their Master's words, they, in no instance that I am aware of, lay claim to any celestial aid in their *translation*.

Nor will this admission in the slightest degree contravene the inspired authority of the New Testament, since, secondly, a written document may properly be called inspired, when the sentiments and ideas which its words convey are suggested by the Holy Ghost; though the words in which those sentiments are clothed be entirely left to the human and unassisted genius of the writer. And this is that species of assistance which was especially promised by Christ to the original teachers of his Gospel, whom the Comforter was to guide, we are told, into all religious truth, but of whom it is no where said, that the Spirit should put his power in their lips, or that he should enable them to express to others their own internal perceptions with supernatural force of sacred eloquence. Nor is that opinion either improbable in itself, or inconsistent with the pretensions of the sacred writers, which apprehends that the Holy Ghost might thus illuminate the inward man with knowledge which the favoured individual was not necessarily qualified to disclose to mankind, with all that energy or clearness of diction which, if the same good Spirit had so pleased, it was, doubtless, in his power to have conferred. If a prophetic vision were exhibited to Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa, it by no means followed that he should be able to describe what he had seen in the same pomp of diction and glow of colouring as the high-born poet Isaiah. Had Newton been, in other respects, uneducated, his discoveries in astronomy would neither have improved his elocution nor his style. And if we suppose, what we cannot help supposing, that the ideas communicated by Almighty power would affect the mind precisely in the same manner with those which are generated by memory or reflexion, it is apparent that the process by which ideas are presented or combined is altogether distinct from that by which they are clothed in those conventional signs, which convey to other men the result of our internal meditation. How often do we conceive with force and clearness, what we are unable at the moment to express with elegance or fluency? And what closer connexion does there exist between the original conception and the choice of words, than between the choice of words and the hand-writing? It was possible, then, to be inspired with a knowledge of celestial truth, without any corresponding improvement in natural or artificial eloquence. That wisdom which committed, in the first instance, to earthen vessels, the treasures of eternal life, might be expected, by a parity of reason, to leave the vessels earthen still; and the fisherman of Galilee, when elevated into a prophet, might retain, nevertheless, all the original simplicity of his character, and all the imperfections of his education.

Accordingly, though the Apostles were full of the Holy Ghost, that internal illumination did not prevent the Sanhedrim from reading in their manners and dialect their original ignorance and obscurity; and the revelation entrusted to St. Paul would no more make him a Demosthenes, than the revelation of which Moses was the minister, corrected his imperfect utterance.

The defects, then, of Scriptural language, were they really no less numerous and striking than infidels pretend, would be no solid objection to the hypothesis, that "all Scripture was given by the inspiration of God." It may be thought, indeed, that, as the Hellenistic dialect which is imputed to the New Testament was the usual language of the race for whose instruction it was, in the first instance, intended; so it could never be expected that the Almighty should miraculously interfere to perplex the Jews of Macedon and Asia with refinements of which they could not feel the force, and with peculiarities which, however consecrated in our opinion by the talent and elegance of Athens, were to them unusual, and, if I may use the expression, barbarous. Nor are Christians compelled to maintain, on the one hand, the purity of every passage in the written Word, nor to confess, on the other, that the Holy Ghost has dictated solecisms. With a becoming zeal for the honour of the sacred text; with a due admiration of the real beauties of Scripture; but confessing with Augustin, that the matter, not the words, of Revelation is entitled to the epithet of Divine; they may watch, with much composure, the harmless malice of their enemies exhausted on those peculiarities of language and of style, which, as specimens of Greek, may, perhaps, offend, but, as evidence of the Hebrew extraction of their authors, are, in themselves, a sufficient proof, that the volume of our Scripture is really the production of those Apostles who only, of the Hebrew race, had authority with Gentile believers.

The observations which I have made on the grammatical incorrectness of Scriptural language will apply with equal force to its real or supposed obscurity. It is no part of my present purpose to enter into the disputed question, whether the words of St. Peter refer to the mysterious nature of those circumstances which his brother Apostle had imperfectly explained to the faithful, or to the darkness of his style in speaking of them. It is sufficient for my argument to have shown, that admitting to its full extent the cavil of the infidel objector, its consequences could not affect the Divine authority of Scripture, inasmuch as a composition may merit the name of inspired, though the ideas only, and not the forms of expressing them, be suggested by the Spirit of God. And it is apparent, that as, on the one hand, we cannot, from the necessity of the case, and the constant deference which the Apostles claim to their written sentiments, deny this share at least of Divine assistance to the doctrinal and controversial treatises of the New Testament; so will even this be completely sufficient for those ends for which only inspiration has ever been accorded, "for doctrine," that is, "for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

But, thirdly, a composition is also inspired, when circumstances to which we have ourselves been formerly witnesses are preserved or renewed in our recollection, by the influence of the Almighty, in more vivid colours and with an accuracy more perfect than was possible to our unassisted faculties. For, as that which we have forgotten may be, undoubtedly, no less properly a subject of inspiration than that which we have never known; so is the wonder no less, and the Divine interposition as immediate, which prevents us from forgetting that which we could not, without such an aid, have remembered. And, in the case of our Saviour's discourses while on earth, there is an absolute promise that the apostles should be assisted with this supernatural and infallible power of recollection or memory, inasmuch as the Comforter was not only to guide them into truth, but "to bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever their Lord had said unto them." And, though a miracle be, doubtless, never wrought unnecessarily, yet would nothing less than a miracle be, apparently, required, to enable men of no extraordinary parts, and strangers, as were the apostles, to those arts and habits whereby only we acquire the power of accurately reporting conversations, to retain, after twenty or forty years interval, with that degree of accuracy which the nature of the case demanded, those words of our Saviour on which so many leading features of the Christian faith depend. Nor will any doubt remain of this necessity to those who shall reflect how few persons are to be found, I will not say among peasants only, but among those who are most in the habits of attention and correctness, who, even a single month after they had once heard it, would be able to repeat or write down a discourse like that which Jesus held on the mountain, or that yet more difficult one from which the words of my text are taken.

Where facts are concerned, there is not, indeed, the same necessity for Divine assistance as in the case of words; since not only are facts more easily committed to memory and more stubbornly retained than words or arguments can be; but since the errors which might be expected in their detail are of far less importance than those which may arise from a mistaken turn of expression or from the omission, in a sentence, of any connecting or explanatory member.—For one person in the lower or middling ranks of society who is competent to repeat the exact expressions of another, five thousand may be found who are adequate witnesses to what they see him do or suffer; and, if the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost were necessary to enable the apostles to *remember and relate* the discourses of their Lord with the accuracy which such blessed instruction merited, it might seem, on the other hand, that they could hardly, without a miracle, *forget* any material circumstance of those most wonderful facts "which their eyes had seen and their hands had handled." It may be thought, therefore, with some apparent reason, that when we have proved the miraculous nature of the assistance given to the apostles in the doctrinal parts of the New Testament,—we have already proved all which is necessary to the faith or practice of Christians, and that, while the words of Christ are reported to us by supernatural and infallible authority, we may safely commit the certainty of his actions to that same human evidence on which we at first believed them.

Michaelis accordingly maintains, and I myself was once of the same opinion, that though the promise of our Lord is express as to the Holy Ghost assisting the apostles to recollect his *words*, yet we have not the same grounds in Scripture for supposing that, in relating every particular occurrence of his life, they were to possess the same infallible accuracy. But though the promise, it must be allowed is not so explicit, and though the necessity, it will be granted readily, is neither so urgent nor so uniform, of divine assistance in relating historical events as it has been shown to be in the case of oral communications; yet it is certain that the Spirit's guidance into *all* truth must imply a perfect accuracy in every circumstance, at least, where religious truth is concerned: and that, as there is no recorded action of our Lord which can be regarded as unimportant to the belief or imitation of his followers,—so are there some facts relating to him recorded in the New Testament, which, without celestial illumination it was impossible its authors should have known; others, of which it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that no human testimony would be of itself, sufficient to establish them; and others, yet more, where a human error in the narrative would have conducted to consequences exceedingly dangerous to our faith or practice. And as, in all these instances, the necessity of the case would induce us to expect that they would not be deprived of divine assistance,—so there is a case exactly in point, from the analogy of which we may infer that such assistance has been actually, in these instances, accorded to them. When Paul was to be instructed, as an apostle, in the circumstance of our Saviour's life and doctrine, it might have appeared to men to be sufficient had God referred him for information to his elder brethren in the Church and to those who themselves had eaten and drank in the presence of his Son. But though, as it should seem, an adequate knowledge might have been thus acquired of Christ's behaviour during the last supper,—yet we find that these particulars were not entrusted to the memory of even an apostle, but were made the subject to St. Paul of an immediate revelation from the Lord. An equal help, we may reasonably conclude, would be given wherever it was equally important; and in relating the deeds no less than the words of Christ, the recollection of the sacred writers would be, absolutely, therefore, infallible.

And it may be, at the same time observed, that such assistance as is here described, since it does not amount to the internal suggestion of a new idea to the soul, but simply to the preservation or revival of an idea originally suggested by the natural and external process, is, therefore, perfectly consistent with that character to which the Evangelists lay claim, of witnesses speaking from their own distinct experience and recollection, and by their separate testimonies, confirming the veracity of each other. For, the promise of our Lord is not that the Holy Ghost should *prompt* to the Apostles what testimony they ought to bear, (in which case I am ready to allow that the Holy Ghost himself, and not his human organ, would be the person who bore witness;) but that the Holy Ghost should enable them to give better and more accurate evidence of what they had heard than they could otherwise have been considered or expected to be. But if, of two witnesses, the one had, by an artificial system of memory, or by notes taken at the time, acquired the power of speaking after a lapse of years, more positively to certain facts or expressions than his companion could do, we should, certainly, not consider his testimony as on that account less valuable, nor, as I conceive, less genuine and authentic. The manner in which the knowledge was first obtained is the single point on which the question of originality depends; and, let the help be what it may by which that knowledge has been preserved or refreshed, that help can do no more than add probability or certainty to the natural recollection of the witness.

And there is yet another way in which the assistance of the Holy Ghost may be useful and necessary, even where all our knowledge had been acquired and retained by our outward experience and natural abilities; and that is by suggesting, out of several circumstances or expressions of which all are equally remembered, the selection of those particulars which are best adapted to the instruction and advantage of ourselves, or of those for whom we are writing. Nor can we think it improbable that in this manner also, the narratives of the apostles are inspired, since, in the circumstances which they have recorded of the life and conversation of Christ, so little is to be found whereby mere curiosity is gratified; and since, notwithstanding the brevity of the Gospels, the picture which they afford of the character of Jesus is at once so complete and instructive. It is possible, therefore, for inspiration to be useful and even necessary, though the circumstances which we relate are such as we have in our own persons witnessed; and there is no room for saying that, when we suppose the grant of God's assistance to the narratives of Matthew and John, we suppose a needless miracle.

It is, at the same time, certain that, wherever the aid of the Holy Ghost is bestowed, whether to suggest, or preserve, or discriminate, the results of such aid will be of an authority alike divine, and the doctrine or example which they convey alike imperatively binding on the obedience and the faith of Christians. Though the propositions which are thus selected and approved should have been, in the first instance, advanced by human craft or wisdom, yet will the choice of the Holy Ghost establish them as the adopted word of God; nor will that be less infallible to which he has set the seal of his assent, than that which immediately proceeded from him. If a celestial messenger had recommended to our faith and obedience some certain pasages in Plato or in Porphyry, would it be doubted that, whatever were the general character of those authors or their productions, the words thus cited would be, thenceforth, the laws of the Most High? At the same time, though such particular passages would be thereby invested with divine authority, it is plain that the question would remain untouched, whether the writings from which they were taken were inspired or no, and whether they were, in truth, the production of those authors whose names they bore. And we thus may understand how the human learning and human diligence of an apostle might, no less than the use of previous documents, be perfectly consistent with the internal dictation of God's Spirit, and that whatever truth was found in an apocryphal or heathen writer might be suggested by their celestial guide to James or Jude or Paul, without subscribing to the general contents or prophetic dignity, whether of the books of Enoch or Aratus or Epimenides.

That any part of Scripture can be found where inspiration was an useless or superfluous blessing, is a doctrine, then, not easy to be maintained. Undoubtedly, it will be difficult to show that those passages in the Epistles which have been chiefly instanced as too trivial to call down a celestial interference, were really unimportant to the persons whom they, in the first instance, concerned, or in the instruction which the Church might, in after ages, draw from them. The salutations which St. Paul, in his official writings, addresses to particular believers, may have produced a moral effect of the strongest and most beneficial character, as so many testimonies of that approbation with which the Holy Ghost himself beheld their inward feelings and their outward conduct. The books and garment which were left at Troas have furnished more than one important lesson to the Christian world; and where the apostle reproves, in his epistle to Timothy, the excessive abstinence of his disciple, a testimony is borne which a Prophet might fitly bear against those ascetic doctrines which were, thus early, invading Christianity, and which imposed, at length, on the faithful a yoke of unprofitable restrictions, as grievous and as manifold as the burden of that law which they had cast down.

Should this be thought, however, to savour of scholastic refinement, I can perceive no inconsistency with that character to which the Scriptures lay claim as an inspired and infallible rule of faith and practice, if, in circumstances where the unassisted powers of the writer's intellect were amply sufficient to answer the purposes of Providence, we should admit that the Prophet was left to his private judgment. When the counsel was given, or the discovery made, which it was the object of the Holy Ghost to enforce or communicate, it can excite no surprise, that, though the heavenly voice was silent, the Apostle might still conclude his letter with the usual forms of salutation to his friends, or with the mention of his private necessities. Where the Evangelist was already in perfect possession of the fact, or where a trifling inaccuracy could have no practical effect on the faith or life of his brethren, the tenor of the history might proceed, it may be thought, as before, though the historian had in that instance to depend on himself alone. All that can be in such case required is, that celestial aid should be supplied, wherever human authority was insufficient; and that a broad and competent line of demarcation should be established between such divine and earthly ingredients as might mingle in the same treatise or history. And while we are assured of the first of these necessary circumstances by the promise, that the Spirit of God should guide us into all needful truth: so the reason of the case, and our knowledge of those definite objects which Scripture has in view, might seem amply sufficient for the second.

If, then, it be objected, lastly, against the divine authority of the New Testament, that, in the narratives which the Evangelists have severally furnished, there are certain difficulties which the followers of Christ have not yet been able to reconcile, we may demand, in explanation of this charge,—whether the circumstances objected to can properly be said to belong to the actions or doctrines of our Saviour, or whether they are not, on the other hand, of a nature strictly secular,—and very slightly and incidentally, if at all, connected with the Life and Gospel of Jesus Christ?

On the first of these suppositions the Christian is, indeed, very deeply concerned to vindicate the integrity of that work which is his charter to immortal life. In the second case, it will be enough to reply that, if the infallibility of the Apostles extended to every single circumstance in which their mission was interested; it was neither to be expected nor desired, nor does their Heavenly Teacher ever give us to understand that the same supernatural accuracy should be possessed by them in their incidental mention of men and topics unconnected with that errand for the due performance of which alone they either needed or hoped for inspiration. It was the history and doctrines of the Son of God which they profess to give to the world:—and it is something too much to impeach the divine authority of their narrative on subjects worthy of celestial interposition, because, on points of no importance they were, possibly, left to themselves.

It is certain, however, that the seeming inaccuracies of the Evangelists and whatever variations have been most insisted on by infidels in the accounts which those Evangelists have severally furnished, belong exclusively to such details as, whether true or false, are neither subjects capable of a religious faith,—nor by any possibility affecting our practice; variations which can do no more, at most, than leave their reader under some degree of hesitation as to the hour of the crucifixion, the title on the cross, or the year in which our Saviour drove forth the money-changers from his temple. I do not mean that the difficulties which I have instanced may not be, and have not been satisfactorily solved, and that without impeaching in the smallest degree the accuracy of the sacred historian; nor will I dissemble that confidence which a Christian may be well allowed to feel, that such discrepancies as yet remain to try our faith and our humility will, hereafter, in God's good time receive their perfect solution. It is a proverb of the Jews, that when Elias shall come, every knot of their sacred book shall be loosed; and we may safely trust that a greater than Elias will vindicate at his second coming the truth of his written word, and that of the genuine Gospel, as of the genuine Pentateuch, no jot or tittle shall pass away. Meantime, however, I am most anxious to prove, that mistakes in points where inspiration did not properly apply can by no means derogate from the inspired character of a work in those respects where inspiration was either needed or promised. I am desirous to impress on your minds that circumstances, which, whether true or false, have no possible bearing on the doctrine or character of Christ, may belong, indeed, to his history, but are no essential parts of his Gospel; and that we may admit the New Testament as an unerring and imperative rule in every point of belief or of practice, though we should be for ever ignorant of the year in which Cyrenius governed Syria, or whether the apostate Judas met his fearful end by strangulation or by rupture. Above all it has been mine aim to show that by the Comforter whom Christ foretold, and by those blessed aids which he has for Christ's sake dispensed to mankind, the faithful of every age and nation are, no less than the Apostles themselves, infallibly conducted to that truth which is in Jesus: and that "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness," the Scriptures of the last, no less than of the former covenant, is "given by the inspiration of God.

Nor do we expect, nor do we desire those further aids to knowledge and to holiness which the Romanists would seek for in the authority whether of their collective Church, or of a single ecclesiastical officer. To us it seems presumptuous and unreasonable, when a rule has been given by God himself, to go on demanding at his hands another and yet another criterion; to peer about, in the full blaze of sunshine, for the beams of a supplementary star; or to subject the inspiration of the immediate Apostles of our Lord to the authoritative decision of their, surely, less enlightened successors. But, neither in the ancient synagogue, nor in that primitive Church which the Messiah formed on its model, is any claim to be found, when their language is rightly apprehended, to a privilege so extraordinary as that of themselves interpreting the charter whence they derived their authority. In things indifferent, and in controversies between the brethren, the sentence of the Church was unquestionably binding on the conscience of all its members. But where God and man were parties, they could express their opinion only; and the most awful denunciation which they had it in they power to utter, is a confession of their own incompetency. The anathema, of which so formidable ideas are entertained, is in its very terms no other than an appeal to the final judgment of that Lord who shall hereafter come in glory; that Lord before whom, as before his proper Master, every individual must stand or fall; and whose laws must be applied by every individual for himself to his own case, and at his own exceeding peril.

If, then, the Scriptures be, as these pretend, obscure, they are obscure to those who perish. No remedy was provided under the elder covenant for those to whose instruction neither Moses nor the prophets sufficed; nor does St. Peter in the New (though in a case where he admits the difficulty of God's word) direct the ignorant and unstable to apply for further light to himself or his Roman successors. Nor, indeed, is it intelligible, even on the established principles of popery, in what manner the rescripts of their pontiff, and the decrees of their council, could produce, any more than the ancient books of Scripture, the effects which they fondly ascribe to them. Unless the inspired interpreter were omnipresent as well as infallible, his edicts must, no less than every other composition, whether human or divine, be liable to perversion or cavil. If the secular arm be withdrawn, it may be suspected that the sentence of a council will not very greatly avail with those by whom the words of Peter or Paul are evaded or despised; nor will any solid satisfaction be afforded by the cumbrous mazes of the canonists and schoolmen, to those weak brethren who have already lost their way in the narrow compass of one little volume.

But, in the essentials of salvation, and to those who sincerely desire to be taught of God, are the Scriptures really obscure? Let those bear witness, whom, by these means alone, the Spirit of God has guided into all necessary truth! Let those bear witness who have fled from the perturbed streams of human controversy to this source of living water, whereof "if a man drink he shall never thirst again." Let the mighty army of the faithful bear witness, who, believing no less than they find, and desiring to believe no more, have worshipped in simplicity of heart, from the earliest ages of the Messiah's kingdom, the Father, the Son, and the comfortable Spirit of God! I do not, God forbid that I should in this place, and before so many of those who must hereafter unite their amplest stores both of classical and sacred learning in his cause from whom we have received all things!—I do not deny the efficacy, the propriety, the absolute necessity of offering our choicest gifts of every kind on the altar of that religion to whose ministry we are called, and of concentrating all the lights of history and science to the illustration of these wonderful testimonies. But, though, to illustrate and defend the faith, such aids are, doubtless, needful, the faith itself can spring from no other source than that volume which alone can make men wise to everlasting salvation, that engrafted word which, though the ignorant and unstable may wrest it to their own destruction, is, to those who receive it with meekness and with faith, the wisdom and the power of God.

By this book the Paraclete has guided the church into whatever truths the church of Christ has, at any time, believed or known; by this book and the doctrine which it contains, he has convinced the world of sin, and justified the Son of Man from the malicious slanders of his enemies; by this book he consoles us for the absence of our Lord, and instructs us in things to come; by this he reigns; where this is found his kingdom reaches also; by this weapon, proceeding from the mouth of God, shall the enemies of his Christ be at length extirpated from the world; and by this, it may be thought, as by the rule of God's approbation, shall the secrets of all hearts be, finally, made known, in that day when "whosoever is not found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire."

Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the spiritual gift, seeing that we have not followed after cunningly devised fables, let us, each in his station, abound in the labour of the Lord, diffusing as we may that saving knowledge, the possession of which alone could make it expedient for the disciples of Christ that their Master should depart and leave them! And let us pour forth, above all, our fervent prayers to that Almighty Spirit, who hath given us these Holy records of his will, that, by his supporting grace, they may bring forth in us the fruit of holiness, and the harvest of life without end, through the mercies of the Father, the merits of the Son, and the strong protection of the Comforter.

The notes to the above Lectures, consisting chiefly of quotations from the Greek and Latin Fathers have been omitted.—*Ed. Ch. Lib.*

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND SUPPRESSION

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SPAIN

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.

PREFACE.

The following work is a sequel to that which I lately published on the Reformation in Italy, and completes what I intended as a contribution to the history of that memorable revolution in the sixteenth century, which, in a greater or less degree, affected all the nations of Europe.

More than twenty years have elapsed since I inserted, in a periodical work, a short account of the introduction of the reformed opinions into Spain, and the means employed to extirpate them. The scanty materials from which that sketch was formed have gradually increased in the course of subsequent reading and research. My earliest authority is Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montes, a Protestant refugee from Spain, who in 1567 published at Heidelberg, in Latin, a Detection of the Arts of the Spanish Inquisition, interspersed with anecdotes of his countrymen who had embraced the Protestant faith, and containing an account of such of them as suffered at Seville. That work was immediately translated into English, and underwent two editions, to the last of which is subjoined an account of Protestant martyrs at Valladolid. Another contemporary authority is Cypriano de Valera, who left Spain for the sake of religion about the same time as De Montes, and has given various notices respecting his Protestant countrymen in his writings, particularly in a book on the Pope and the Mass, of which also an English translation was published during the reign of Elizabeth.

These early works, though well known when they first made their appearance, fell into oblivion for a time, together with the interesting details which they furnish. As a proof of this it is only necessary to mention the fact, that the learned Mosheim translated the meagre tract of our countrymen Dr Michael Geddes, entitled, The Spanish Protestant Martyrology, and published it in Germany as the best account of that portion of ecclesiastical history with which he was acquainted.

Additional light has been lately thrown on the fate of Protestantism in Spain by the Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition, compiled by Don Juan Antonio Llorente, formerly secretary to the Inquisition of Madrid. Though confusedly written, that work is very valuable, both on account of the new facts which the official situation of the author enabled him to bring forward, and also because it verifies, in all the leading features, the picture of that odious tribunal drawn by De Montes and other writers, whose representations were exposed to suspicion on account of their presumed want of information, had the prejudices which, as Protestants, they were supposed to entertain. Llorente was in possession of documents from which I might have derived great advantage; and it certainly reflects little honour on Protestants, and especially British Protestants, that he received no encouragement to execute the proposal which he made, to publish at large the trials of those who suffered for the reformed religion in his native country.

The other sources from which I have drawn my information, including many valuable Spanish books lately added to the Advocate's Library, will appear in the course of the work itself.

My acknowledgments are due to Dr. Friedrich Bialloblotzky, who kindly furnished me, from the University Library or Göttingen, with copious extracts from the dissertation of Büsching, *De Vestigiis Lutheranismi in Hispania*, a book which I had long sought in vain to procure. For the use of a copy of De Valera's *Dos Tratados, del Papa y de la Missa*, now become very rare, as well as of other Spanish books, I am indebted to the politeness of Samuel R. Block, Esquire, London.

The general prevalence, both among Spaniards and others, of the mistaken notion that the Spanish Church was at an early period dependent on the See of Rome, has induced me to enter into minuter details in the preliminary part of this work than I should otherwise have thought necessary.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the Ecclesiastical History of Spain before the era of the Reformation.

Erroneous opinions as to their early history, originating in vanity, and fostered by ignorance and credulity, have been common among almost every people. These are often harmless; and while they afford matter of good-humoured raillery to foreigners, excite the more inquisitive and liberal-minded among themselves to exert their talents in separating truth from fable, by patient research, and impartial discrimination. But they are sometimes of a very different character, and have been productive of the worst consequences. They have been the means of entailing political and spiritual bondage on a people, of rearing insurmountable obstacles in the way of their improvement, of propagating feelings no less hostile to their domestic comfort than to their national tranquillity, and of making them at once a curse to themselves and a scourge to all around them.

If the natives of Spain have not advanced those extravagant pretentions to high antiquity which have made the inhabitants of some other countries ridiculous, they have unhappily fallen under the influence of national prejudices equally destitute of truth, and far more pernicious in their tendency. Every true Spaniard is disposed to boast of the purity of his blood, or, in the established language of the country, that he is "an Old Christian, free from all stain of bad descent." The meanest peasant or aritizan in Spain looks upon it as a degradation to have in his veins the least mixture of Jewish or Moorish blood, though transmitted by the remotest of his known ancestors, in the male or female line. To have descended from that race, "of which, as concerning the flesh, Christ came," or from Christians who had incurred the censure of a tribunal whose motto is the reverse of his who "came not to destroy men's lives but to save them," is regarded as a greater disgrace than to have sprung from savages and pagans, or from those who had incurred the last sentence of justice for the most unnatural and horrid crimes. "I verily believe," says a modern Spanish writer who sometimes smiles through tears at the prejudices of his countrymen, "that were St. Peter a Spaniard, he would either deny admittance into heaven to people of tainted blood, or send them into a corner, where they might not offend the eyes of the Old Christian." We might go farther, and say, that if a Spaniard had the keys of heaven in his keeping, St. Peter, and all the apostles with him, would be "removed into a corner." It is easy to conceive what misery must have been felt by persons and families who have incurred this involuntary infamy in their own estimation, or in that of their neighbours; and what bitter and rancorous feelings must have been generated in the hearts of individuals and races of men living together or contiguously, both in a state of peace and of warfare.

But, when the records of antiquity are consulted, the truth turns out to be, that in no other country of Europe has there been such an intermixture of races as in Spain—Iberian, Celtic, Carthaginian, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Jewish, Saracennic, Syrian, Arabian, and Moorish. With none are the Spaniards more anxious to disclaim all kindred than with Jews and Moors. Yet anciently their Christian kings did not scruple to form alliances with the Moorish sovereigns of Grenada, to appear at their tournaments, and even to fight under their banners. Down to the middle of the fifteenth century, the Spanish poets and romancers celebrated the chivalry of "the Knights of Grenada, gentlemen though Moors." It was no uncommon occurrence for the Christians in Spain to connect themselves by marriage with Jews and Moors; and the pedigree of many of the grandees and titled nobility has been traced up to these "cankered branches" by the *Tizon de Espana*, or *Brand of Spain*, a book, which neither the influence of government, nor the terror of the Inquisition, has been able completely to suppress. Nor is greater credit due to the opinion which has long been prevalent in the Peninsula, that its inhabitants have uniformly kept themselves free from all stain of heretical pravity, and preserved the purity of the faith inviolate since their first reception of Christianity.

The ancient state of the church in Spain is but little known. Modern writers of that nation have been careful to conceal or to pass lightly over those spots of its history which are calculated to wound the feelings or abate the prejudices of their countrymen. Shut out from access to original documents, or averse to the toil of investigating them, foreigners have generally contented themselves with the information which common books supply. And knowing that the Spaniards have signalized their zeal for the See of Rome and the catholic faith during the three last centuries, the public, as if by general agreement, have come to the hasty conclusion that this was the fact from the beginning. To correct such mistakes, and to furnish materials for an accurate judgment, it may be proper to take a more extensive view of the state of religion in Spain before the Reformation, than would otherwise have been necessary to our undertaking.

The ecclesiastical history of Spain during the three first centuries may be comprised in two facts,—that the Christian religion was early introduced into that country; and that churches were erected in various parts of it, notwithstanding the persecution to which they were exposed at intervals. All beside this is fable or conjecture. That the gospel was first preached to their ancestors by St. James, the son of Zebedee, is an opinion which has been long so popular among the Spaniards, and so identified with the national faith, that such of their writers as were most convinced of the unsound foundation on which it rests have been forced to join in bearing testimony to its truth. The ingenuity of the warm partizans of the popedom has been put to the stretch in managing the obstinate fondness with which the inhabitants of the Peninsula have clung to a prepossession so hazardous to the claims of St. Peter and of Rome. They have alternately exposed the futility of the arguments produced in its support, and granted that it is to be received as a probable opinion, resting on tradition. At one time they have urged that the early martyrdom of the apostle precludes the idea of such an expedition; and at another time they have tendered their aid to relieve the Spaniards from this embarrassment, and to "elude the objection," by suggesting, with true Italian dexterity, that the Spirit might have carried the apostle from Palestine to Spain, and after he had performed his task, conveyed him back with such celerity that he was in time to receive the martyr's crown at Jerusalem. By such artful managements, they succeeded at last in settling the dispute, after the following manner; that, agreeably to the concurring voice of antiquity, the seven first bishops of Spain were ordained by St. Peter, and sent by him into the Peninsula; but that, as is probable, they had been converted to the Christian faith by St. James, who despatched them to Rome to receive holy orders from the prince of the apostles; from which the inference is, that St. James was the first who preached the gospel to the Spaniards, but St. Peter was the founder of the church of Spain.* Leaving such fabulous accounts, which serve no other purpose than to illustrate human credulity, and the ease with which it was wrought upon by artifice and cunning, we proceed to the period of authentic history.

The facts which we have to bring forward may be arranged under three heads:—the doctrine of the ancient church of Spain; her government; and her worship.

I. Sentiments which by common consent have been regarded as heretical, without as well as within the pale of that church which arrogates to herself the title of catholic, sprang up repeatedly in Spain, and in some instances overran the whole country. In the fourth century, Priscillian, a native of Gallicia, founded a new sect, which united the tenets of the Manichæans and Gnostics. It made many converts, including persons of the episcopal order, and subsisted in Spain for two hundred years. When they boast of the pure blood of the Goths, the Spaniards appear to forget that their Gothic ancestors were Arians, and that Arianism was the prevailing and established creed of the country, for nearly two centuries. Nor did Spain long preserve her faith uncontaminated, after she had adopted the common doctrine under Reccared, who reigned in the close of the sixth century. To pass by the spread of Nestorianism and some tenets of less note, she gave birth, in the eighth century, to the heresy called the adoptionarian, because its disciples held that Christ is the adopted Son of God. This opinion was broached by Ellipand, archbishop of Toledo, who was at the head of the Spanish church; it was vigorously defended by Felix, bishop of Urgel, a prelate of great ability; and maintained itself for a considerable time, in spite of the decisions of several councils, supported by the learning of Alcuin and the authority of Charlemagne.

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* A curious specimen of the managements referred to in the text is to be seen in the alterations made on the Roman Calendar. Cardinal Quignoni obtained the following insertion in the Rubric, referring to St. James the elder: "He went to Spain, and preached the gospel there, according to the authority of St. Isidore." (Breviarum Paul III.) A change more agreeable to the Spaniards was afterwards made: "Having travelled over Spain, and preached the gospel there, he returned to Jerusalem." (Brev. Pii. V.) This having given offence to Cardinal Baronius and others at Rome, the following was substituted: "That he visited Spain and made some disciples there, is the tradition of the churches of that province." (Brev. Clementis VIII.) If the former mode of expression gave great offence at Rome, this last gave still greater in Spain. The whole kingdom was thrown into a ferment; and letters and ambassadors were despatched by his Catholic Majesty to the Pope, exclaiming against the indignity done to the Spanish nation. At last the following form was agreed upon, which continues to stand in the Calendar: "Having gone to Spain, he made some converts to Christ, seven of whom being ordained by St. Peter, were sent to Spain as its first bishops." (Brev. Urbani VIII.)

Nor were there wanting in the early ages Spaniards who held some of the leading opinions afterwards avowed by the protestant reformers. Claude, bishop of Turin, who flourished in the ninth century, and distinguished himself by his valuable labours in the illustration of the scriptures, was a native of Spain. His decided condemnation of the worship of images, and of the veneration paid to the relics and sepulchres of the saints, together with his resistance to the ecclesiastical authority which imposed these practices, has exposed the memory of this pious and learned divine to the deadly hatred of all the devotees of superstition and spiritual despotism. In support of his principle tenet, Claude could plead the authority of one of the most venerable councils of his native church, which ordained that there should be no pictures in churches, and that nothing should be painted on the walls which might be worshipped or adored.

Galindo Prudentio, bishop of Troyes, was a countryman and contemporary of Claude. His learning was superior to that of the age in which he lived; and the comparative purity of his style bears witness to his familiarity with the writings of the ancient classics. Having fixed his residence in France, he enjoyed the confidence of Charlemagne, who employed him in visiting and reforming the monasteries. In the predestinarian controversy which divided the French clergy of that time, he took part with Goteschalcus against Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and the noted schoolman, Joannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena. The sentiments which Prudentio held on that subject, bear a striking resemblance to those which the church of Rome has since anathematized in the writings of Luther and Calvin.

II. The Spanish church, at the beginning of the fourth century, acknowledged no other officers than bishops, presbyters, and deacons. She was equally a stranger to the superior orders of metropolitans and archbishops, and to the inferior orders of sub-deacons and lectors. Her discipline was at that time characterised by great strictness and even rigour, of which there was a palpable relaxation when the government of the church came to be formed upon the model of the empire, after Constantine had embraced christianity. This change was, however, introduced more slowly into Spain than into some other countries. The church of Africa was careful to guard the parity of episcopal power against the encroachments of the metropolitans; and the Spanish bishops, who appear from an early period to have paid great deference to her maxims and practices, continued for a considerable time to evince the same jealousy. To the supremacy of the bishops of Rome the ancient church of Spain was a stranger, and there is no good evidence that she acknowledged, during the eight first centuries, their right to interfere authoritively in her internal affairs.

The titles of pope or father, apostolical bishop, and bishop of the apostolic see, were at first given promiscuously to all who were invested with the episcopal office. After they came to be used in a more restricted sense, they were still applied to a number in common. The bishops of Rome early acquired high consideration among their brethren, founded on the dignity of the city in which they had their residence, the number of the clergy over whom they presided, and the superior sanctity of life by which some of their line had been distinguished; to which must be added the opinion, which soon became general, that they were the successors of St. Peter. In matters which concerned religion in general, or in difficult questions relating to internal managements, it was a common practice to ask the advice of foreign and even transmarine churches. On these occasions the bishops of Rome were consulted, but not to the exclusion of others. The African bishops, in a council held at Carthage, agreed to take the advice of Siricius, bishop of Rome, and Simplician, bishop of Milan, on the affair of the Donatists; and in a subsequent council they agreed to consult Anastasius and Venerius, who at that time filled the same sees, on the controversy respecting the validity of the baptism of heretics. With this the practice of the Spanish church agreed. Indeed, the bishops of Rome, in those days, disclaimed the pretensions which they afterwards put forth with such arrogance. Gregory the Great himself, when in danger of being eclipsed by his Eastern rival, acknowledged this in the memorable words which have so much annoyed his successors and their apologists. Speaking of the title of universal patriarch, which the bishop of Constantinople had assumed, he says:—"Far from the hearts of Christians be this name of blasphemy, which takes away the honours of the whole priesthood, while it is madly arrogated by one! None of my predecessors would ever consent to use this profane word, because if one patriarch is called universal, the rest are deprived of the name of patriarchs."

But there is positive evidence that the ancient church of Spain maintained its independence, and guarded against the interference of the Roman see, or any other foreign authority. Whatever judgment we form concerning the disputed canon of the council of Sardis, as to references to the bishop of Rome, it is certain that an African council, which met at Mela in the year 416, decreed that if any of the clergy had a dispute with his bishop, he might bring it before the neighbouring bishops; but if he thought proper not to rest in their decision, it should be unlawful for him to make any appeal except to an African council, or to the primates of the African churches. In accordance with the spirit of this canon, with some variation in particulars, the ninth council of Toledo, in the year 655, determined that appeals should lie from a bishop to a metropolitan, and from a metropolitan to the royal audience; a regulation which was confirmed by a subsequent council held in the same city. In the fifth and sixth centuries Arianism was predominant in Spain. During that period the bishops who adhered to the orthodox faith being few in number, discountenanced by the royal authority, and rarely allowed to assemble in provincial councils, were naturally induced to turn their eyes to Rome for counsel and support; while the popes laid hold of the opportunity which the circumstances afforded them to extend their influence over that country, by holding correspondence with the dissenting clergy, and conferring on some of them the title of apostolical vicars. But, strange as the assertion may appear to some, this intercourse ceased as soon as Spain embraced the catholic faith.

Spain is always spoken of as a catholic country from the time that she renounced Arianism under Reccared; and if we are to believe some of her writers, her monarchs obtained, at that early period, the title of Catholic kings, which they retain to this day, as expressive of their devotion to the faith and authority of the Roman see. But this is a glaring mistake, originating in, or concealed by the equivocal use of a word which was anciently understood in a sense very different from its modern acceptation. It was by adopting the common doctrine received by the church at large, in opposition to the Arian and other errors condemned by the first ecumenical or universal councils, that Spain became catholic, and that her kings, bishops and people, obtained this designation, and not by conforming to the rites of the church of Rome, or owning the supremacy of its pontiffs. Ecclesiastical affairs were managed in Spain without any interference on the part of the See of Rome, or sny reference to it, during the whole of the century which elapsed after the suppression of Arianism. This is so undeniable, that those advocates of the pontifical authority who have examined the documents of that age, have been forced to admit the fact, and endeavour to account for it by saying, that such interference and reference was unnecessary during a peaceful state of the church; a concession which goes far to invalidate the whole of their claims. The pall sent from Rome to Leander, bishop of Seville, forms no exception to the remark now made; for, not to mention that it was never received, it was not intended to confer any prerogative upon him, but merely as a testimony to his sanctity, and a mark of personal esteem from pope Gregory, who had contracted a friendship with him when they met at Constantinople. It was of the nature of a badge of honour conferred by a prince on a deserving individual belonging to another kingdom.

There is one piece of history which throws a great light on the state of the Spanish church during the seventh century, and which I shall relate at some length, as it has been either passed over or very partially brought forward by later historians. The sixth ecumenical council, held at Constantinople in the year 680, condemned the heresy of the Monothelites, or those who, though they allowed that Christ had two natures, ascribed to him but one will and one operation. In 683, Leo II., bishop of Rome, sent the acts of that council, which he had received from Constantinople, to Spain, requesting the bishops to give them their sanction, and to take measures for having them circulated through their churches. As a council had been held immediately before the arrival of the papal deputation, and a heavy fall of snow prevented the re-assembling of the members at that season, it was thought proper to circulate the acts among the bishops, who authorised Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to transmit a rescript to Rome, intimating in general their approbation of the late decision at Constantinople, and stating at considerable length the sentiments of the Spanish Church on the controverted point. A council, convened at Toledo during the following year, entered on the formal consideration of this affair, in which they proceeded in such a manner as to evince their determination to preserve at once the purity of the faith and the independence of the Spanish church. They examined the acts of the council of Constantinople, at which it does not appear that they had any representative, and declared that they found them consonant with the decisions of the four preceding canonical councils, particularly that of Chalcedon, of which they appeared to be nearly a transcript. "Wherefore (say they) we agree that the acts of the said council be reverenced and received by us, inasmuch as they do not differ from the foresaid councils, or rather as they appear to coincide with them. We allot to them therefore that place in point of order to which their merit entitles them. Let them come after the council of Chalcedon, by whose light they shine." The council next took into consideration the rescript which archbishop Julian had sent to Rome, and pronounced it "a copious and lucid exposition of the truth concerning the double will and operation of Christ;" adding, "wherefore, for the sake of general instruction, and the benefit of ecclesiastical discipline, we confirm and sanction it as entitled to equal honour and reverence, and to have the same permanent authority as the decretal epistles.

The council of Constantinople had condemned pope Honorius I. as an abettor of the Monothelite heresy; a stigma which the advocates of papal infallibility have laboured for ages to wipe off. But the Spanish council, on the present occasion, proceeded farther, and advanced a proposition which strikes at the very foundation on which the bishops of Rome rest their claims, by declaring, that the rock on which the church is built is the faith confessed by St. Peter, and not his person or office.

But this was not all that the Spanish clergy did. When the rescript of the archbishop of Seville reached Rome, it met with the disapprobation of Benedict II., who had succeeded Leo in the popedom. Having drawn up certain animadversions upon it, his holiness gave them to the Spanish deputy to communicate to his constituents, that they might correct those expressions savouring of error which they had been led incautiously to adopt. An answer, not the most agreeable to the pope, was returned by Julian in the mean time; and the subject was afterwards taken up by a national council held in 688 at Toledo. Instead of retracting their former sentiments, or correcting any of the expressions which the pope had blamed, the Spanish prelates drew up and sanctioned a laboured vindication of the paper which had given offence to his holiness, of whom they speak in terms very disrespectful, and even contemptuous. They accuse him of "a careless and cursory perusal" of their rescript, and of having passed over parts of it which were necessary to understand their meaning. He had found fault with them for asserting that there are three substances in Christ, to which they reply: "As we will not be ashamed to defend the truth, so there are perhaps some other persons who will be ashamed at being found ignorant of the truth. For who knows not that in every man there are two substances, namely, soul and body?" After confirming their opinion by quotations from the fathers, they add: "But if any one shall be so shameless as not to acquiesce in these sentiments, and acting the part of a haughty inquirer, shall ask, whence we drew such things, at least he will yield to the words of the gospel, in which Christ declares that he possessed three substances." Having quoted and commented on several passages of the New Testament, the council concludes in these terms: "If, after this statement, and the sentiments of the fathers from which it has been taken, any person shall dissent from us in any thing, we will have no farther dispute with him, but keeping steadily in the plain path, and treading in the footsteps of our predecessors, we are persuaded that our answer will commend itself to the approbation of all lovers of truth who are capable of forming a divine judgment, though we may be charged with obstinacy by the ignorant and envious."*

III. The independence of the ancient church of Spain will appear more fully if we attend to its form of worship. All the learned who have directed their attention to ecclesiastical antiquities are now agreed that, although the mode of worship was substantially the same throughout the Christian church, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, yet different liturgies or forms of celebrating divine service were practised in different nations, and sometimes in different parts of the same nation. The Ambrosian liturgy, used by the church of Milan, differed from the Roman. It was adopted in many parts of France, and continued in use there until the time of Charlemagne, when it was supplanted by the Roman or Gregorian. So far was the church of Rome from having at first regulated the religious service of other churches by her laws or even by her example, that she did not even preserve her own forms, which were superseded in their most important parts, by the sacramentary or missal which has drawn up by pope Gelasius, corrected finally by Gregory at the close of the sixth century, and imposed gradually, and at distant periods, on the several divisions of the western church. Different offices, or forms of celebrating divine service, were used in Spain down to the year 633, when the fourth council of Toledo passed a decree that one uniform order should be observed in all the churches of the Peninsula. This decree led to the adoption of that liturgy which has been called the Gothic, and sometimes the Isadorian, or the Ildefonsian, from St. Isidore and Ildefonso, archbishops of Seville, by whom it was revised and corrected. That this ritual was quite different from the Roman or Gregorian is put beyond all doubt, by the references made to both in the course of the adoptionarian controversy, which raged in the eighth century. The patrons of the adoptionarian tenet in Spain appealed to their national ritual, "compiled by holy men who had gone before them," and quoted passages from it as favourable to their views. To this argument the fathers of the council of Frankfort replied: "it is better to believe the testimony of God the Father concerning his own Son, than that of your Ildefonso, who composed for you such prayers, in the solemn masses, as the universal and holy church of God knows not, and in which we do not think you will be heard. And if your Ildefonso in his prayers called Christ the adopted Son of God, our Gregory, pontiff of the Roman see, and a doctor beloved by the whole world, does not hesitate in his prayers to call him always the only begotten." In like manner Alcuin, after insinuating that they might have taken improper liberties in their quotations, says: "but it matters not much whether these testimonies have been altered or correctly quoted by you; for we wish to be confirmed in the truth of our assertion and faith by Roman rather than Spanish authority.

The Gothic or Isidorian office has also been called the Mozarabic or Mixtarabic, probably because it was used and held in great veneration by the Christians in Spain who lived under the dominion of the Arabians or Moors. The identity of these formularies has, indeed, been of late disputed by several learned men. But it is most probable that they were originally the same office, and that alterations were made upon it, both by the Mozarabes and the Montanes, (as those were called who betook themselves to the mountains to escape the yoke of the Moors), during the period that they lived asunder.

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* Concil. Tolet. XV. post symbolum; Labbe, VI. 1296—1303, Harduin, III. 1759—1767. Cenni, at a greater expense than that of contradicting himself, labours to do away, or rather to conceal, the indignity offered to the Roman see, and the disregard shown to its authority, by the procedure of the Spanish councils. He allows that the fourteenth council of Toledo "arrogated to itself an unjust authority, and openly departed from obedience to the Holy see;" that "it adopted a new and unheard-of method of approving of the decisions of a general council;" and that, on these accounts, "none of its decrees were admitted to a place in the collection of sacred canons." But he asserts that the fifteenth council of Toledo "manifestly amended their doctrine concerning the three substances;" that "Julian" (as if the decree had been his only, and not that of a national council,) "sometimes makes use of words rather too free, though somewhat obscure, against Rome; and that, upon the whole, he changed or explained his former sentiment, agreeably to the admonition of the Roman Pontiff." Yet he grants, or rather pleads, that this "apology," as he calls it, was not approved at Rome; is angry with those writers who speak in its defence; and concludes by saying, that "this blemish on the well-constituted church of Spain should be a perpetual monument to teach the churches of all other nations to revere the one sure, infallible and supreme judgment of the Holy see, in matters of faith and of manners."—(De Antiq. Eccl. Hispanæ, tom. ii. p. 55—59.)

Other instances in which the worship of the ancient church of Spain differed widely from the modern might be produced. We have already mentioned that a national council, in the beginning of the fourth century, prohibited the worship of images, and the use of pictures in churches. It may be added, that the first council of Braga, held in the year 561, forbade the use of uninspired hymns, which came afterwards to be tolerated, and were ultimately enjoined under the highest penalties.

Having produced these facts as to the early opinions and usages of the Spanish church, we proceed to state the manner in which she was led to adopt the rites, and submit to the authority of the church of Rome.

In the eleventh century Spain was divided into three kingdoms—the kingdom of Leon and Castile, of Aragon, and Navarre, of which the two first were by far the most powerful. In the latter part of that century, Alfonso, the sixth of Leon, and first of Castile, after recovering Valentia by the valour of the famous Cid, Ruy Diaz de Bivar, finally obtained possession of Toledo, which had been in the power of the Moors for three centuries and a half. He had married, for his second wife, Constance, a daughter of the royal house of France, who, from attachment to the religious service to which she had been accustomed, or under the influence of the priests who accompanied her, instigated her husband to introduce the Roman liturgy into Castile. Richard, abbot of Marseilles, the papal legate, exerted all his influence in favour of a change so agreeable to the court which he represented. The innovation was warmly opposed by the clergy, nobility, and people at large, but especially by the inhabitants of Toledo and other places which had been under the dominion of the Moors. To determine this controversy, recourse was had, according to the custom of the dark ages, to judicial combat. Two knights, clad in complete armour, appeared before the court and an immense assembly. The champion of the Gothic liturgy prevailed; but the king insisted that the litigated point should undergo another trial, and be submitted to, what was called, *the judgment of God*. Accordingly, in the presence of another great assembly, a copy of the two rival liturgies was thrown into the fire. The Gothic resisted the flames and was taken out unhurt, while the Roman was consumed. But upon some pretext—apparently the circumstance of the ashes of the Roman liturgy curling on the top of the flames and then leaping out—the king, with the concurrence of Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, who was a Frenchman, gave out that it was the will of God that both offices should be used; and ordained, that the public service should continue to be celebrated according to the Gothic office in the six churches of Toledo which the Christians had enjoyed under the Moors, but that the Roman office should be adopted in all the other churches of the kingdom. The people were greatly displeased with the glaring partiality of this decision, which is said to have given rise to the proverb, *The law goes as kings choose.* Discountenanced by the court and the superior ecclesiastics, the Gothic liturgy gradually fell into disrepute, until it was completely superseded by the Roman.

The introduction of the Roman liturgy had been undertaken rather more early in Aragon than in Castile, but was completed in both kingdoms about the same time. The modern inhabitants of the Peninsula please themselves with the idea that they are hearing the self-same mass which has been performed in Spain from the days of the apostles; whereas, the exact day and place in which the modern service began, can be pointed out. The first mass, according to the Roman form, was celebrated in Aragon in the monastery of St. Juan de la Pena, on the 21st of March 1071; and in Castile, in the Grand Mosque of Toledo, on the 25th of October 1086. Gregory VII. commemorates this change, "as the deliverance of Spain from the illusion of the Toledan superstition." His holiness was more clear-sighted than those moderns, who, looking upon all forms of worship as equal, treat with contempt or indifference the efforts made by the people to defend their religious rights against the encroachments of domestic, or the intrusions of foreign authority. The recognition of the papal authority in Spain followed upon the establishment of the Roman liturgy; nor would the latter have been sought with such eagerness, had it not been with a view to the former. Having once obtained a footing in the Peninsula, the popes pushed their claims, until at last the whole nation, including the highest authorities in it, civil as well as ecclesiastical, acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman see.

It is sufficient to exemplify this statement in the subjugation of the crown and kingdom of Aragon. Don Ramiro I., who died in 1063, was the first Spanish king, according to the testimony of Gregory the Great, who recognised the pope and received the laws of Rome. In 1204, Don Pedro II., eight years after he had ascended the throne, went to Rome, and was crowned by pope Innocent III. On that occasion his holiness put the crown on his head in the monastery of Pancracio, after Pedro had given his corporal oath that he and all his successors would be faithful to the church of Rome, preserve his kingdom in obedience to it, defend the catholic faith, pursue heretical pravity, and maintain inviolate the liberties and immunities of the holy church. Then going to the chapel of St. Peter, the pope delivered the sword into the hands of the king, who, armed as a cavalier, dedicated all his dominions to St. Peter, the prince of the the apostles, and to Innocent and his successors, as a fief of the church; engaging to pay an annual tribute, as a mark of homage and gratitude for his coronation. In return for all this his holiness granted, as a special favour, that the kings of Aragon, instead of being obliged to come to Rome, should afterwards be crowned in Saragossa, by the archbishop of Tarragona, as papal vicar. This act of submission was highly offensive to the nobility, who protested for their own rights, and to the people at large, who complained that their liberties were sold, and power given to the popes to disturb the peace of the kingdom at their pleasure. It was not long before these fears were realized. The king, having a few years after offended the pope by taking arms in defence of heretics, was laid under the sentence of excommunication, for violating the oath which he had sworn; and his grandson, Pedro the Great, was deprived of his kingdom, as a vassal of the church, which kindled a civil war, and led to the invasion of Aragon by the French. Attempts to release themselves from this degrading vassalage were made by different monarchs, but these always issued in the renewal of their oaths of fealty to Rome; and they found it too late to throw off a yoke which had by this time been received by all the nations around them, and which they had taught their own subjects to revere and hold sacred.

The history of Spain during the period we are reviewing, furnishes important notices respecting the Waldenses, Vaudois or Albigenses, whom we formerly met with in tracing the progress of the Reformation in Italy. It is well known, that these early reformers had fixed their abode in the southern provinces of France, where they multiplied greatly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Various causes contributed to this. The inhabitants of the south of France, though inferior in arms, were superior in civilization, to those of the north. They had addicted themselves to commerce and the arts. Their cities, which were numerous and flourishing, enjoyed privileges favourable to the spirit of liberty, and which raised them nearly to the rank of the Italian republics, with which they had long traded. They possessed a language rich and flexible, which they cultivated both in prose and verse; academies for promoting the *Gui Saber*, or polite letters, were erected among them; and the Troubadours, as the Provençal poets were called, were received with honour, and listened to with enthusiasm, at the courts of the numerous petty princes among whom the country was divided. A people advanced to this stage of improvement were not disposed to listen with implicit faith to the religious dogmas which the clergy inculcated, or to submit tamely to the superstitious and absurd observances which they sought to impose. Add to this, that the manners of the clergy, both higher and lower, in these provinces, were disorderly and vicious to a proverb. "I would rather be a priest, than have done such a thing!" was a common exclamation among the people on hearing of any unworthy action. With these feelings they were prepared to listen to the reformers, who exposed the errors and corruptions which had defaced the beauty of the primitive church, and whose conduct formed, in point of decency and sobriety, a striking contrast to that of the established clergy. For the last mentioned fact we have the testimony of those monkish writers, who strove to blacken their characters, by alleging that they practised all kinds of licentiousness in secret. "I will relate (says the abbot Puy Laurens) what I have heard bishop Fulco tell as to a conversation which he had with Pons Ademar de Rodelia, a prudent knight. 'I cannot bring myself to believe,' said the latter, 'that Rome has sufficient grounds to proceed against these men.'—'Are they not unable to answer our arguments?' demanded the bishop. 'I grant it,' said the other. 'Well, then,' rejoined the bishop, 'why do you not expel and drive them from your territories?' 'We cannot do it,' replied the knight; 'we have been brought up with them; we have our friends among them; and we see them living honestly.' After relating this anecdote on the authority of the archbishop of Thoulouse, the great adversary of the Albigenses, the historian adds: "Thus it is that falsehood, veiled under the appearance of a spotless life, draws uncautious men from the truth."

The Albigensian bards, or pastors, enjoying a respite from persecution during the early part of the twelfth century, applied themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and devoted their hours of relaxation to the cultivation of poetry. They were held in veneration by the people, who named them in their wills, and left for the support of the new worship those sums which had been formerly bequeathed to the priests or appropriated for the saying of masses for their own souls and those of their departed relations. They had chapels in the principal castles; their religious service was frequented by persons of all ranks; and they numbered among their converts many individuals of noble birth, and who held some of the principal situations in the country. Among their protectors were the powerful counts of Toulouse, Raymond VI. and VII., the counts of Foix and Comenges, the viscounts of Beziers and Bearn, Savary de Mauleon, seneschal of Aquitaine, Guiraud de Minerve, and Olivier de Termes, a cavalier who had distinguished himself greatly in the wars against the infidels in the Holy Land, in Africa and in Majorca. Their opinions were avowedly entertained by the wives and sisters of these great lords, as well as by the heads of the noble houses of Mirepoix, Saissac, Lavour, Montreal, St. Michael de Fanjaux, Durfort, Lille-Jourdain, and Montsegur.

When we have stated these facts, we have said enough to account for the implacable hostility to this sect on the part of the ruling ecclesiastics, and the bloody crusades preached up against it by the monks, and conducted, under the direction of the popes, by Simon de Montfort and Louis VIII. of France, during the early part of the thirteenth century. By means of these the attempted reformation of the church was suppressed, and its disciples nearly exterminated; one of the finest regions of the world was laid waste by countless and successive hordes of barbarous fanatics—its commerce destroyed, its arts annihilated, its literature extinguished; and the progress of the human mind in knowledge and civilization, which had commenced so auspiciously, was arrested and thrown back for ages.

The intimate connection which subsisted between Spain and the South of France had great influence on the fate of the Albigensian reformers. Provence and Languedoc were at that time more properly Aragonese than French. As count of Provence, the king of Aragon was the immediate liege lord of the viscounts of Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassone. Avignon and other cities acknowledged him as their baronial superior. The principal lords, though they did homage to the king of France or to the emperor, yielded obedience in reality to the Spanish monarch, lived under his protection, and served in his armies. And several of them, by gifts from the crown, or by marriages, possessed lands in Spain.

In consequence of this connection between the two countries, some of the Vaudois had crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves in Spain as early as the middle of the twelfth century. They appear to have enjoyed repose there for some time; but in the year 1194, pope Celestin III. sent the cardinal St. Angelo as legate to attend a council at Lerida, who prevailed on Alfonso II. king of Aragon, to publish an edict, ordering the Vaudois, Poor Men of Lyons, and all other heretics, to quit his territories under severe pains. This edict not having produced any effect, was renewed three years after by Pedro II., in consequence of a decree of a council held at Gironna. With the view of securing the execution of this measure, the subscriptions of all the grandees of Catalonia were procured to the decree; and all governors and judges were required to swear before the bishops, that they would assist in discovering and punishing those infected with heresy, under the penalty of being themselves treated as heretics. Notwithstanding this edict, and the engagements he had contracted at his coronation, Pedro was disposed to be favourable to this sect. He was from the beginning displeased at the crusade which raged on the north of the Pyrenees; and having at last joined his army to those of his brother-in-law Raymond, count of Toulouse, he fell, in the year 1213, fighting in defence of the Albigenses in the battle of Muret.

This disaster, together with those that followed it, induced multitudes of the Albigenses to take refuge in Aragon, who gave ample employment to the inquisition after it was established in that country. From the accession of pope Gregory IX. to that of Alexander IV. (that is, from 1227 to 1254,) they had grown to such numbers and credit as to have churches in various parts of Catalonia and Aragon, which were provided with bishops, who boldly preached their doctrine. Gregory, in a brief which he addressed to the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, in 1232, complains of the increase of heresy in their dioceses, and exhorts them to make strict inquisition after it by means of the Dominican monks; and his successor Alexander repeated the complaint. In 1237, the flames of persecution were kindled in the viscounty of Cerdagne and Castlebon, within the diocess of Urgel; forty-five persons being condemned, of whom fifteen were burnt alive, and eighteen disinterred bodies cast into the fire. In 1267, the inquisitors of Barcelona pronounced sentence against Raymond, count of Forcalquier and Urgel, ordering his bones, as those of a relapsed heretic, to be taken out of the grave; and two years after they passed the same sentence on Arnold, viscount of Castlebon and Cerdagne, and his daughter Ermesinde, wife of Roger-Bernard II. count of Foix, surnamed the Great. Both father and daughter had been dead upwards of twenty years, yet their bones were ordered to be disinterred, "provided they could be found;" a preposterous and unnatural demonstration of zeal for the faith, which is applauded by the fanatical writers of that age, but was in fact dictated by hatred to the memory of the brave and generous Count de Foix. When summoned in his lifetime to appear before the inquisition at Toulouse, that nobleman not only treated their order with contempt, but, in his turn summoned the inquisitors of the county of Foix to appear before him as his vassals and subjects. During his exile at the court of his father-in-law, he was excommunicated by the bishop of Urgel as a favourer of heresy; and although the sentence was removed, and he died in the communion of the church, yet the inquisitors never could forgive the disinterested and determined resistance which he had made to their barbarous proceedings. They put one of his servants to the torture, with the view of extorting from him some evidence upon which they might pronounce that his master had died a heretic; and, having failed in that attempt, they now sought to wreck their vengeance on the memory and the ashes of the countess and her father.

It has been said that the Poor Men of Lyons or Waldenses, when they made their first appearance, were looked upon at Rome as an order of monks who wished to revive the decaying fervour of piety among the people, and to lead a life of superior sanctity among themselves; and that it was seriously proposed at one time to give the pontifical sanction to their internal regulations. Whatever truth there may be in this statement, it, is a curious fact, that, in Spain, some individuals of this sect did obtain a temporary respite from persecution by forming themselves into a new religious fraternity. In consequence of a dispute held at Pamiers in Languedoc, Durando de Huesca, a native of Aragon, with a number of his Albigensian brethren, yielded to the Romish missionaries, and having obtained liberty to retire into Catalonia, formed a religious community under the name of the Society of Poor Catholics. In 1207 Durando went to Rome, where he obtained from Innocent III. the remission of his former heresy, and an approbation of his fraternity, of which he was declared superior. Its members lived on alms, applied themselves to study and the teaching of schools, kept lent twice a-year, and wore a decent habit of white or gray, with shoes open at the top, but distinguished by some particular mark from those of the Poor Men of Lyons, who, from this part of their dress, were sometimes called Insabatati. The new order spread so rapidly, that in a few years it had numerous convents both to the south and north of the Pyrenees. But although the Poor Catholics professed to devote themselves to the conversion of heretics, and their superior wrote some books with that view, they soon incurred the suspicion of the bishops, who accused them of favouring the Vaudois, and concealing their heretical tenets under the monastic garb. They had interest to maintain themselves for some time, and even to procure letters from his holiness, exhorting the bishops to endeavour to gain them by kindness instead of alienating their minds from the church by severe treatment; but their enemies at last prevailed, and within a short time no trace of their establishments was to be found.

The Albigenses were not confined to Aragon and Catalonia. Of the extent to which they spread in the kingdom of Castile and Leon, we may form some judgment from an amusing anecdote, related from personal knowledge, by Lucio, bishop of Tuy, known, as a writer against the Albigenses, by the name of Lucas Tudensis; and which I shall give as nearly in his own words as is consistent with perspicuity. After the death of Roderic, bishop of Leon (in the year 1237), great dissention arose about the election of his successor. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the heretics flocked from all quarters to that city. In one of the suburbs, where every kind of filth was thrown, lay, along with those of a murderer, the bones of a heretic, named Arnold, who had been buried sixteen years before. Near to this was a fountain, over which they erected an edifice, and having taken up the bones of Arnold, whom they extolled as a martyr, deposited them in it. To this place a number of persons, hired by the heretics, came; and feigning themselves to be blind, lame, and afflicted with other disorders, they drank of the waters of the fountain, and then went away, saying that they were suddenly and miraculously healed. This being noised abroad, great multitudes flocked to the spot. After they had got a number of the clergy, as well as laity, to give credit to the pretended cures, the heretics disclosed the imposition which they had practised, and then boasted that all the miracles performed at the tombs of the saints were of the same kind. By this means they drew many to their heresy. In vain did the Dominican and Franciscan friars attempt to stem the torrent of defection, by exclaiming against the sin of offering sacrilegious prayers in a place defiled by profane bones. They were cried down as heretics and unbelievers. In vain did the adjacent bishops excommunicate those who visited the fountain or worshipped in the temple. The devil had seized the minds of the people and fascinated their senses. At last, a deacon, who resided at Rome, hearing of the state of matters in his native city, hastened to Leon, and "in a kind of frenzy," at the risk of his life, upbraided the inhabitants for favouring heretics, and called on the magistrates to abate the nuisance. For some months before his arrival, the country had been afflicted with a severe drought. This he declared to be a judgment from heaven on account of their sin, but promised that it should be removed within eight days from the time that they pulled down the heretical temple. The magistrates granted him permission, and he razed the builing to its foundation. Scarcely was this done, when a fire devoured a great part of the city, and for seven days no symptom of rain appeared; upon which the heretics insulted over the deacon. But on the eighth day the clouds collected, and poured down copious and refreshing showers on all the surrounding country. "After this, the aforesaid deacon raised persecution against the heretics, who, being forced to leave the city, were miserably scattered abroad." We are assured, and not without great probability, that the deacon was no other than Lucas Tudensis, whose modesty induced him to suppress his name in relating the prediction and the persecution, in both of which he appears to have equally gloried.

In spite of the occupation given to the clergy by the suppression of the Knights Templars, and the schism of the antipopes, the persecution of the Albigenses seldom relaxed during the fourteenth century. Scarce a year passed in which numbers were not barbarously led to the stake. Among those who were condemned for heresy at this period, was Arnaldo of Villaneuva in Aragon, a celebrated physician and chemist. He taught, that the whole Christian people had, through the craft of the devil, been drawn aside from the truth, and retained nothing but the semblance of ecclesiastical worship, which they kept up from the force of custom; that those who lived in cloisters threw themselves out of charity, and that the religious orders in general falsified the doctrines of Christ; that it is not a work of charity to endow chapels for celebrating mases for the dead; that those who devoted their money to this purpose, instead of providing for the poor, and especially the poor belonging to Christ, exposed themselves to damnation; that offices of mercy and medicine are more acceptable to the Deity than the sacrifice of the altar; and that God is praised in the eucharist not by the hands of the priest, but by the mouth of the communicant. Such being his avowed sentiments, we need not wonder that he was doomed to expiate his temerity by suffering the fire, from which he saved himself by flying from his native country, and taking refuge with Ferdinand, king of Sicily. To Arnald we may add a writer of the following century, Raimond de Sebonde, author of a treatise on natural theology, who was charged with heresy for asserting that all saving truths are contained, and clearly proposed, in the sacred scriptures.

From 1412 to 1425, a great number of persons who entertained the sentiments of the Vaudois were committed to the flames by the inquisitors of Valentia, Rousillon, and Majorca. It appears that the followers of Wickliffe had migrated to the Peninsula; for in 1441, the inquisitors of Aragon and Valentia reconciled some of them to the church, and condemned others to the fire as obstinate heretics. If we may trust the monkish annalists, Spain was also visited at this period by the Beghards, a fanatical sect which the corruptions of the church and the ignorance of the times had generated in Germany and other parts of Europe. But this is uncertain, as it was common for the clergy to apply this and similar names to the Vaudois, with the view of exciting odium against them, and justifying their own cruelties. In 1350, we are told, a warm inquisition was commenced in Valentia against the Beghards, whose leader was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the bones of many of his disciples dug up and consigned to the flames; and in 1442, it was found they had multiplied at Durango, a town of Biscay, and in the diocese of Calahorra. Alfonso de Mella, a Franciscan, and brother of the bishop of Zamora, who was afterwards invested with the purple, having incurred the suspicion of being at the head of this party, fled, along with his companions, to the Moors, among whom "he died miserably at Grenada, being pierced with reeds; an example (says the biographer of his brother) worthy to be recorded, of the variety of human affairs, and the opposite dispositions of persons who lay in the same womb." On application to John II. king of Castile, a band of royal musqueteers was sent to scour the mountains of Biscay, and the higher districts of Old Castile, who drove down the heretics like cattle before them, and delivered them to the inquisitors, by whom they were committed to the flames at St. Domingo de la Calzado, and Valladolid. Thus were the Albigenses, after a barbarous and unrelenting persecution of two centuries, exterminated in Spain, with the exception of a few, who contrived to conceal themselves in the more remote aad inaccessible parts of the country, and at a subsequent period, furnished occasionally a straggling victim to the familiars of the inquisition, when surfeited with the blood of Jews and Moriscoes.

During these proceedings, Rome succeeded in establishing its empire a second time in Spain, and that in a more durable form than in the days of the Scipios and Augustus. This conquest was achieved chiefly by means of the monks and friars. Anciently the number of convents and of monks in Spain was small; but it multiplied greatly from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The beginning of that period was marked by the infliction of that scourge of society, and outrage of all decency—privileged and meritorious mendicity. Of all the orders of mendicant friars, the most devoted to the See of Rome were those founded by St. Dominic and St. Francis, the former the most odious, the latter the most frantic, of modern saints. Within a few years after their institution, convents belonging to both these orders were to be found in every part of Spain. Though the Dominicans, owing to the patronage of the court of Rome, or to their founder being a Spaniard, enjoyed the greatest share of political power, yet the reception given to the Franciscans left them no ground to complain of Spanish inhospitality. An event which happened at the close of the fifteenth century contributed to the still more rapid increase of religious houses. A great part of the wealth which flowed into Spain after the discovery of the New World, found its way to the church. Imitating the Pagan warriors who dedicated the spoils which they had gained to their gods, the Spaniards who enriched themselves by pillaging and murdering the Indians, sought to testify their gratitude or to expatiate their crimes by lavishing ornaments on churches and endowing monasteries. The following examples show the rate at which the regular clergy increased. The first Franciscan missionaries entered Spain in the year 1216; and, in 1400, they had, within the three provinces of Santiago, Castile, and Aragon, including Portugal, twenty-three *custodiæ*, composed of an hundred and twenty-one convents. But in the year 1506, the Regular Observantines, who formed only the third division of that order, had a hundred and ninety convents in Spain, excluding Portugal. In the year 1030, the city of Salamanca did not contain a single convent; in 1480, it possessed nine, of which six were for males, and three for females; and in 1518 it could number thirty-nine convents, while its nuns alone amounted to eleven thousand.

The corruption of the monastic institutions kept pace with the increase of their numbers and wealth. The licentiousness of the regular clergy became notorious. They broke through the rules prescribed by their founders, and laid aside that austere mode of living by which they had at first acquired all their reputation. Even those who had vowed the most rigid poverty, such as the Observantines, or third order of St. Francis, procured dispensations from Rome, in virtue of which they possessed rents, and property in houses and lands. By the original regulations of St. Francis, all belonging to his order bound themselves to live purely on alms, and were strictly prohibited from receiving any money, on whatever pretext, even as wages for labour performed by them, "unless for the manifest necessity of infirm brethren." The monastic historians are greatly puzzled to account for the glaring departure from this rule of poverty; probably forgetting, or not wishing to have recourse to the well known maxim, that nature abhors a vacuum. Sometimes they wish to account for it by saying that a destructive pestilence, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, thinned the monasteries, which were afterwards filled with novices of a more earthly mould. But they are forced to trace the evil to a more remote source, and to impute it to brother Elias, a native of Cortona, and vicar-general of the order of Franciscans, under its founder. As early as 1223, he began to hint to his brethren that the rule prescribed to them was a yoke which neither they nor their successors could bear; but was silenced by the authority of St. Francis. After the death of the saint, he was more successful in gaining proselytes to his opinion, and drew upon himself the sentence of excommunication, from which, however, he was ultimately relieved.

The kings of Spain attempted at different times to correct these abuses, but the monks and friars had always the influence or the address to defeat the measure. When the glaring nature of the evil induced Ferdinand and Isabella to renew the attempt at the close of the fifteenth century, they were obliged to employ force; nor would their united authority have been sufficient to carry the point, had they not availed themselves of the sagacity and firmness of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, himself a friar, and inflamed with the passion of restoring the order of St. Francis, of which he was then provincial, to all the poverty and rigour of its original institution. Lorenzo Vacca, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Spirit at Segovia, relying on the papal bulls which he had procured, made such resistance to the plans of his provincial, that the government found it necessary to commit him to prison, from which he escaped, and repairing to Rome, exerted himself, through the influence of Ascanio Sforza and other cardinals, in counteracting the reform of the religious order in Spain. The Franciscan Friars of Toledo carried their resistance so far, that an order was issued to banish them from the kingdom; upon which they left the city in solemn procession, carrying a crucifix before them, and chaunting the psalm which begins, *When Israel went up out of Egypt*, &c. The biographers of Ximenes represent him as having reformed all the religious institutions in Spain; but it is evident that his success was partial, and chiefly confined to his own order. So far as they proceeded on the rigid principles of monarchism, the regulations which he introduced were unnatural and pernicious, and such of them as were favourable to morals were soon swept away by the increasing tide of corruption.

It has been said, that Ximenes abolished a number of superstitious practices which had crept into the worship of the Spanish church during the dark ages; and in proof of this we are told that he revived the Mozarabic office, and appointed it to be used in all the churches of his diocese. But the writers who make this assertion have fallen into a mistake, both as to what was done by the cardinal, and as to the object he had in view. Perceiving that the Mozarabic service had fallen into desuetude in the six churches of Toledo, in which its use had been enjoined by an old law, he was desirous to preserve this venerable relic of antiquity. With this view he employed Alfonso Ortiz, one of the canons of his cathedral, to collate all the copies of that liturgy which could be found; and, the Gothic letters in which they were written being changed into Roman, he caused the work to be printed. Some years after, he erected a chapel in the cathedral church, with an endowment for thirteen priests, whose duty it was to celebrate the service according to that liturgy. There is reason to think that he ordered it to be also used on certain festivals in the churches commonly called Mozarabic; but it is certain that the order did not extend to the other churches of his diocese. So far was it from his intention to make any innovation on the existing forms of worship, or to supplant the Roman by the ancient Spanish liturgy, that he interpolated his edition of the latter, in order to render it more conformable to the former; thus destroying its character and use as an ancient document. Among these interpolations are "a prayer for the adoration of the cross," and offices for a number of saints who lived before as well as after the compilation of the liturgy; for the ancient Goths and Mozarabes commemorated none but martyrs in their public service. Ferdinand de Talavera, archbishop of Granada, endowed, about the same time, a chapel in Salamanca, in which the service continued to be celebrated according to this ritual at the close of the seventeenth century.

It might be presumed, from the statements already made, and from what we know of other countries, that the Spanish clergy had sunk very low in point of knowledge, and that the absurdities which one of their countrymen afterwards exposed so wittily in *Fray Gerundio*, were not less common or less ridiculous before the revival of letters. But on this head we are not left to conjecture. In an address to queen Isabella, cardinal Ximenes acknowledges the gross ignorance that prevailed among the priests. This led to the adoption of the most absurd opinions, and the practice of the most extravagant superstitions. Legends and lives of saints formed the favourite reading of the devout, while the vulgar fed on the stories of every-day miracles which the priests and friars ministered fresh to their credulity. The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin met with believers in other countries; but Spain could boast of an order of nuns consecrated to the honour of that newly-invented mystery. The doctrine of transubstantiation, which many even at that period could not digest without difficulty, was no trial of faith to a Spaniard. "Do you believe that this wafer is the body of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" was the question which the parish priests of Valencia, in the fourteenth century, were accustomed to put to dying persons; and on obtaining an affimative answer, they administered the host. Another attempt to extend the mysterious process a little farther met with greater opposition. Eimeric, the author of the celebrated *Guide to Inquisitors*, wrote against Bonet and Mairon, who maintained that St. John the Evangelist became the real son of the Virgin, in consequence of his body being transubstantiated into that of Christ, by the words pronounced on the cross, *Ecce filius tuus, Behold thy Son.*

CHAPTER II.

On the state of Literature in Spain before the era of the Reformation.

Having taken a general survey of the state of religion in Spain before the Reformation, let us look back for a little and trace the restoration of letters, which opened the prospect of a better order of things in that country. The learning of Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century, and, next to St. James, is venerated by the Spaniards as a tutelary saint, rests on a better foundation than the encomium of Gregory the Great, who called him a second Daniel. Besides various theological and historical treatises, he composed a work on entomology, which, though disfigured by errors, discovers a considerable portion of philological knowledge, and contributed to check the barbarism which had already invaded every country in Europe. But ages of darkness succeeded, during which, while the name of St. Isidore was held in veneration, his works were disregarded, by an ignorant priesthood, into whose hands the key of knowledge had fallen.

It is not to the credit of Christianity, or at least of those who professed it, that, during the middle ages, letters were preserved from extinction, and even revived from the decline which had seized them, by the exertions of the followers of Mahomet. The tenth century, which has been denominated the leaden age of Europe, was the golden age of Asia. Modern writers have perhaps gone to an extreme on both sides in forming their estimate of the degree in which European literature is indebted to the Arabians. But when we find that this people have left such evident marks of their language upon that of Spain, it seems unreasonable to doubt that they had also great influence upon its literature. Cordova, Granada, and Seville, rivalled one another in the magnificence of their schools and libraries, during the empire of the Saracens, who granted to the Spanish Christians, whom they had subjugated, that protection in their religious rights, which the latter were far from imitating when they in their turn became the conquerors. The two languages were spoken in common. The Christians began to vie with their masters in the pursuit of science, composed commentaries on the scriptures in Arabic, and transfused the beauties of eastern poetry into the Castilian language. It is even said, that a bishop of Seville, at this early period, translated the scriptures into the Arabic tongue.

If the Spanish language was in danger of suffering from the predominance of the Arabians, the evil was counteracted by the cultivation of Provençal poetry. In the twelfth century, Alfonso II. of Aragon, whose name has an honourable place among the Troubadours, zealously patronised those who wrote in the Catalonian or Valencian dialect. In the subsequent century, Alfonso X. of Castile, surnamed the Wise, showed himself equally zealous in encouraging the study of the Castilian tongue, in which he wrote several poems; at the same time that he extracted the knowledge which was to be found in the books of the Arabians; as appears, among other proofs, from the astronomical tables, called from him Alphonsine. The writings of Dante, Checo, Dascoli, and Petrarch, gave a new impulse to the literature of Spain. From this period the study of the ancient classics imparted greater purity and elevation to works of imagination; and a taste for poetical compositions in their native tongue began to be felt by the Spanish gentry, who had hitherto found their sole pastime in arms and military tournaments. Among those who distinguished themselves by improving the taste of their countrymen in the first part of the fifteenth century, were two persons of illustrious birth, in whose families the love of learning was long hereditary. Henry of Aragon, marquis of Villena, descended from the royal houses of Aragon and Castile, revived the *Consistorio de la Gaya Sciencia*, an academy instituted at Barcelona for the encouragement of poetry, of which he was the president. His superior knowledge, combined perhaps with a portion of that learned credulity of which those who addicted themselves to astronomy and experimental science during the middle ages were often the dupes, brought on him the suspicion of necromancy. In consequence of this, his books were seized after his death, by the orders of Juan II. king of Castile, and sent for examination to Lope de Barrientos, a Dominican monk of considerable learning, and preceptor to the prince of Asturias. "Barrientos," says a contemporary writer, "liking better to walk with the prince than to revise necromancies, committed to the flames upwards of a hundred volumes, without having examined them any more than the king of Morocco, or understood a jot of their contents more than the dean of Ciudad Rodrigo. There are many in the present day," continues he, "who become learned men, by pronouncing others fools and magicians; and what is worse, make themselves saints, by stigmatizing others as sorcerers." This indignity done to the memory of "the ornament of Spain and of the age," was bewailed, both in verse and prose, by writers of that time.

Equally learned as Villena, but more fortunate in preserving his good name and his books, was Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana, who, in a treatise, intended as a preface to his own poetical works, has acted the part of historian to his countrymen who preceded him in paying court to the muse. The merits of both marquises have been celebrated by the pen of Juan de Mena, unquestionably the first Spanish poet of that age.

It is not unworthy of remark here, that the Jews while they enjoyed protection in Spain, co-operated with the Christians in the cultivation of polite letters. Rabbi Don Santo, who flourished about the year 1360, makes the following modest and not inelegant apology for taking his place among the poets of the land which had given him birth:—

The rose that twines a thorny sprig,
Will not the less perfume the earth;
Good wine, that leaves a creeping twig,
Is not the worse for humble birth.

The hawk may be of noble kind,
That from a filthy aiery flew;
And precepts are not less refined,
Because they issue from a Jew.

Long after their expulsion from Spain, the Jews cherished an ardent attachment to the Castilian tongue, in which they continued to compose works both in prose and verse.

On looking into the writings of the ancient Spanish poets, we are induced to conclude, that they were not in the habit of using those liberties with the church and clergy which were indulged in by the poets of Italy and the troubadours of Provence. There is reason however to think, that the absence of these satires is to be accounted for, in no small degree, by the prudence of the editors of their works, and the vigilance of the censors of the press, after the invention of printing. Accordingly, of later years, since the severity of the inquisition relaxed, and a passion to do justice to their literary antiquities has been felt by the Spaniards, poems have been brought to the light, though still with much caution, which two centuries ago would have earned for their learned editors a perpetual prison. The poems of Juan Ruiz, archpriest of Hita, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century, contain severe satires on the avarice and loose manners of the clergy. He represents money as opening the gates of Paradise, purchasing salvation to the people, and benefices to priests; as equally powerful at the court of Rome and elsewhere, with the pope and with all orders of the clergy, secular and regular; as converting a lie into the truth, and the truth into a lie. In another poem he is as severe against the manners of the clergy, whom he describes as living avowedly in concubinage. He represents Don Gil de Albornoz, archbishop of Talavera, as having procured a mandate from the pope, ordering all his clergy to put away the wives or concubines whom they kept in their houses, under the pain of excommunication. When this mandate was read to them in a public assembly, it excited a warm opposition; violent speeches were made against it by the dean and others; some of them declared that they would sooner part with their dignities; and it was finally agreed that they should appeal from the pope to the king of Castile.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, literature was advanced under the patronage of Alfonso V. of Aragon. The education of this monarch had been neglected, and the early part of his life was spent in arms; but at fifty years of age he applied himself to study with such eagerness that he was soon able to read with ease the Roman classics, which became his constant companions. He disputed with the house of Medici the honour of entertaining men of letters, and rescuing the writings of antiquity from oblivion. When he had taken a town, his soldiers could not do the prince a greater pleasure than to bring him a book which they had discovered among the spoils; and Cosmo de' Medici, by the present of an ancient manuscript, procured from him a treaty highly favourable to Florence. Anthony of Palermo, usually styled Panormitanus, who wrote the history of his life, resided at his court in great honour; and Laurentius Valla, one of the most profound and elegant scholars of that age, when persecuted for the freedom of his opinions, was protected by Alfonso at Naples, where he opened a school for Greek and Roman eloquence.

Alfonso de Palencia, having visited Italy, became acquainted with cardinal Bessarian, and attended the lectures which the learned Greek Trapezuntius delivered on eloquence and his native tongue. On his return to Spain, he was made historiographer to Henry IV. of Castile, and afterwards to queen Isabella; and by his translations from Greek into the Castilian language, as well as by a work on grammar, excited a taste for letters among his countrymen. He was followed by Antonio de Lebrixa, usually styled Nebrissensis, who became to Spain what Valla was to Italy, Erasmus to Germany, and Budé to France. After a residence of ten years in Italy, during which he had stored his mind with various kinds of knowledge, he returned home in 1473, by the advice of the younger Philelphus and Hermolaus Barbarus, with the view of promoting classical learning in his native country. Hitherto the revival of letters in Spain was confined to a few inquisitive individuals, and had not reached the schools and universities, whose teachers continued to teach a barbarous jargon, under the name of Latin, into which they initiated the youth by means of a rude system of grammar, rendered unintelligible, in some instances, by a preposterous intermixture of the most abstruse questions in metaphysics. By the lectures which he read in the universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcala, and by the institutes which he published on Castilian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammar, Lebrixa contributed in a wonderful degree to expel barbarism from the seats of education, and to diffuse a taste for elegant and useful studies among his countrymen. His improvements were warmly opposed by the monks, who had engrossed the art of teaching, and who, unable to bear the light themselves, wished to prevent all others from seeing it; but, enjoying the support of persons of high authority, he disregarded their selfish and ignorant outcries. Lebrixa continued, to an advanced age, to support the literary reputation of his native country. During his residence at Salamanca, he was joined by three able coadjutors. The first was Arius Barbosa, a Portuguese, who had studied under the elegant Italian scholar, Angelo Politiano, and was equally skilled in Greek as Lebrixa was in Latin. The second was Lucio Marineo, a native of Sicily, who, in 1485, accompanied the grand admiral of Castile into Spain, and began to read lectures on poetry. The third was Peter Martyr of Anghiera, to whose letters we are indebted for some interesting particulars respecting the state of literature in Spain, along with much valuable information on the political transactions of that country, and the affairs of the new world. In 1488, he was persuaded to leave Italy by the conde de Tendilla, who inherited that love of letters which had distinguished his illustrious ancestor, the Marquis of Santillana. Martyr commenced his literary career in Spain, by reading, with great applause, a lecture on one of the satires of Juvenal, at Salamanca; but he was soon called from that station to an employment of higher responsibility, for which he was eminently qualified. Under the patronage, and at the earnest desire of queen Isabella, who had herself taken lessons from Lebrixa, he undertook to superintend the education of the sons of the principal nobility, with the view of rooting out an opinion almost universally prevalent among persons of that order in Spain, that learning unfitted them for military affairs, in which they placed all their glory. The school was accordingly opened at court, not without a flattering prospect of success. But Spain was destined to exhaust her energies in gratifying the mad ambition for conquest of a succession of princes, and then to sink into inactivity under the benumbing influence of superstition and despotism. Finding the prejudice against education, in the minds of his pupils, more inveterate than he had anticipated, Martyr accepted of a political appointment; and the plan for inspiring the nobility with the love of polite letters, was abandoned soon after it had been begun under such good auspices.

In the mean time, the passion for learning spread from Salamanca to the other universities of the kingdom. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francesco Ximenes, at that time archbishop of Toledo, restored and enlarged the university of Alcala de Henares, in which he founded a trilingual college. To acquire celebrity to his favourite institution he procured learned teachers to fill its chairs, among whom were Demetrius Ducas and Nicetas Phaustus, two natives of Greece, and Fernando Nunez, a descendant of the noble house of Guzman. The latter, who had sacrificed his prospect of civil honours to the love of study, was inferior to none of his learned countrymen, and has left behind him a name in the republic of letters.

Living in the midst of Jews and Moors, and frequently engaged in controversy with them on their respective creeds, the Christians in Spain had better opportunities and a more powerful stimulus to study the oriental languages, than their brethren in other parts of Europe. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Raymond de Pennaforte, general of the Dominicans, persuaded Juan I., king of Aragon, to appropriate funds for the education of young men who might be qualified for entering the lists in argument with Jews and Mahometans. And in 1259 it was appointed, at a general chapter of the Dominicans held at Valencia, that the prior of that order in Spain should see to the erection of a school for Arabic, at Barcelona or elsewhere. From this school proceeded several individuals who distinguished themselves as disputants, both orally and by writing. Among the latter was Raymond Martini, the author of Pugio Fidei, or Poignard of the Faith against Jews and Moors; a work which discovers no contemptible acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and with the Rabbinical writings, which it quotes and comments upon in the original.* To the attention paid to the oriental tongues in Spain may be traced the decree of the council of Vienne, held under pope Clement V. in the year 1311, which ordained that Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic, should be taught in whatever place the pontifical court might be held, and in the universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca.

The ardour with which these studies were prosecuted, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, led to the publication of the famous Complutensian Polyglot. This *chef d'oeuvre* of Spanish erudition was executed under the patronage and at the expense of cardinal Ximenes, then archbishop of Toledo; a prelate whose pretensions to learning were slender, but whose ambition prompted him to seek distinction equally in the convent, the academy, the cabinet, and the field. In imitation of the celebrated Origen, he projected an edition of the Bible in various languages, and expended large sums of money in supporting the learned men who were engaged in the undertaking, purchasing manuscripts for their use, and providing the requisite printers and types. The work commenced in 1502, and the printing was finished in 1517, in six volumes folio, at the press of Complutum, or Alcala de Henares. The Old Testament contained the original Hebrew text, the Vulgate or Latin version of Jerome, and the Greek version of the Septuagint, arranged in three columns; and at the foot of each page of the Pentateuch was printed the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, accompanied with a Latin translation. The New Testament contained the original Greek, and the Vulgate Latin version. To the whole were added a grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew language, and a Greek lexicon or vocabulary, with some other explanatory treatises. John Brocar, the son of the printer, was accustomed to relate, that when the last sheet came from the press, he, being then a boy, was sent in his best clothes with a copy of it to the cardinal, who gave thanks to God for sparing him to that day, and turning to his attendants, said that he congratulated himself on the completion of that work more than on any of the acts which had distinguished his administration.

Spanish writers have been two lavish of their encomiums on the Polyglot of Alcala. The Hebrew and Greek manuscripts employed by its compilers were neither numerous nor ancient; and instead of correcting the text of the Septuagint from the copies which were in their possession, they made alterations of their own, with the view of adapting it to the Hebrew text. Some of the learned men who laboured in this work, must have been ashamed of the following specimen of puerile devotion to the Vulgate, which occurs in one of the prologues written in the name of Ximenes. Speaking of the order in which the matter is disposed in the columns, he says: "We have put the version of St. Jerome between the Hebrew and Septuagint, as between the synagogue and Eastern church, which are like the two thieves, the one on the right and the other on the left hand, and Jesus, that is, the Roman church, in the middle: for this alone, being founded upon a solid rock, remains always immovable in the truth, while the others deviate from the proper sense of scripture."* But notwithstanding these defects, when we consider the period at which it was composed, and the example which it held out, we cannot hesitate in affirming that this work reflects great credit on its authors, and on the munificence of the prelate at whose expense it was executed.

The Arabic language was also cultivated at this time by some individuals in Spain. This branch of study was zealously patronised by Fernando de Talavera, who, after the overthrow of the Moorish kingdom, was appointed the first archbishop of Grenada. This pious and amiable prelate, being desirous of converting the Moors who resided in his diocese by gentle and rational methods, and consequently of promoting the knowledge of Christianity among them, encouraged the clergy under his charge to make themselves masters of the Arabian tongue. With the view of assisting them in this task, he employed his chaplain, Pedro de Alcala, a Hieronymite monk, to draw up an Arabic grammar, vocabulary, and catechism containing the first rudiments of Christian doctrine, for the use of parish priests and catechists; which were the first books ever printed in that language. In order the more effectually to promote the same object, the archbishop caused the religious service to be performed in their vernacular tongue, to such of the Moors as had submitted to baptism, or were willing to be instructed; and, accordingly, Arabic translations of the collects from the Gospels and Epistles were also made by his orders. It was his intention to have the whole scriptures translated into that language, agreeably to what is said to have been done at an early period of the Moorish dominion in Spain.

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* The work was composed in 1278. (Pugio Fidei, part ii. cap. 10. § 1. p. 395. edit. Carpzovii.) Its fate is curious. Porchet, a converted Jew, in the fourteenth century, transcribed a great part of it into a work which he composed under the title of Victoria adversus Hebraeos, which was printed in 1520. He acknowledged his obligations to Martini; an act of justice which was not done him by Galatinus, who used the same liberties in his Arcana Catholicae Veritatis, printed in 1513. De Porta says that Galatinus, when he departs from the Pugio, copies almost verbally from the Capistrum or Noose, (another work of Martini,) as he found by consulting a MS. copy of the last-named book in the library of Bologna. (De Linguis Orient. p. 62.) The plagiarism of Galatinus was first detected in 1603 by Joseph Scaliger, who, however, confounded Raymond Martini with Raymond Sebonde. The Pugio Fidei was at last published entire in 1651, with learned annotations by Joseph de Voisin, and elegantly reprinted in 1687, under the care of John Benedict Carpzov, who prefixed to it an Introduction to Jewish Theology.

* Many Roman catholic writers are ashamed of this conceit, (as they call it,) which, if it has any meaning, implies a severe censure on the whole undertaking. Le Long suppressed it, in his account of the work. Not so Nicholas Ramus, bishop of Cuba, who, in a commentary on the words, informs us that "the Hebrew original represents the bad thief, and the Septuagint version the good thief." Pere Simon appeared at first inclined to make the transatlantic bishop responsible both for the text and the commentary; but he afterwards acknowledges that the former is to be found in the Complutensian prologue to the reader. (Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. p. 350; conf. p. 577.)

These measures, which were applauded by all enlightened men, met with the strenuous opposition of cardinal Ximenes, who, while he wished to be regarded as the patron of learning, was a determined enemy to the progress of knowledge. The archbishop had appealed to the authority of St. Paul, who said, "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." But the cardinal pleaded that the times were changed, and appealed to St. Peter. To put the sacred oracles into the hands of those who were but newly initiated into our religion, was, in his opinion, to throw pearls before swine. Nor did he think it a whit safer to intrust the old Christians with this treasure; for, (added he, changing the metaphor,) in this old age of the world, when religion is so far degenerated from that purity which prevailed in the time of St. Paul, the vulgar are in danger of wresting the scriptures to their destruction. Knowing that the common people are inclined to revere what is concealed, and to despise what is known, the wisest nations have always kept them at a distance from the mysteries of religion. Books written by men of approved piety, and calculated, by the examples which they propose, or by the fervour of their style, to raise the dejected, and recall the minds of men from the things of sense to divine contemplation, might be safely circulated in the vulgar tongue; and it was the cardinal's intention, as soon as he found leisure, to publish some works of this description; but the sacred scriptures ought to be exclusively preserved in the three languages in which the inscription on our Saviour's cross was written; and if ever this rule should be neglected, the most pernicious effects would ensue. This opinion, which is merely a commentary on the favourite maxim of the church of Rome, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, has met with the warm approbation of his biographer, and was afterwards produced as a proof of his prophetic gift, along with his miracles, in the application which the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso made to the papal court for his canonization. The arguments of Ximenes were not of a kind to carry conviction to the minds of those who favoured enlightened measures; but they were the arguments of a man who, unfortunately for the best interests of Spain, had even then acquired great influence in the councils of government, and continued for many years to have the chief direction of the affairs of the nation, both civil and ecclesiastical. The books which the cardinal had promised as a substitute for the Gospels and Epistles made their appearance, consisting of treatises of mystic or rather monastic devotion, and the lives of some of its most high-flying zealots, both male and female; such as, the Letters of Santa Catalina de Sena, of Santa Angela de Fulgino, and of Santa Matilda, the Degrees of San Juan Climaco, the Instructions of San Vicente Ferrer, and of Santa Clara, the Meditations of the Carthusian Thomas Landulpho, and the Life of St. Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

The opposition of Ximenes, and the violent and impolitic measures which the government adopted against the Jews and Moors, checked the cultivation of oriental literature to such a degree, that, in the year 1535, when an enthusiastic scholar visited Spain, he found Hebrew neglected, and could not meet with a single native acquainted with Arabic, except the venerable Nunez, who still recollected the characters of a language to which he had paid some attention in his youth.

A translation of the Scriptures into Spanish, of which I shall afterwards speak, had probably little influence in preparing for the introduction of the reformed opinions, as all the copies of it appear to have been destroyed soon after it came from the press. Considerable light was thrown upon the sacred writings by those who studied them in the original languages, at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. Pablo de San Maria of Burgos, commonly called Paulus Burgensis, a converted Jew, discovered the same acquaintance with Hebrew which distinguishes the Postilla, or notes on Scripture, by Nicolas de Lira, to which he made additions. Alfonso Tostado, bishop of Avila, who wrote commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament, and on Matthew, had formed correct notions of the literal and proper sense of Scripture, and of the duty of an interpreter to adhere to it in opposition to the method of the allegorizing divines; but he swelled his works to an immoderate bulk, by indulging in digressions on common places. Pedro de Osma, professor of theology at Salamanca, employed his talents in correcting the original text of the New Testament, by a critical collation of different manuscripts. He displayed the same freedom of opinion on doctrinal points; and in 1479 was forced to abjure eight propositions relating to the power of the pope, and the sacrament of penance, which were extracted from a book written by him on Confession, and condemned as erroneous by a council held at Alcala. Besides his services in the cause of polite literature, Antonio Lebrixa wrote several works, illustrative of the Scriptures, for which he was brought before the Inquisition, and would have incurred the same censure as De Osma, had he not been so fortunate as to secure the protection of their Catholic Majesties.

By the labours of these men, together with the writings of their countryman Ludovicus Vives, who had settled in the Low Countries, and of his friend Erasmus, a salutary change was produced on the minds of the youth at the universities. They became disgusted at the barbarism of scholastic theology, read the Scriptures for themselves, consulted them in the originals, and from these sources ventured to correct the errors of the Vulgate, and to expose the absurd and puerile interpretations which had so long passed current under the shade of ignorance and credulity.

Having put the reader in possession of the circumstances connected with the state of letters and knowledge which tended to facilitate the introduction of the reformed doctrine into Spain, I shall now take a view of the obstacles with which it had to contend, of which the most formidable by far was the Inquisition.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Inquisition, and other obstacles to the Reformation in Spain.

Soon after the Roman empire became Christian, laws were enacted, subjecting those who propagated erroneous opinions to punishment, under the false idea that heresy, or error in matters of revelation, was a crime and an offence against the state. The penalties were in general moderate, compared with those which were decreed at a subsequent period. Manicheism, which was considered as eversive of the principles of natural religion, and dangerous to morals, was the only heresy visited with capital punishment; a penalty which was afterwards extended to the Donatists, who were chargeable with exciting tumults in various parts of the empire. The bishops of that time were far from soliciting the execution of these penal statutes, which in most instances had passed at their desire, or with their consent. They flattered themselves that the publication of severe laws, by the terror which it inspired, would repress the hardihood of daring innovators, and induce their deluded followers to listen to instruction, and return to the bosom of the faithful church. When Priscillian was put to death for Manicheism, at Treves in 384, St. Martin, the apostle of the French, remonstrated with the emperor Maximus against the deed, which was regarded with abhorrence by all the bishops of France and Italy. St. Augustine protested to the proconsul of Africa, that, if capital punishment was inflicted on the Donatists, he and his clergy would suffer death at the hands of these turbulent heretics sooner than be instrumental in bringing them before the tribunals. But it is easier to draw than to sheathe the sword of persecution; and the ecclesiastics of a following age were zealous in stimulating reluctant magistrates to execute these laws, and in procuring the application of them to persons who held opinions which their predecessors looked upon as harmless or laudable. In the eleventh century, capital punishment, even in its most dreadful form, that of burning alive, was extended to all who obstinately adhered to opinions differing from the received faith.

Historians have not pointed our with precision the period at which this extension of the penal code took place, or the grounds on which it proceeded. Instances of the practice occur previously to the imperial edict of Frederic II. in 1224, and even to that of Frederic I. in 1184. It appears to me to have been at first introduced by confounding the different sects which arose with the followers of Manes. Taking advantage of the circumstance, that some individuals belonging to those who went by the names of Henricians, Arnoldist, Poor Men of Lyons, and Vaudois, held the leading tenet of Manicheism, the clergy fixed this stigma on the whole body, and called on magistrates to visit them with the penalty decreed against that odious heresy. In an ignorant age this charge was easily believed. It was in vain that the victims of persecution protested against the indiscriminate accusation, or disowned the sentiments imputed to them. By the time that undeniable facts cleared their innocence, the public mind had learned to view the severity of their fate with indifference or approbation; and the punishment of death, under the general phrase of delivering over to the secular arm, came to be considered as the common award for all who entertained opinions opposite to those of the church of Rome, or who presumed to inveigh against the corruptions of the priesthood.

Other causes, some of which had been long in operation, contributed to work, in the course of the eleventh century, a great change on the criminal proceedings against heretics. The sentence of excommunication, which at first only excluded from the privileges of the church, was now considered as inflicting a mark of public infamy on those who incurred it; from which the transition was not difficult, in a superstitious age, to the idea that it deprived them of all the rights, natural or civil, of which they were formerly in possession. The unhappy individuals who were struck with this spiritual thunder, felt all the bonds which connected them with society suddenly dissolved, and were regarded as objects at once of divine execration and human abhorrence. Subjects threw off their allegiance to their legitimate sovereigns; sovereigns gave up their richest and most peaceable provinces to fire and sword; the territories of a vassal became lawful prey to his neighbours; and a man's enemies were those of his own house. The Roman pontiffs, who had extended their authority by affecting an ardent zeal for the honour of the Christian faith, found a powerful engine for accomplishing their ambitious designs, in the crusades, undertaken at their instigation, to deliver the Holy Land, and the sepulchre of Christ, from the pollution of infidels. These mad expeditions, whose indirect influence was ultimately favourable to European civilization, were in the mean time productive of the worst effects. While they weakened the sovereigns who embarked in them, they increased the power of the popes, and placed at their disposal immense armies, which they could direct against all who opposed their measures. They perverted, in the minds of men, the essential principles of religion, justice, and humanity, by cherishing the false idea that it is meritorious to wage war for the glory of the Christian name,—by throwing the veil of sanctity over the greatest enormities of which a licentious soldiery might be guilty,—by conferring the pardon of their sins on all who arrayed themselves under the banners of the cross,—and by holding out the palm of martyrdom to such as should have the honour to fall in fighting against the enemies of the faith. Nor were the popes either dilatory or slack in availing themselves of these prejudices. Finding that their violent measures for suppressing the Albigenses were feebly seconded by the barons of Provence, they proclaimed a crusade against heretics, launched the sentence of excommunition against both superiors and vassals, and carried on a war of extermination in the south of France during a period of twenty years. It was amidst these scenes of blood and horror that the Inquisition rose.

Historians are divided in opinion as to the exact time at which the Inquisition was founded. Inquisitors and informers are mentioned in a law published by the emperor Theodosius against the Manicheans; but these were officers of justice appointed by the prefects, and different entirely from the persons who became so notorious under these designations many centuries after that period. The fundamental principle of that odious institution was undoubtedly recognised in 1184, by the counsel of Verona; which however established no separate tribunal for the pursuit of heretics, but left this task entirely in the hands of the bishops. Rainier, Castelnau, and St. Dominic, who were sent into France at different times from 1198 to 1206, had a commission from the pope to search for heretics, and in this sense may be called inquisitors; but they were invested with no judicial power to pronounce a definitive sentence. The council of the Lateran in 1218 made no innovation on the ancient practice. The council held at Toulouse in 1229, ordained that the bishops should appoint, in each parish of their respective dioceses, "one priest and two or three laics, who should engage upon oath to make a rigorous search after all heretics and their abettors, and for this purpose should visit every house from the garret to the cellar, together with all subterraneous places where they might conceal themselves." But the Inquisition, as a distinct tribunal, was not erected until the year 1233, when pope Gregory IX. took from the bishops the power of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics who lurked in France, and committed that task to the Dominican friars. In consequence of this the tribunal was immediately set up in Toulouse, and afterwards in the neighbouring cities, from which it was introduced into other countries of Europe.

It may be considered as a fact at least somewhat singular, that in the proceedings of the first Spanish council whose records have reached our time, we find a deeper stigma affixed to the character of informers than to that of heretics. The council of Elvira, after limiting the duration of the penance of those who might fall into heresy, decreed that "if a catholic become an informer, and any one be put to death or proscribed in consequence of his denunciation, he shall not receive the communion, even at the hour of death." On a review of criminal proceedings in Spain anterior to the establishment of the court of Inquisition, it appears in general that heretics were more mildly treated there than in other countries. Jews who relapsed, after having been baptized, were subject to whipping and spare diet, according to the age of the offenders. Those who apostatized to paganism, if nobles or freemen, were condemned to exile, and if slaves, to whipping and chains. The general law against heretics was, that such as refused to recant, if priests, should be deprived of all their dignities and property, and if laics, that they should, in addition, be condemned to perpetual banishment. Even after the barbarous custom of committing obstinate heretics to the flames had been introduced into other parts of Europe, Spain testified her aversion to sanguinary measures. In 1194, when Alfonso II. of Aragon, at the instigation of the legate of pope Celestine, published an edict, commanding the Vaudois, and all other sectaries, to quit his dominions, those who remained after the time specified were expressly exempted from suffering either death or the mutilation of their bodies.

No sooner had the Inquisition received the papal sanction, than measures were taken for having it introduced into Spain, where the Dominicans had already established convents of their order. In the course of the thirteenth century, inquisitorial tribunals were permanently erected in the principal towns of the kingdom of Aragon, from which they were extended to Navarre. Though a papal brief was issued in 1236 for the special purpose of introducing the Holy Office into Castile, and Ferdinand III., surnamed the Saint, is said to have carried with his own hand the wood destined for burning his subjects,—yet it does not appear that there ever was a permanent tribunal in that kingdom under the ancient form of the Inquisition; either because heresy had made little progress among the Castilians, or because they were averse to the new method of extirpating it.

The mode of proceeding in the court of inquisition, when first erected, was simple, and differed very little from that which was followed in the ordinary courts of justice. In particular, the interrogatories put to persons accused, and to witnesses, were short and direct, evincing merely a desire to ascertain the truths on the subjects of inquiry. But this simplicity soon gave place to a system of the most complicated and iniquitous circumvention. Grossly ignorant of judicial matters, the Dominicans modelled their new court after what is called in the Roman Church, the Tribunal of Penance. Accustomed, in the confessional, to penetrate into the secrets of conscience, they converted to the destruction of the bodies of men all those arts which a false zeal had taught them to employ for the saving of their souls. Inflamed with a passion for extirpating heresy, and persuading themselves that the end sanctified the means, they not only acted upon, but formally laid down, as a rule for their conduct, maxims founded on the grossest deceit and artifice, according to which they sought in every way to ensnare their victims, and by means of false statements, delusory promises, and a tortuous course of examination, to betray them into confessions which proved fatal to their lives and fortunes. To this mental torture was soon after added the use of bodily tortures, together with the concealment of the names of witnesses.

After this court had subsisted for two centuries and a half, it underwent what its friends have honoured with the name of a *reform;* in consequence of which it became a more terrible engine of persecution than before. Under this new form it is usually called the Modern Inquisition, though it may with equal propriety bear the name of the Spanish, as it originated in Spain, and has been confined to that country, including Portugal, and the dominions subject to the two monarchies.

The war of the Albigenses was the pretext used by the popes for the establishment of the ancient Inquisition; the necessity of checking the apostasy of the converts from Judaism was urged as the reason for introducing the modern. While the Spaniards were engaged in continual wars with one another or with the Moors, the Jews, who had been settled for ages in the Peninsula, by addicting themselves to trade and commerce, had, in the fourteenth century, engrossed the wealth of the nation, and attained to great influence in the government both of Castile and Aragon. Those who were indebted to them, and those who envied them on account of the civil offices which they held, united in stirring up the religious prejudices of the populace against them; and in one year five thousand Jews fell a sacrifice to popular fury. With the view of saving their lives, many submitted to baptism, and it is computed that, in the course of a few years, nearly a million of persons renounced the law of Moses and made profession of the Christian faith. The number of converts, as they were called, was increased in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the zeal of the Dominican missionaries, and especially of St. Vincent Ferrer, to whom the Spanish historians have ascribed more miracles and conversions than were wrought by the apostles. These converts were called *New Christians*, and sometimes *Marranos* from a form of execration in use among the Jews. As their adoption of the Christian profession proceeded from the fear of death, or a desire to secure secular emoluments, rather than internal persuasion, the greater part repented of having abjured the religion of their fathers, and resumed the practice of its rites in secret, while they publicly conformed to those of the Christians. This forced conformity could not fail to be painful to their minds, and was relaxed in proportion as the fears which they felt for their safety abated. The consequence was, that many of them were discovered by the monks, who cried out that if some severe means were not adopted to repress the evil, the whole body of converted Jews would soon relapse into their former habits, and the faith of the old Christians would be corrupted and overthrown by these concealed apostates with whom they were intermingled.—But, although more immediately intended to guard the fidelity of the New Christians, the modern Inquisition, like the ancient, was charged with the discovery and punishment of all kinds of heresy, and extended its jurisdiction over the Old Christians, as well as Jewish and Moorish converts.

It is proper that the names of those individuals to whom Spain owes this institution should not be forgotten. The most active were Felippe de Barberis, inquisitor of Sicily, and Alfonso de Hoyeda, prior of Seville, both of them Dominican friars, assisted by Nicolas Franco, bishop of Treviso, who was at that time nuncio from pope Sixtus IV. to the Spanish court.

The whole of Spain was at this period united into one kingdom by the marriage of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella, queen of Castile. Ferdinand readily acceded to a proposal which gave him the prospect of filling his coffers by means of confiscations; it was equally agreeable to Sixtus, from its tendency to promote the views of the court of Rome; and they succeeded, by the help of the friars, in overcoming the repugnance which it excited in the humane but superstitious mind of Isabella. The bull for establishing the Inquisition in Castile was issued on the 1st of November 1478; and on the 17th of September 1480, their catholic majesties named the first inquisitors, who commenced their proceedings on the 2d of January 1481, in the Dominican convent of St. Paul at Seville. The tribunal did not however assume a permanent form until two years after, when friar Thomas Torquemada, prior of Santa Cruz in the town of Segovia, was placed at its head, under the designation of inquisitor-general, first of Castile, and afterwards of Aragon. Torquemada proceeded without delay to exercise the high powers with which he was intrusted, by choosing his assessors, and erecting subordinate tribunals in different cities of the united kingdom. Over the whole was placed the *Council of the Supreme*, consisting of the inquisitor-general as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were doctors of law. This regulated and controlled the inferior tribunals; and by its fundamental laws, the counsellors had a deliberative voice in all questions relating to civil law, but a consultative voice only in those which appertained to ecclesiastical law, of which Torquemada was constituted the sole judge by the apostolical bulls. These counsellors appear to have been appointed with the view of preventing encroachments on the secular authorities, and accordingly altercations did sometimes arise between the inquisitors-general and the counsellors of the Supreme; but as the latter were all of the clerical order, and as no clear line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical affairs was drawn, the questions which came before the court were generally brought under the rules of canon law, or in other words, decided according to the pleasure of the president. Torquemada's next employment was to form a body of laws for the government of his new tribunal. This appeared in 1484; additions were made to it from time to time; and, as a diversity of practice had crept into the subordinate courts, the inquisitor-general Valdes, in 1561, made a revisal of the whole code, which was published in eighty-one articles, and continues, with the exception of a few slight alterations, to be the law to this day. From these constitutions, as illustrated by the authentic documents connected with the history of the Inquisition which have been lately made public, a correct idea may be formed of the mode of process observed in that dreadful tribunal. Instead however of entering here into details which may be found elsewhere, I shall select such particulars as show that the Inquisition possessed powers which enabled it effectually to arrest the progress of knowledge, and to crush every attempt which might be made for the reformation of religion and the church.

The first thing which presents itself to our view, is the immense apparatus which the inquisition possesses for the discovery of heresy, and the apprehension of those who are suspected of having incurred its taint. Deceived by the importance attached to the denunciation in the instructions of the Holy Office, some writers would lead us to believe that there is no way in which a process can be commenced before the inquisition, except by a formal charge preferred by some individual; whereas the truth is, that information, in whatever way it may be obtained, is sufficient for this purpose. The inquisition is not only a court of justice, but also, as its name intimates, a body of police, employed in discovering the offences on which it is afterwards to sit in judgment. Every individual belonging to its tribunals, supreme or subordinate, from the inquisitor-general down to the lowest alguazil or familiar, is charged with this employment. At those periods when its vigilance was aroused by the alarm of heresy, it had its secret spies and authorized agents at every port and pass of the kingdom, as regularly as government had its tide-waiters and custom-house officers, armed with authority to arrest the persons and property of all who incurred their suspicions. In addition to its internal resources, it avails itself of the superstitious prejudices of the people, whom it raises *en masse*, to drive the poor heretics into the legal toils spread for them in all parts of the country. At any time which it judges proper, but statedly on two Sundays every year during lent, an edict is published in all the churches in the kingdom, requiring every one who knows any person suspected of heresy to give information to the inquisition within six days, upon pain of incurring mortal sin and excommunication by their silence. At the same time, the priests in the confessional exert all the influence which they possess over the minds of their penitents to persuade them to comply with this order. In this way the worst and the best, the weakest and the strongest passions of the human breast are engaged; and persons are induced to become informers from private malice, from pious scruples, and from selfish fears. The father sometimes informs against his own child, the wife against her husband, and the love-sick maiden against the object of her tenderest attachment. Though the holy fathers prefer a process by denunciation to one *ex officio*, and in order to encourage informers, conceal their names, yet anonymous informations are received without any scruple, provided they furnish the smallest clue by which the charge may be brought home to the accused. One prosecution is often the means of fastening the suspicion of heresy on a number of individuals; for it is an invariable rule with the inquisitors, not to inform a witness of the particular object for which he is cited, but to commence by desiring him to task his memory and say if he recollects having seen or heard any thing which appeared to be inconsistent with the catholic faith; in consequence of which, he is led to mention names not implicated in the process. If, upon inquiry, the inquisitors are of opinion that they will find it difficult to convict the suspected person, they do not examine him, because this would only serve to put him on his guard; nor do they use any means to recover him from the supposed errors into which he has fallen; but suspending their proceedings, wait until they obtain additional proof to substantiate the charge. If the evidence is deemed sufficient, they issue the order of arrest to the alguazil, who, accompanied by the sequestrator and receiver of goods, instantly repairs to the house of the accused; and provided the latter has absconded, the familiars are furnished, not only with a minute description of his person, but also with his picture, so that it is next to impossible that their prey can escape them.

Nor is it less difficult for a person to escape without condemnation, if he once has had the misfortune to be apprehended. It is only in the way of being able to convict him of heresy, that the inquisitors are entitled to seize on his property; and as it is an established maxim of theirs, that the Holy Office cannot err, they consider it as a reflection on its proceedings, if any individual whom it has apprehended shall clear himself from suspicion. Without acquainting him either with his accuser or the charge brought against him, every art is employed, both by his judges in the repeated examinations to which they subject him, and also by the jailer to whose care he is intrusted, to induce the prisoner to confess that he has been guilty of some offence against the faith. He is strictly interrogated as to his kindred, connexions, acquaintances, and manner of life; the records of all the tribunals of the Holy Office are ordered to be searched; and if it is found that any of his ancestors or relations, however remote, either in the male or female line, or any of those with whom he has consorted, were Jews, Moors, or heretics, or had incurred the censures of the inquisition, this circumstance is regarded as sufficient to fasten on him a legitimate presumption of guilt. Even a failure to repeat the Ave Maria or creed exactly after the manner of the Roman church, is viewed in the same light.

The impenetrable secrecy with which all the proceedings of the inquisition are shrouded, is at once an instrument of terror, and an encouragement to every species of injustice. Every person who enters its walls is sworn, before he is permitted to depart, to observe the most profound silence as to all that he may have seen, heard, or uttered.* The names of the witnesses are carefully concealed from the prisoner; and they are not confronted with him, nor, so far as appears, with one another. No check is imposed on the infidelity or ignorance of the notaries or clerks who take down the depositions. The accused is not furnished with a copy of the evidence against him, but merely with such garbled extracts as his judges are pleased to order; and, taking advantage of the different modes of expression used by the witnesses in speaking of the same fact, the procurator-fiscal often converts one charge into three or four, by which means the prisoner is thrown into confusion on his defence, and exposed to popular odium, as a person laden with crimes, if he is ultimately brought out in the public auto-de-fe. Every thing which the witnesses in their examination may have said in his favour, or which might be conducive to his exculpation, is studiously and totally suppressed.

The same partial and unjust rules are observed in forming the extracts, which, both at the commencement and termination of the process, are submitted to certain divines, called qualificators of the Holy Office, whose business it is to say whether the propositions imputed to the accused individual are heretical, or to say to what degree they subject him to the suspicion of heresy. These individuals, besides, are generally monks or scholastic divines, imbued with false notions, and ready to qualify, or stigmatize as heretical, opinions sanctioned by the authority of the most approved doctors of the church, merely because they have not met with them in the contracted circle of their studies.

It is not easy to conceive a greater mockery of justice than is to be found in the provisions made for the defence of the prisoner. The judges appoint one of their advocates to act as his counsel, who has no means of defending his client, except the garbled extracts from the depositions of the witnesses already mentioned. But the truth is, that his ability is as great as his inclination; for, while nominally the advocate of the prisoner, he is really the agent and proctor of the court, in obedience to whose directions, given at the time of his nomination, he labours in most instances to induce his client to confess and throw himself on the mercy of his judges. Nor is the pretended privilege of challenging the witnesses less nugatory and insulting to the prisoner. Deprived of every means of knowing the persons who have deponed against him, he can have recourse to conjecture only; malice is the soul ground of exception which he is permitted to urge; he may have been accused from fanaticism, fear, or ignorant scruples; or his personal enemy may have put forward, as the instrument of his malice, an individual whom the prisoner would never think of suspecting; and sometimes the procurator-fiscal takes the precaution of secretly establishing the credibility of his witnesses beforehand, with the view of defeating the challenge. The inquisitors are uniformly disposed to favour the witnesses for the prosecution, and to screen them from punishment, even in cases of perjury. Nor is this evil to be traced to the character of particular judges; it springs from the very genius of the tribunal, which induces all who are connected with it to set at defiance the most essential principles of justice by which every other court is governed, and even to disregard its own regulations, for the sake of encouraging informations and indulging a morbid jealousy. Of the same illusory nature is the privilege which, in certain cases, they give the prisoner to bring forward exculpatory evidence. For, in the first place, he is restricted in his choice of witnesses. While the testimony of persons of all descriptions—relations, domestics, New Christians, malefactors, infamous characters, children, and even idiots, is admissible against him; he, on the contrary, is directed to name, for his exculpation, only Christians of ancient race, of unimpeached character, and who are neither his relatives nor domestics. And, in the second place, the tribunal reserves to itself the power of examining such of the prisoner's witnesses only as it shall judge "most fit and worthy of credit."

The injustice of the inquisitorial process can only be equalled by its cruelty. Persons of undoubted veracity, who had the happiness to escape from the secret prisons of the Inquisitions during the sixteenth century, have described them as narrow and gloomy cells, which admitted the light only by a small chink,—damp, and resembling graves more than prisons, if they were subterraneous; and if they were situated in the upper part of the building, feeling in summer like heated furnaces. At present, they are described as, in general, good vaulted chambers, well lighted, free of humidity, and of such size as to allow the prisoner to take a little exercise. But even those who give the most favourable description of these abodes admit, that nothing can be conceived more frightful than the situation of the individual who is immured in them, left as he is to conjecture respecting his accuser and the particular crime with which he is charged; kept in ignorance of the state of his process; shut out from every kind of intercourse with his friends; denied even the consolation of conversing confidentially with the person to whom his defence has been intrusted; refused all use of books; afraid, if he has a fellow-prisoner for a few days, to do more than exchange salutations with him, lest he should be confiding in a spy; threatened if he hum a tune, and especially a sacred one, to relieve his languor; plunged, during the rigor of the winter months, in total darkness for fifteen hours of every day in an abode that never saw the cheerful blaze of a fire; and, in fine, knowing that if ever he should be set free, he must go out to the world lost forever in public opinion, and loaded with an infamy, heavier than that of the pardoned assassin or parricide, which will attach to his children of the remotest generation. What wonder that such prisoners as are not induced, at an early period of their confinement, to confess guilt, become a prey to dejection, and seek relief from their miseries in death, or else sink into a hopeless and morbid insensibility, from which the rack itself is scarcely sufficient to rouse them?

That part of the process which relates to the torture is a monstrous compound of injustice and barbarity. If, after the evidence is closed, the tribunal find that there is only a demi-proof of guilt against the prisoner, it is warranted, by its instructions, to have recourse to the torture, in order to force him to furnish additional evidence against himself. He is allowed, indeed, to appeal to the council of the Supreme against the sentence of the inquisitors ordering him to be tortured; but then, by a refinement in cruelty, it is provided that the inquisitors shall be judges of the validity of this appeal, and, "if they deem it frivolous, shall proceed to the execution of their sentence without delay." In this case, the appeal of the poor prisoner is as little heard of as are the shrieks which he utters in the subterraneous den to which he is conducted without delay, where every bone is moved from its socket, and the blood is made to start from every vein of his body. But it is not my intention to shock the feelings of the reader by any description of the infernal operation; and, instead of trusting myself to make any reflections of my own on a practice so disgraceful to human nature, I shall merely quote those of the late historian and ex-secretary of the Inquisition. "I do not stop (says he) to describe the several kinds of torture inflicted on the accused by order of the Inquisition; this task having been executed with sufficient exactness by a great many historians. *On this head, I declare that none of them can be accused of exaggeration.* I have read many processes which have struck and pierced me with horror, and I could regard the inquisitors who have recourse to such methods in no other light than that of cold-blooded barbarians. Suffice it to add, that the council of the Supreme has often been obliged to forbid the repetition of the torture in the same process; but the inquisitors, by an abominable sophism, have found means to render this prohibition almost useless, by giving the name of *Suspension* to that cessation from torture which is imperiously demanded by the imminent danger to which the victim is exposed of dying among their hands. My pen refuses to trace the picture of these horrors, for I know nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion which Jesus Christ inculcates in the gospel, than this conduct of the inquisitors; *and yet, in spite of the scandal which it has given, there is not, after the eighteenth century is closed, any law or decree abolishing the torture.*"

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* Mr. Townsend relates, that the Dutch consul, with whom he became acquainted during his travels in Spain in 1787, could never be prevailed on to give an account of his imprisonment in the inquisition at Barcelona, which had happened thirty-five years before, and betrayed the greatest agitation when pressed to say any thing about the treatment he had received. His fellow-prisoner, M. Falconet, who was but a boy, turned gray-headed during his short confinement, and to the day of his death, though retired to Montpellier, observed the most tenacious silence on the subject. He had destroyed a picture of the virgin; and his friend, the Dutch consul, being present and not turning accuser, was considered as a partner in his guilt. (Townsend's Journey through Spain, vol. ii. p. 336.)

Of the punishments inflicted by the inquisition, of the san-benito, or coat of infamy, and the auto-de-fe, with all its dread accompaniments, we shall have too much occasion to speak in the sequel.

The principles of the ancient and modern inquisition were radically the same, but they assumed a more malignant form under the latter than under the former. Under the ancient inquisition, the bishops had always a certain degree of control over its proceedings; the law of secrecy was not so rigidly enforced in practice; greater liberty was allowed to the accused on their defence; and in some countries, as in Aragon, in consequence of the civil rights acquired by the people, the inquisitors were restrained from sequestrating the property of those whom they convicted of heresy. But the leading difference between the two institutions consisted in the organization of the latter into one great independent tribunal, which, extending over the whole kingdom, was governed by one code of laws, and yielded implicit obedience to one head. The inquisitor-general possessed an authority scarcely inferior to that of the king or the pope; by joining with either of them, he proved an overmatch for the other; and when supported by both, his power was irresistible. The ancient inquisition was a powerful engine for harassing and rooting out a small body of dissidents; the modern inquisition stretched its iron arms over a whole nation, upon which it lay like a monstrous incubus, paralysing its exertions, crushing its energies, and extinguishing every other feeling but a sense of weakness and terror.

In the course of the first year in which it was erected, the inquisition of Seville, which then extended over Castile, committed two thousand persons alive to the flames, burnt as many in effigy, and condemned seventeen thousand to different penances. According to a moderate computation, from the same date to 1517, the year in which Luther made his appearance, thirteen thousand persons were burnt alive, eight thousand seven hundred were burnt in effigy, and one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three were condemned to penances; making in all one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and twenty-three persons condemned by the several tribunals of Spain in the course of thirty-six years. There is reason for thinking that this estimate falls much below the truth. For from 1481 to 1520, it is computed that in Andalusia alone thirty thousand persons informed against themselves, from the dread of being accused by others, or in the hope of obtaining a mitigation of their sentence. And down to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the instances of absolution were so rare, that one is scarcely to be found in a thousand cases; the inquisitors making it a point, that, if possible, none should escape without bearing a mark of their censure, as at least suspected *de levi*, or in the lowest degree.

It was to be expected that the inquisitors would exert their power in checking the cultivation of biblical learning. In 1490, many copies of the Hebrew Bible were committed to the flames at Seville by the order of Torquemada; and in an auto-de-fe celebrated soon after at Salamanca, six thousand volumes shared the same fate, under the pretext that they contained judaism, magic, and other illicit arts. Deza, archbishop of Seville, who had succeeded Torquemada as inquisitor-general, ordered the papers of Lebrixa to be seized, and passed sentence against him as suspected of heresy, for the corrections which he had made on the text of the Vulgate, and his other labours in elucidation of the Scriptures. "The archbishop's object (says Lebrixa, in an apology which he drew up for himself) was to deter me from writing. He wished to extinguish the knowledge of the two languages on which our religion depends; and I was condemned for impiety, because, being no divine, but a mere grammarian, I presumed to treat of theological subjects. If a person endeavour to restore the purity of the sacred text, and point out the mistakes which have vitiated it, unless he will retract his opinions, he must be loaded with infamy, excommunicated, and doomed to an ignominious punishment! Is it not enough that I submit my judgment to the will of Christ in the Scriptures? must I also reject as false what is as clear and evident as the light of truth itself? What tyranny! To hinder a man, under the most cruel pains, from saying what he thinks, though he expresses himself with the utmost respect for religion, to forbid him to write in his closet or in the solitude of a prison, to speak to himself, or even to think! On what subject shall we employ our thoughts, if we are prohibited from directing them to those sacred oracles which have been the delight of the pious in every age, and on which they have meditated by day and by night?"

Arbitrary as this court was in its principles, and tyrannical and cruel as it has proved in its proceedings, so blinded did the Spanish nation become as to felicitate herself on the establishment of the inquisition. The cities of ancient Greece vied with one another for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The cities of modern Germany have warmly disputed the honour of having invented the art of printing. Even the credit of having first adopted this German invention has given rise to an honourable rivalry among the states of Italy; and the monastery of St. Subiac, in the Campagna di Roma, has endeavoured to wrest the palm from both Milan and Venice. But the cities of Spain have engaged in a more than inglorious contest for the credit of having been the first seat of an institution which, after failing to strangle learning in its birth, has all along persecuted it with the most unrelenting malice. The claims of the inhabitants of Seville are engraven on a monument erected in their city to the memory of this event. Segovia has contested this honour with Seville, and its historians are seriously divided on the question, whether the Holy Office held its first sitting in the house of the marques de Moya, or in that of the majorat de Caceres.[*]

It is but justice, however, to the Spaniards to state, that this perverted and degrading sentiment was the effect of the inquisition, and formed no original trait in the national character. The fact is now ascertained beyond all question, that the erection of this tribunal was viewed by the nation with the greatest aversion and alarm. Talavera, the excellent archbishop of Granada, resisted its introduction with all his influence. The most enlightened Spaniards of that age spoke of its proceedings with horror and shame. "The losses and misery which the evil ministers of the inquisition have brought on my country can never be enough deplored," says the chevalier de Cordova, Gonzalez de Ayora, in a letter to the secretary of king Ferdinand. "O, unhappy Spain, mother of so many heroes, how unjustly disgraced by such a horrible scourge!" exclaims Peter Martyr. D'Arbues, the first inquisitor of Aragon, and afterwards canonized as a martyr, was not the only individual who fell a sacrifice to the indignation against the inquisition, shared by all classes of the community. Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, was obliged to adopt the greatest precautions for his personal safety. In his journeys he was uniformly accompanied by a guard of fifty familiars on horseback, and two hundred on foot; and he had always on his table the tusk of a wild animal, to which he trusted for discovering and neutralizing poisons. In Aragon, where the inhabitants had been accustomed to the old inquisition for two centuries and a half, the introduction of it in its new form excited tumults in various places, and met with a resistance almost national. No sooner had the inhabitants of Castile felt the yoke, than they sought to throw it off; and the cortes of that kingdom joined with those of Aragon and Catalonia, in representing the grievances which they suffered from the inquisition, and in demanding a radical reform on its iniquitous and oppressive laws. It is unnecessary to say, that these attempts, which were renewed at intervals during thirty years from the establishment of that tribunal, proved finally abortive.

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[*] Llorente, i. 151. This is astonishing; but what follows is still more so. "During my residence in London (says Llorente) I heard some Catholics say, that the inquisition had been useful in Spain by preserving the Catholic faith; and that it would have been well for France if she had had a similar establishment." "An English Catholic priest, in my hearing, made an apology for it." (Ibid. Pref. p xxi. and tom. ii. p. 288.)

This unfortunate issue was in no small degree owing to cardinal Ximenes, who contributed more than any other individual to rivet the chains of political and spiritual despotism on his native country. Possessed of talents which enabled him to foresee the dire effects which the Inquisition would inevitably produce, he was called to take part in public affairs at a time when these effects had decidedly appeared. It was in his power to abolish that execrable tribunal altogether as an insufferable nuisance, or at least to impose such checks upon its procedure as would have rendered it comparatively harmless. But he not only allowed himself to be placed at its head, but employed all his influence and address in defeating every attempt to reform its worst and most glaring abuses. In 1512, the New Christians made an offer of six hundred thousand crowns to Ferdinand, to assist him in carrying on the war in Navarre, on condition that a law were passed enjoining the testimonies of the witnesses, in processes before the Inquisition, to be made public. With the view of diverting the king from acceding to this proposal, Ximenes seconded his remonstrances against it by placing a large sum of money at the royal disposal. And, in 1516, when a similar offer was made to the ministers of Charles V., and when the universities and learned men of Spain and Flanders had given their opinion, that the communication of the names and depositions of the witnesses was conformable both to divine and human laws, the cardinal again interposed, and by messengers and letters urged the rejection of the measure, upon the wretched plea that a certain nameless witness had been assassinated, and that the person of the king was put in danger by the admission of converted Jews into the palace. He exerted himself with equal zeal in resisting the applications which the New Christians made to the court of Rome for the same object. During the eleven years that he was at the head of this tribunal, fifty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-seven persons were condemned, of whom two thousand five hundred and thirty-six were burnt alive. Not satisfied with perpetuating the Inquisition in his native country, he extended the precious boon to two quarters of the globe, by establishing one tribunal at Oran in Africa, and another at Cuba in America. With the exception of the check which, at the commencement of his ministry, he put on the mad proceedings of the inquisitor Luzero, who, by listening to false accusations, had harassed the good archbishop of Granada, the marquis of Pliego, and many of the most respectable persons of the kingdom, the reforms which the cardinal made on the Inquisition are confined to the substitution of a St. Andrew's cross, in place of the ordinary one, on the sanbenito, and the allotment of separate churches for the New Christians. If mankind were to be treated as their foolish admiration of talents merit, they would be left to groan under the rod of oppression. Ximenes has obtained the title of a great man, from foreigners as well as natives of Spain. But in spite of the eulogiums passed upon him, I cannot help being of opinion, with a modern writer, that Ximenes bore a striking resemblance to Philip II., with this difference, that the cardinal was possessed of higher talents, and that his proceedings were characterized by a certain openness and impartiality, the result of the unlimited confidence which he placed in his own powers. His character was essentially that of a monk, in which the severity of his order was combined with the impetuosity of blood which belongs to the natives of the south.

The cardinal would be still more inexcusable if he were the author of an unpublished work which has been ascribed to him. It is a fictitious composition, after the manner of the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, and treats of the best mode of governing a kingdom. In one part of it, the abuses of the Holy Office are discussed freely and at large in the presence of Prudenciano, monarch of the kingdom of Truth, who, after hearing the inquisitors, decides, with the advice of his counsellors, that all persons accused of heresy shall be put in possession of the names and depositions of the witnesses; that they shall have the same liberty of holding intercourse with their advocates, procurators and friends, which is granted to other prisoners; that they shall not be excluded from the benefit of divine service during their confinement; that New Christians, and the descendants of heretics, shall be admissible to all offices, and exempted from every stigma; that, to prevent ignorant convictions, the tribunals of the Inquisition shall be provided with judges well instructed in questions of faith; that the confiscation of the goods of those condemned for heresy shall be limited to the property which they actually possess at the time, and shall not extend to the portions which they had previously given to their married children, nor interfere with the fulfilment of any lawful engagement which they had contracted; and in general, that processes before the Inquisition shall be conducted on the maxims which regulate other courts of criminal judicature. This treatise, drawn up during the minority of Charles V., was intended for the instruction of that young prince, and proves that Spain possessed at that time persons of superior illumination; but we may safely acquit cardinal Ximenes from the suspicion of being the author of a work containing principles of liberal policy and enlightened justice, which there is no reason to think that ghostly statesman ever entertained at any period of his life.

The history of the Inquisition, during the first thirty years after its erection, discloses a series of intrigue, in which it is hard to say whether the court of Rome, the court of Spain, or the Holy Office, acted the most deceitful and unprincipled part. While they combined to oppress and impoverish the people of Spain, each of them sought to overreach the other and to promote its own selfish designs. The court of Rome readily gave its sanction to the establishment of the Inquisition; and Sixtus IV., in a letter to queen Isabella, signified that "he had felt the most lively desire to see it introduced into the kingdom of Castile." Notwithstanding this, the papal court both secretly and openly encouraged the New Christians to appeal to Rome, reversed the sentences which the Inquisition had pronounced against them in Spain, and admitted them to reconciliation in secret. But after it had extorted large sums of money for these favours, no sooner did the Spanish monarch, at the instigation of the inquisitors, reclaim against these proceedings, than it revoked its decisions, suspended the execution of its bulls, and left the victims of its avarice and duplicity to the vengeance of their incensed persecutors. It was evidently on the same avaricious principle that Leo X., in the year 1517, authorized the inquisitors at Rome to judge in complaints of heresy against natives of Spain. On that occasion, Gerónimo Vich, the Spanish ambassador, received orders from his court to remonstrate against this decree, as inflicting a stigma on a nation which had testified such zeal for the catholic faith, and to request that the remedy against heresy should be applied equally to those of other countries. To this representation Leo gravely replied, that so far from wishing to inflict a disgrace, he had intended to confer an honour on the Spanish nation; that he had dealt with them as a rich man does with his jewels, which he guards with greater care than the rest of his property; and thought that, as the Spaniards entertained so high an esteem for the Inquisition at home, they would not be offended with it abroad.

The conduct of the Inquisition presented the same glaring contradiction of the avowed principles on which it was founded. Amidst all their professions of zeal for the purity of the faith, the inquisitors carried on the scandalous traffic of commuting canonical censure for pecuniary mulcts. To retain Christians within the sacred enclosure of the catholic church, and in dutiful subjection to its supreme head, was the grand object of the institution of the Holy Office; and the exercise of its powers was delegated to the monks, who were the most devoted supporters of the Roman pontiff, and held that his decrees in matters of faith, when pronounced *ex cathedra*, were infallible. Yet, when the decrees of the holy see were opposite to their own determinations, or interfered with their particular interests, they made no scruple of resisting them, and engaging the government of the country in their quarrel.

It was not to be expected that the conduct of the court of Spain would be less selfish. All are agreed that Ferdinand, in supporting the Inquisition, regarded it, not as a means of preserving the purity of religion, but as an instrument of tyranny and extortion. Nor was his grandson Charles V. actuated by higher motives. On assuming the reins of government in Spain, he swore to observe certain equivocal regulations for correcting the abuses of the Inquisition; but he declared, at the same time, in private, that this promise had been extorted from him by the importunity of the representatives of certain cities. Despairing of any relief from this quarter, the cortes of Aragon sent deputies to Rome, and, by the distribution of a sum of money among the cardinals, obtained three briefs reforming the Inquisition, and placing its procedure on the footing of common law. Charles, who wished to employ that formidable tribunal as an engine for suppressing the tumults which his arbitrary measures had excited in various parts of the kingdom, applied to Leo. X. for a bull annulling the obnoxious briefs. The negotiation which ensued, and was protracted during three years, is equally disgraceful to both parties. His Holiness told Senor de Belmonte, the Spanish ambassador, that he had been informed by credible persons, that the Inquisition was the cause of terrible mischief in Spain; to which the ambassador bluntly replied, that the persons who gave this information were believed, because they were liberal of their money. At the same time, he advised his master to have recourse to that system of bribery of which he complained. "Cardinal Santiquatro (writes he) can be of great service in this affair, because he draws as much money as possible to his master and himself. It is only on this condition that he is authorized by the pope to act, and he executes his task with great adroitness. The cardinal of Ancona is a learned man, and an enemy to the former. He is minister of justice, and can be useful, as he is well disposed, to serve your majesty; but he is reckoned as great a thief as his colleague." In another missive he says, "Always I am assured that, in what relates to the Inquisition, money is a means of gaining over these cardinals." And after soliciting instructions from his court, he adds, "All this is necessary, and something besides; for money does much here. The pope expects (from Aragon and Catalonia) forty-six or forty-seven thousand ducats." The cardinals were too "wise in their generation" to be deceived by the flattering representations which the ambassador made of his master's disinterestedness, and laughed at the idea of sovereigns supporting the Inquisitions "from pure zeal for religion." In vain did Charles himself endeavour to quicken the tardy steps of Leo, by writing that "the world surmised that his Holiness and he understood one another, and wished to squeeze as much money as possible from the bull in question." The crafty pontiff, assuming the tone of justice, threatened, by a decree of the sacred Rota, to annul all the sentences of confiscation pronounced against those Spaniards who had made a voluntary confession of heresy; "and I am told," says the ambassador, "that if this measure pass, as is expected, your majesty will be obliged to restore more than a million of ducats acquired in that way." A few persons, through perversion of judgment, have burnt men alive *for the love of God*, but, in the greater number of instances, I apprehend it will be found that this has been done *for the love of money*.

Leo X., having died during this dispute, was succeeded by Adrian, the preceptor of Charles V., who continued to hold the situation of inquisitor-general of Spain, along with that of supreme pontiff, for nearly two years. This union of offices, in the person of the spiritual adviser of the young monarch, led to measures which extinguished every hope of procuring a reform of the Holy Office. Despairing of relief, the nation submitted to the yoke; habit reconciled them to it; and, making a virtue of necessity, they soon came to congratulate themselves on an institution which they had regarded as an engine of the most intolerable and degrading servitude.

Other causes contributed, along with the Inquisition, to rivet the chains of religious bondage on the minds of the Spaniards, and to render the prospect of ecclesiastical reform among them next to hopeless.

One of these causes was the suppression of their civil liberties. Formerly the victims of persecution had often found shelter within the independent domains of the nobles, or the privileged walls of great cities. Cardinal Ximenes, by flattering the commons without adding to their real consequence, had succeeded in breaking the power of the nobility. Charles pursued the line of policy which his minister had begun, by invading the rights of the people. Irritated by the assistance which the latter had given to the attack on their immunities, the nobles either stood aloof from the contest which ensued, or sided with the crown. The consequence was, that the commons, after an enthusiastic resistance, were subdued; the cortes and the chartered towns were stripped of their privileges; and the authority of the sovereign became absolute and despotical throughout the united kingdom.

The great accession of wealth and reputation which Spain had acquired by the discovery of the New World, proved no less fatal to her religious than to her political liberty. Columbus appears to have been at first actuated solely by an enthusiastic passion for nautical discovery; but during the discouragements with which his ardent and unconquerable spirit had to contend, another feeling arose of a no less powerful kind, which was cherished, if not infused, by the monks of La Rabida, among whom he resided for some time, and who zealously assisted him in his applications to the court of Castile, and in his exertions to fit out the fleet with which he entered on his daring enterprise. His imagination was now fired with the idea of not only adding to the boundaries of the known world, but also of enlarging the pale of the catholic church, by converting to the Christian faith the inhabitants of those rich and populous countries with which he hoped to open a communication, by stretching across the waters of the western ocean. Similar views, but associated with baser feelings, were adopted by the successors of Columbus. As the see of Rome, in virtue of the universal authority which it arrogated, had granted to Spain all the countries which she might discover beyond the Atlantic, the conquerors of America looked upon themselves as the servants of the church as much as of the sovereigns from whom they immediately received their commission; their cupidity was inflamed by fanaticism; and the consideration that every battle which they won was subservient to the spread of the catholic faith, atoned for and sanctified, in their eyes, the unheard-of cruelties which they inflicted on the intimidated and unoffending natives of the New World. Sanctioned as they were by the government and clergy, these views were easily diffused through the nation. Astonished at the intelligence which they received from their countrymen who had visited the newly-discovered regions, elated by the splendid success which had crowned their undertakings, and flushed with the hopes of the inexhaustible riches which would continue to flow in upon them, the Spaniards were thrown into a feverish intoxication, which, meeting with other causes, produced an important change on their sentiments and character. New feelings sprung up in their breasts; and late transactions were seen by them in a light different from that in which they had formerly viewed them. Reflecting that they had expelled the Jews, the hereditary and inveterate enemies of Christianity, from their coasts, overturned the Mahomedan empire which had been established for ages in the Peninsula, and planted the standard of the cross among pagans on a new continent of incalculable extent, they began to consider themselves as the favourites of heaven, destined to propagate and defend the true faith, and bound, by national honour, as well as duty, to preserve their sacred soil from being polluted by the slightest taint of heretical pravity.

To these causes must be added the vast increase of strength which the Spanish monarchy received by the succession of its youthful sovereign to his paternal dominions in the Low Countries, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; and by his elevation to the imperial throne of Germany, under the name of Charles V. The chief obstacle which this presented to the spread of the reformed opinions in Spain, did not lie in the ease with which it enabled him to crush the least symptom of revolt from the established faith. Independently of all personal convictions, Charles, in seeking to realize his towering projects of universal empire, must have seen it his interest to cultivate the friendship of the court of Rome; and although he was involved in contests with particular pontiffs, and held one of them for some time a prisoner in his own castle, yet he uniformly testified the warmest regard for the catholic faith, and the honour of the popedom. In the forcible measures to which he had recourse for suppressing the Reformation in Germany, he relied chiefly on the troops which he drew from Spain, whose detestation of heresy was heightened by the hostilities which they waged against its professors. To their countrymen at home, who already regarded them as the champions of the faith, they transmitted the most hateful representation of the protestants, whom they described as at once the pest of the church, and the great obstacle to the execution of the splendid schemes of their beloved monarch. Thus the glory of the Spanish arms became associated with the extirpation of heresy. And when the protestant cause ultimately triumphed over the policy and power of the emperor, the mortification felt by the Spaniards settled into a deadly antipathy to every thing which proceeded from Germany, and a jealous dread lest the heresy with which it was infected should secretly find its way into their own country.

CHAPTER IV.

Introduction of the Reformed Doctrine into Spain.

The boldness with which Luther attacked, first the abuses, and afterwards the authority of the Roman see, soon attracted general attention throughout Christendom. Nor could his opinions remain long unknown in Spain, especially after the intercourse between that country and Germany became frequent, in consequence of the advancement of the Spanish monarch to the inperial throne.

So early as the beginning of the year 1519, John Froben, a celebrated printer at Basle, sent to Spain a quantity of a collection of tracts by Luther, which he had lately reprinted. These were in Latin, and consequently were confined to the learned. But, in the course of the following year, the reformer's commentary on the Galatians, a work which exhibited his doctrinal sentiments on the most important points, was translated into Spanish. This was followed by translations into the same language of his treatise on Christian liberty, and his reply to Erasmus on free-will. These books appear to have been translated and printed at Antwerp, a place of great trade within the paternal dominions of Charles V., from which the Spanish merchants, who were at the expense of the publication, could most easily get copies conveyed to their native country.

Alfonso Valdes, a young man of talents who accompanied Charles V., as secretary, to his coronation in 1520, sent to Spain, at the request of Peter Martyr, a particular account of the religious dispute in Germany, from the first declaration of Luther against indulgences to his burning of the pontifical decrees at Wittenberg. In another letter, written during the following year, he continued his account to the close of the diet of Worms. His narrative is in general correct; and although he expresses great horror at the boldness with which the reformer attacked the papal authority, he acknowledges the necessity of reform, and ascribes the continuance of the evil to the aversion of the pope to a general council, and "his preferring his private interest to the public good." "While he tenaciously adheres to his rights," says he, "and shutting his ears, under the influence of a pious feeling perhaps, wishes to have Luther devoted to the flames, the whole Christian commonwealth is going to ruin, if God interpose not." Myrtyr, who seems to have felt in the same way with his correspondent, imparted these letters to his friends; but it may be mentioned, as a proof of the state of feeling in Spain, that he declined giving them any account of Luther's opinions, referring them for this to the writings of his opponents, "which they could easily procure, if they wished them, and in which they would find the antidote along with the poison."

Another Spaniard of greater authority, who was in Germany at the same time, felt somewhat differently from Valdes. Francisco de Angelis, provincial of the religious order called Angeli in Spain, had been present at the coronation of the emperor, by whom he was despatched, after the diet of Worms, to assist in quelling the revolt which had broken out in Castile. On his way home he stopped at Basle, where he had a long conversation with Conrad Pellican on the opinions of Luther, with whom he professed to agree upon most points.

Who would have thought of the Spanish ambassador at Rome writing home in favour of Luther? We have already adverted to the difficulty which Charles found in procuring the recall of certain briefs which the pope had issued for the reform of the Inquisition. It occurred to Don Juan de Manuel, as a stroke of policy, that his master should give countenance to another species of reform which his Holiness dreaded. Accordingly, in a letter dated 10 May, 1520, he advises his majesty "to undertake a journey to Germany, and to appear to show a little favour to a certain friar, Martin Luther, at the court of Saxony, who gives great uneasiness to the sovereign pontiff, by certain things which he preaches and publishes against the papal authority. This monk (adds the ambassador) is said to be very learned, and creates great embarrassment to the pope." Nor was this a mere passing thought; for he recurs to the subject in a subsequent letter. "As to the affair of Liege, the pope appears much more discontented, because it has been told him that the bishop favours friar Martin Luther, who condemns the pontifical power in Germany. He is also displeased with Erasmus in Holland, and for the same reason. I say, they complain here of the bishop of Liege in the affair of Luther, who gives them more distress than they could wish.

On the 20th of March 1521, Leo X. issued two briefs, one addressed to the constable and the other to the admiral of Castile, who governed the kingdom in the absence of Charles V., requiring them to adopt measures for preventing the introduction of the books of Luther and his defenders into Spain. In the course of the following month, cardinal Adrian charged the inquisitors to sieze all books of this description; and this charge was reiterated by him in the year 1523, after he had ascended the papal throne, on which occasion he required the corrigidor of Guipuscoa to furnish the officers of the Inquisition with every assistance which they might require in the execution of this duty.

These were not measures of mere precaution, or intended only for the purpose of display; for the works of Luther were read and approved of in Spain. The report of this fact drew from Erasmus the sarcasm which gave great offence to the duke of Alva, "that the Spaniards favoured Luther, in order that they might be thought Christians." So eager were the inquisitors in their search after the disciples of the new doctrine, that they fixed their suspicions on the venerable Juan de Avila, commonly called the apostle of Andalusia. In his preaching, which was recommended by the exemplary piety and charity of his life, he kept to the simplicity of scripture, rejecting the abstruse and foolish questions of the schools. Irritated by his reproofs, and envious of his fame, the monks, in 1525, denounced to the Inquisition some propositions advanced by him, as Lutheran, or savouring of Lutheranism and the doctrine of the illuminati. He was thrown into prison, and would have been condemned, had not Manrique, one of the mildest of the inquisitors-general, who felt a high respect for his character, extended to him the shield of his powerful protection, which did not however prevent his works from being afterwards put into the list of prohibited books.

The Spanish monks were diverted for a time from searching after the writings of Luther, by their anxiety to suppress those of Erasmus, from which they dreaded more immediate danger. This learned man, to whom the name of the forerunner of Luther has not unjustly been given, had many friends in Spain, who were so confident in their strength, as to write him that they expected to be victorious in the contest. They were mistaken; for his adversaries outnumbered them in an ecclesiastical junta held at Madrid in the year 1527; and in consequence of this, his Colloquies, his Praise of Folly, and his Paraphrase of the New Testament, were censured, and prohibited to be explained in schools, or to be sold or read. "How I am to be pitied!" exclaims he; "the Lutherans attacked me as a convicted papist, and the Catholics run me down as a friend of Luther."

The patrons of ignorance resolved to pursue their victory, and prosecutions for heresy were immediately commenced against some of the most learned men in the kingdom. Pedro de Lerma, professor of divinity and chancellor of the university of Alcala, was denounced to the inquisition of Toledo, as suspected of the Lutheran opinions, and fled to Paris. His nephew and successor, Luis de Cadena, soon fell under the same suspicion, and followed his example. Juan de Vergara, one of the editors of the Polyglot, and his brother Bernardin Tobar, were less fortunate; for, being seized by the orders of the inquisitors of Toledo, they were not permitted to leave the dungeons of the Holy Office, until they had adjured the heresy of Luther as persons slightly suspected, received absolution *ad cautelam*, and submitted to certain penances.

Two events which happened at this time had considerable influence in turning the attention of the Spaniards to the cause of Luther, and giving them a more favourable impression of his opinions. The first was the dispute between Charles V. and pope Clement VII., which led, in 1527, to the sack of Rome and imprisonment of the pontiff. Though Charles, on that occasion, ordered the public rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip to be suspended, as a mark of his sorrow for so untoward an occurrence, yet it was regarded as a triumph by the nation, and gave occasion to satirical ballads against the pope and see of Rome. The other event was the presenting, in 1530, of the protestant confession of faith to the imperial diet of Augsberg, at which Charles was present, attended by a great body of Spanish nobles and clergy. This had no inconsiderable effect in dissipating the false idea of the opinions of Luther which had hitherto been industriously propagated. At the diet at Worms in 1521, the Spanish attendants of the emperor, instead of admiring the heroism displayed by Luther, treated him with insult as he retired from the court-room to his lodgings. But there was a marked difference in their behaviour on the present occasion. Persons of note, including the emperor's confessor, who was a native of Spain, acknowledged that they had hitherto been deceived. When Charles asked the advice of the Spanish nobility who were present, they replied, after perusing the confession in a French translation, that if his majesty found it contrary to the articles of faith, he ought to suppress the Lutherans; but if it merely required the abolition of certain ceremonies and such like things, he ought not to have recourse to violent measures against them; and they gave it as their advice, that the litigated points should be submitted to some pious persons who were addicted to neither party. Alfonso Valdes, the emperor's secretary, of whom we have already spoken, had several friendly and confidential interviews with Melanchthon at this important crisis. He read the Augsburg confession before it was presented to the diet; and the only objection which he appears to have made to it was, that its language was rather too severe for its opponents. In one of the conversations between these two learned men, held in the presence of Cornelius Scepper, an agent of the king of Denmark, Melanchthon lamented the strong prejudices which the natives of Spain had conceived against the reformers, and said, that he had frequently endeavoured, both by word of mouth and by letters, to convince them of the misconceptions under which they laboured, but with very little success. Valdes acknowledged that it was a common opinion among his countrymen, that Luther and his followers believed neither in God nor the Trinity, in Christ nor the Virgin; and that in Spain it was thought as meritorious an action to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk. He added, that his influence had been exerted to relieve the mind of the emperor from such false impressions; and that, at a late interview, he had received it in charge to say, that his majesty wished Melanchthon to draw up a clear summary of the opinions of the Lutherans, contrasted, article by article, with those of their opponents. The reformer readily complied with this request, and the result of his labours was communicated by Valdes to Campegio, the papal legate.

These proceedings did not escape the vigilant eye of the Inquisition. When Valdes returned soon after to his native country, he was accused before the Holy Office, and condemned as a suspected Lutheran; a censure which he incurred by his exertions to promote polite letters in his native country, as well as by the familiarity which he had cultivated with the reformers of Germany. Alfonso de Virves met with the same treatment as his friend Valdes, and for the same reasons. This learned Benedictine was chaplain to Charles V. who had taken him along with him in his late visits to Germany, and was so fond of him that, on his return to Spain, he would hear no other preacher. Virves had favoured, though with much reserve, the writings of Erasmus, and was known to have conversed with some of the principal reformers. On these grounds his conduct was watched, and he soon found himself in the hands of the inquisitors at Seville. In vain did he appeal to a work against Melanchthon which he had prepared for the press; and, what is more singular, in vain did the emperor interpose to stop the process, banish the inquisitor-general from Seville, and signify his displeasure against the other members of the council of the Supreme. Virves was kept in the secret prisons for four years, during which, to use his own words, "he was occupied, without breathing or respite, with charges, replies, rejoinders, depositions, defences, arguments, acts, (words, the very utterance of which made him shudder) errors, heresies, schisms, blasphemies, anathemas." At last, in 1537, a definitive sentence was pronounced, condemning him, as suspected of holding the errors of Luther, to make a formal abjuration, to be absolved *ad cautelam*, to be confined in a monastery for two years, and to be prohibited from preaching for other two years. He was accordingly obliged to abjure, on the day of his *auto-de-fe* in the metropolitan church of Seville, all the heresies of Luther in general, and those in particular which he was suspected of entertaining. The emperor procured a brief from the pope, absolving his favourite preacher from the remaining pains of censure; but when he afterwards presented him to the bishopric of the Canaries, it was with the utmost reluctance that his Holiness granted the bull of confirmation to a man who had incurred the suspicion of heresy in the eyes of the Inquisition. "Many have adopted the maxim," says Virves, speaking of the proper manner of converting heretics, "that it is lawful to abuse a heretic by word and writing, when they have it not in their power to kill or torture him. If they get a poor man, whom they can persecute with impunity, into their hands, they subject him to a disgraceful sentence; so that, though he prove himself innocent and obtain an acquittal, he is stigmatized for life as a criminal. If, on the other hand, the unhappy person has fallen into error through inadvertence, or the conversation of those with whom he associated, his judges do not labour to undeceive him by explaining the doctrine of Scripture, soft persuasion, and paternal advice, but, in spite of the character of fathers to which they lay claim, have recourse to the prison, the torture, chains, and the axe. And what is the effect of these horrible means? All these torments inflicted on the body can produce no change whatever on the dispositions of the mind, which can be brought back to the truth only by the word of God, which is quick, powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword."

These reflections are so excellent in themselves, and so refreshing as coming from the pen of a Spanish catholic of the sixteenth century, that, in reading them, we feel disposed to rejoice, instead of grieving at that imprisonment which, if it did not suggest them, must have served to deepen their impression on his mind. No thanks, however, to the persecutors. Some writers have expressed their surprise that the proceedings against Virves and others did not open the eyes of Charles V. to the iniquity of the Inquisition; and they think he continued to be its protector from horror at Lutheranism. But Charles was instructed in the nature of that court, and had given it his decided support, before the name of Luther became formidable. A despotical monarch may be displeased at the procedure of a tribunal of terror when it happens to touch one of his favourites, and may choose to check its encroachments on his own authority, without feeling the slightest wish to weaken its power as an engine for enslaving and oppressing his subjects.

In the mean time every method was taken to prevent the spread of Lutheran books and opinions. The council of the Supreme, in 1530, addressed a circular letter to the inquisitors dispersed over the kingdom, informing them that the writings of Luther had made their way into the country under fictitious names, and that his errors were introduced in the form of notes appended to the works of catholic authors; and therefore requiring them to add to the annual edict of denunciation a clause relating to such books, and to examine all public libraries with the view of discovering them. This led to the domiciliary visits which the familiars of the Inquisition were accustomed, at a subsequent period, to pay to private houses. During the following year the inquisitors were authorized to strike with the sentence of excommunication all who hindered them in the discharge of their duty, and all who read or kept such books, or who did not denounce those whom they knew to be guilty of that offence. The same penalty was extended to the parish priests who did not publish the edict in every city, town, and village; and all prelates of the regular orders, confessors, and preachers, were laid under an obligation to urge their hearers and penitents, under the pain of incurring mortal sin, to inform against themselves and others. The edict enumerated the different articles of the Lutheran heresy, down to the slightest deviation from the ceremonies of the church, and required the informers to declare "if they knew or had heard it said, that any person had taught, maintained, or entertained in his thoughts, any of these opinions."

Hitherto we have not met with a single Spaniard who avowed the reformed tenets, or who was convicted on good grounds of holding them. We have every reason, however, to think that there were persons of this description in Spain, though their names have not come down to us. If this had not been the case, the inquisitors would have been guilty of the grossest indiscretion, in exposing the ears of the people to the risk of infection by publishing, with such particularity, the opinions of the German heretic in every parish church of the kingdom. Yet it must be acknowledged that, in their eagerness to discover what did not exist, and to aggravate the the slightest deviation from the received faith into a dangerous error, they were sometimes instrumental in propagating what they sought to extripate. A simple countryman was brought before the inquisitors of Seville, accused of having said among his friends, that he did not think there was any purgatory but the blood of Christ. He confessed that he had thought so, but, understanding that it was offensive to the holy fathers, declared himself ready to retract the sentiment. This was by no means satisfactory to the inquisitors, who told him, that by adopting that one error he had involved himself in a multitude; for, if there was no purgatory, then the pope, who had decreed the contrary, was not infallible, then general councils had erred, then justification was by faith; and so on. In vain did the poor man protest that such ideas had never once entered into his mind; he was remanded to prison until he should be prepared to retract them. The consequence was, that he was led seriously to think on these topics, and came out of the Inquisition a confirmed Lutheran.

The study of polite letters had been communicated from Spain to Portugal, and the knowledge of the reformed opinions poceeded in the same course. As early as 1521, Emanuel, the Portuguese monarch, addressed a letter to the elector of Saxony, urging him to punish Luther, and extirpate his pernicious tenets, before they should spread farther in Germany, and penetrate into other Christian countries. In 1534, pope Clement VII. being informed that the reformed opinions were daily making progress in Portugal, appointed Diego de Silva as inquisitor of that kingdom; and, in the following year, we find the king representing to the court of Rome that a number of the converted Jews had become protestants.

It has been conjectured that the first converts to the reformed doctrine in Spain belonged to the religious fraternity of Franciscans, because the pope, in 1526, granted power to the general and provincials of that order to absolve such of their brethren as had imbibed the new opinions, and were willing to abjudge them. But this is rather to be viewed in the light of a privilege, craved by the Franciscans to exempt them from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who were at first chosen from the rival order of Dominicans. Few of those who afterwards became protestants belonged to the brotherhood of St. Francis.

Juan Valdes, with whom we have met elsewhere, was the first person, so far as I can discover, who embraced and was active in spreading the reformed opinions in Spain. He was of a good family, and had received a liberal education. If we may judge from those with whom he was on terms of intimacy, he had studied at the university of Alcala. Having attached himself to the court, he quitted Spain about the year 1535 in the company of Charles V., who sent him to Naples to act as secretary to the viceroy. The common opinion has been that he became a convert to the Lutheran creed in Germany, but the fact is, that his mind was imbued with its leading tenets before he left his native country. This appears from a treatise drawn up by him under the title of Advice on the Interpreters of Sacred Scripture, which was circulated privately among his acquaintance. It was originally sent in the form of a letter to his friend Bartolomé Carranza, who afterwards became archbishop of Toledo, but had early incurred the suspicions of the Holy Office by the freedom of his opinions. This tract was found among the papers of the primate when he was subsequently seized by the order of the Inquisition, and formed one of the gravest articles of charge against that distinguished and long-persecuted prelate. The Advice contained the following propositions, among others: first, that in order to understand the sacred Scriptures, we must not rely on the interpretations of the fathers; second, that we are justified by a lively faith in the passion and death of our Saviour; and third, that we may attain to certainty concerning our justification. The agreement between these and the leading sentiments maintained by Luther, renders it highly probable that Valdes had read the writings of that reformer or of some of his adherents. At the same time we are told that the principal things in this tract were taken from the Christian institutes of Tauler. This fact throws light on the sentiments of Valdes, and the peculiar cast of his writings. John Tauler was a distinguished German preacher of the fourteenth century, and one of those writers in the church of Rome who have obtained the name of mystics. They were disgusted with the intricate and jejune theology of the scholastic divines, and with the routine of exterior services which constituted the whole practice of piety in the convents; but, being imperfectly instructed in the doctrine of the gospel, in flying from the vice of their age they fell into the opposite extreme. They resolved religion almost entirely into contemplation and meditation; their discourses, consisting of soliloquies on the love of God and the sufferings of Christ, were chiefly calculated to stimulate the passions; and they occasionally made use of extravagant and hyperbolical expressions, which implied that the soul of the devotee was absorbed in the divine essence, and, when favoured with supernatural visitations, was rendered independent upon and superior to external means and ordinances. The exercises, or meditations, on the Life of Christ by Tauler bear a strong resemblance to the better-known work of Thomas à Kempis on the Imitation of Christ. They have the same excellencies and the same faults; breathe the same rich odour of spiritual devotion, and labour under the same deficiency of clear and distinct views of divine truth. Those who are well grounded in the doctrines of Christianity may reap great advantage from a perusal of them; candidates for the ministry will find in them an excellent supplement to a course of systematic divinity; but in minds warm and uninformed they are apt to foster a self-righteous and servile disposition, and to give rise to enthusiastic notions.

The mystic theology had its votaries in Spain. A Spanish translation of the Imitation of Christ, and of an earlier work of the same character, entitled the Ladder of Paradise, were published at the close of the fifteenth century. Juan de Avila, Luis de Granada, confessor to the queen regent of Portugal, and St. Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, and third general of the order of Jesuits, were the authors of works, for which they were prosecuted before the inquisition as mystics and illuminati. Several of the protestants, who were afterwards brought to the stake at Valladolid, appealed to the writings of the two last-named individuals as containing sentiments similar to those which they held on the head of justification.

Valdes may have become acquainted with the writings of Tauler through the recommendation of Luther, who, at one period of his life, was enamoured with them, and republished, with a commendatory preface, a work written in the same strain, but more liable to exception, under the title of German Theology. In a letter to his friend Spalatin, the reformer says, "If you wish to read in your own language the ancient and pure divinity, procure Tauler's Sermons, of which I now send you an abstract; for nowhere, either in Latin or German, have I met with a theology more wholesome and accordant to the gospel." The doctrines of justification by faith in Christ, and of regeneration by the agency of the Spirit, form the groundwork of the writings of Valdes, and so far his creed is Lutheran or protestant; but we can trace in them the influence of the trancendental divinity which he had caught from Tauler. More intellectual and speculative than the mystic divines, he exhibits in his works the *rationale* of their creed rather than an exemplification of their mode of writing, and hazards some sentiments which gave just offence to several of the principal reformers. It is amusing to observe his natural inquisitiveness contending with and overcoming that principle in his creed which led him to condemn as sinful all curious inquiries into matters of religion, or indeed into any other matter.

Valdes left his native country at an early period, but he contributed greatly to the spread of the reformed opinions in it by his writings, several of which were published in Spanish. Though he had remained, his personal presence would most probably have produced little effect. It required a person of less caution and more adventurous spirit to burst the terrible barrier which opposed the entrance of the gospel into Spain, and to raise the standard of truth within sight of the flames of the inquisition. Such a person was found in the man of whom I am now to speak.

Rodrigo de Valer, a native of Lebrixa, distant about thirty miles from Seville, had spent his youth in those idle and dissipated habits which were common among the nobility and gentry of Spain. The love of dress, and of horses and sports, engrossed his attention; and in Seville, which was his favourite residence, he shone in the first rank among the young men of fashion in every scene of amusement and feat of gallantry. All of a sudden he disappeared from those places of entertainment of which he had been the life and ornament. He was in good health, and his fortune had sustained no injury. But his mind had undergone a complete change; his splendid equipage was laid aside; he became negligent of his dress; and, shut up in his closet, he devoted himself entirely to reading and meditation on religion. Had he become unexpectedly pious, and immured himself to a convent, his conduct would not have excited general surprise among his countrymen; but to retire from the world, and yet to shun those consecrated abodes, the choice of which was viewed as the great and almost exclusive mark of superior sanctity, appeared to them unaccountable on any other supposition than that of mental derangement. Valer had acquired a slight acquaintance with the Latin language in his youth. He now procured a copy of the Vulgate, the only translation of the Bible permitted in Spain; and having by dint of application, by day and by night, made himself master of the language, he, in a short time, became so well acquainted with the contents of the Scriptures, that he could repeat almost any passage in them from memory, and explain it with wonderful promptitude and intelligence. Whether he had any other means of instruction, or what these were, must remain a secret; but it is certain that he was led to form a system of doctrine not different from that of the reformers of Germany, and to lay the foundations of a church in Seville which was Lutheran in all the main articles of its belief.

When Valer had informed and satisfied his mind as to the truths of religion, he left off that solitary life which had been chosen by him as an instrument and not as an end. He now returned to company, but with a very different spirit and intention. His great desire was now to impart to others those impressions of divine truth which had been made on his own mind. With this view he courted the society of the clergy and monks, with whom he dealt, first by argument and persuasion, and afterwards in the severer style of reproof. He set before them the general defection, among all classes, from primitive Christianity, both as to faith and practice; the corruption of their own order, which had contributed to spread infection over the whole Christian community; and the sacred obligations which they were under to apply a speedy and thorough remedy to the evil before it should become altogether incurable. These representations were uniformly accompanied with an appeal to the sacred writings as the supreme standard in religion, and with an exhibition of the principal doctrines which they taught. When the clergy, weary of the ungrateful theme, shunned his company, he threw himself in their way, and did not hesitate to introduce his favourite but dangerous topics in the public walks and other places of concourse. His exhortations were not entirely without success; but in most instances their effects were such as might have been anticipated from the situation and character of those to whom they were addressed. The surprise excited by his first address gave place to indignation and disdain. It was not to be borne that a layman, and one who had no pretensions to learning, should presume to instruct his teachers, and inveigh against doctrines and institutions which were held in reverence by the universal church, and sanctioned by its highest authority. Whence had he his pretended knowledge of the scriptures? Who gave him a right to teach? And what were the signs and proof of his mission? To these questions Valer replied with candour, but with firmness, that it was true he had been brought up in ignorance of divine things; he had derived his knowledge, not from the polluted streams of tradition and human inventions, but from the pure fountain of revealed truth, through the teaching of that Spirit by whose influence living waters are made to flow from the hearts of those who believe in Christ; there was no good reason for supposing that these influences were confined to persons of the ecclesiastical order, especially when it was so deeply depraved as at present; private and illiterate men had convicted a learned sanhedrim of blindness, and called a whole world to the knowledge of salvation; he had the authority of Christ for warning them of their errors and vices; and none would require a sign from him but a spurious and degenerate race, whose eyes could not bear the brightness of that pure light which laid open and reproved their works of darkness.

It was not to be expected that he would be long permitted to continue in this offensive course. He was brought before the inquisitors, with whom he maintained a keen dispute on the church, the marks by which it is distinguished, justification, and similar points. On that occasion, some individuals of considerable authority, who had secretly imbibed his sentiments, exerted themselves in his favour. Their influence, joined to the purity of his descent, the station which he held in society, and the circumstance that his judges either believed or wished it to be believed that he was insane, procured for him a milder sentence than that jealous and inexorable tribunal was accustomed to pronounce. He was dismissed with the loss of property. But neither confiscation of goods, nor the fear of a severer punishment, could induce Valer to alter his conduct. He yielded so far to the importunities of his friends as to abstain from a public declaration of his sentiments for a short time, during which he explained to them in private the Epistles of the Romans. But his zeal soon burst through this restraint. He considered himself in the light of a soldier sent on the forlorn hope, and resolved to fall in the breach, trusting that others, animated by his example, would press forward and secure the victory. Resuming his former reproofs of the reigning errors and superstition, he was a second time denounced to the Holy Office, which condemned him to wear a sanbenito, and to be imprisoned for life. When conducted, along with other penitents, to the church of St. Salvador in Seville, to attend public service on festival days, instead of exhibiting the marks of sorrow exacted from persons in his situation, he scrupled not to address the audience after sermon, and to warn them against the erroneous doctrine which they had heard from the preacher, whenever he thought it contrary to the word of God. This of itself would have been reckoned sufficient cause for adjudging him to the flames; but the reasons already mentioned had influence to save him from that fate. To rid themselves in the most quiet way of so troublesome a penitent, the inquisitors came to the resolution of confining him in a monastery belonging to the town of San Lucar, near the mouth of the Guadalquiver, where, secluded from all society, he died about the age of fifty. His sanbenito, which was hung up in the metropolitan church of Seville, long attracted curiosity by its extraordinary size, and the inscription which it bore,—"Rodrigo Valer, a citizen of Lebrixa and Seville, an apostate, and false apostle, who pretended to be sent of God."

It was about the year 1541 that the final sentence was pronounced on Valer. The most distinguished of his converts was Juan Gil, commonly called Doctor Egidius. He was born at Olvera in Aragon, and educated at the university of Alcala, where he distinguished himself by his skill in scholastic theology, the only science then valued in Spain, except among a few individuals who, by addicting themselves to the study of scripture in the original languages, were derisively named Biblists. After obtaining the highest academical honours, he was appointed professor of divinity at Siguenza. Such was his celebrity, that when the office of canon-magistral, or preacher, in the cathedral church of Seville became vacant, he was chosen to fill it by the unanimous vote of the chapter, without being required to undergo the comparative trial prescribed in such cases. But how well versed soever in the writings of Lombard, Aquinas and Scotus, he proved an unpopular preacher; and not being indifferent to his reputation and usefulness, he felt, after continuing for some years, nearly as anxious to relinquish his situation as the people were to get rid of him. In this state of mind he was accosted by Valer, who had the penetration to discover his feelings, and to perceive the good dispositions, as well as talents, with which he was endowed. He pointed out the defects of his mode of preaching, and exhorted him, as the sure remedy, to give himself to the diligent and serious perusal of the word of God. This advice, frequently repeated, produced at last the desired effect. He took the course pointed out to him, and his "profiting appeared to all." He soon became the most acceptable preacher who had appeared in Seville. Instead of the dry, abstruse and unprofitable discussions which he had formerly pursued, he brought forward the great truths of the Bible; and the frigid manner in which he had been accustomed to acquit himself in public was succeeded by powerful appeals to the consciences, and affectionate addresses to the hearts of his auditors. Their attention was aroused; deep convictions of the necessity and suitableness of that salvation which the gospel reveals were made on their minds; and they were prepared for receiving those new views of divine truth which the preacher presented to them, as they were gradually unfolded to himself, and with a caution, which regard to the weakness of the people, as well as to his own perilous situation, seemed to warrant and require. In this manner, by a zeal more tempered with prudence than that of his revered instructor, he was honoured not only to make converts to Christ, but to train up martyrs for the truth. "Among the other gifts divinely bestowed on this holy man," says one who owed his soul to him, "was the singular faculty which he had of kindling in the breasts of those who listened to his instructions a sacred flame, which animated them in all the exercises of piety, internal and external, and made them not only willing to take up the cross, but cheerful in the prospect of the sufferings of which they stood in jeopardy every hour; a clear proof that the master whom he served was present with him, by his Spirit engraving the doctrine which he taught on the hearts of his hearers."

Egidius was not left alone in the work of enlightening the citizens of Seville. In addition to those who, like himself, had profited by the conversation of Valer, he was joined by doctor Vargas and Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, who had been his fellow-students at the university, and were men of superior talents and learning. He imparted to them his knowledge of evangelical truth, and they in their turn contributed by their conversation to the improvement of his ministerial gifts. The three friends concerted a plan, according to which they might co-operate in advancing the common cause. Vargus read lectures to the more learned, in which he expounded the Epistle to the Romans, and subsequently the book of Psalms; and Constantine, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly afterwards, assisted Egidius occasionally in the pulpit. Their zeal, while it awakened the suspicions, provoked the diligence of the clergy who were devoted to the ancient superstition; and the city was divided in its attachments between the two classes of preachers. Those of the one class urged the necessity and importance of the repetition of prayers at certain stated hours, the frequent hearing of mass, the visiting of consecrated places, and the regular observance of fasting and of auricular confession; while they exhorted those who aimed at higher degrees of sanctity to dedicate their substance to pious uses, or, renouncing the world, to take on them the triple vow. Those of the other class either passed over these things entirely, or inculcated their inefficacy; exhorted their hearers to rely on the merits of Christ instead of their own works, and to prove the genuineness of their faith by obedience to the commands of God; and, in place of recommending rosaries and scales of devotion, spoke in the warmest style of the advantages to be derived from a serious and daily perusal of the sacred writings. The first class carried along with them the great body of the people, whose religion is the creature of authority and habit. But the eloquence of Egidius and his two associates, their prudence, unaffected piety, and irreproachable morals, and the harmony with which they continued to act, gradually subdued the prejudices of the multitude, and thinned the ranks even of their clerical opponents. Assiduously employed in the duties of their public functions through the day, they met in the evening with the friends of the reformed doctrine, sometimes in one private house and sometimes in another; the small society in Seville grew insensibly, and became the parent stock, from which branches were taken and planted in the adjacent country.

The inquisition had for some time fixed its jealous eyes on the three preachers; nor were there wanting persons ready to accuse them, and especially Egidius, who was most obnoxious on account of his greater openness of disposition, and his appearing more frequently in the pulpit. Surmises unfavourable to his orthodoxy were circulated, spies were set on his conduct, and consultations held in secret as to the surest method of ruining one who had become popular among all ranks. While these things were going on he was deprived of his two trusty associates; Vargas being removed by death, and Constantine called to the Low Countries. But even after he was thus left alone his enemies were afraid to proceed against him.

So great was the reputation of Egidius, that in 1550 the emperor nominated him to the vacant bishopric of Tortosa, which was one of the richest benefices in Spain, and had been held by cardinal Adrian, the preceptor of Charles V., immediately before his elevation to the popedom. This distinguished mark of royal favour inflamed the resentment of his adversaries, and determined them to proceed to extremities. Instead of confining themselves as formerly to murmurs, they now charged him openly with heresy, and predicted that his elevation to the episcopate would prove the most disastrous calamity which Spain had witnessed. He was formally denounced to the Holy Office, and, the preliminary steps having been taken, was thrown into its secret prisons. The charges against him related to the doctrine of justification, assurance of salvation, human merits, plurality of mediators, purgatory, auricular confession, and the worshipping of images. He was also accused of having favoured Rodrigo de Valer on his trial, and opposed the erection of a crucifix in the room of one which had been accidentally burnt. In his defence he drew up an ample statement of his sentiments on the head of justification, with the reasons on which they were founded; a display of frankness which proved hurtful to his cause, as it furnished the procurator fiscal at once with evidence in support of his charges, and materials for increasing their number. The friends of Egidius now became alarmed for his safety. The emperor, hearing of the danger to which he was exposed, wrote in his favour to the inquisitor general. The chapter of Seville followed his example. And, what is more strange, the licentiate Correa, one of the most inexorable judges of the Holy Office, became an advocate for him, influenced, it is said, by indignation at the conduct of Pedro Diaz, another inquisitor, who had formerly been a disciple of Valer along with Egidius, whom he now prosecuted with base and unrelenting hostility. In consequence of this powerful intercession, the inquisitors found it necessary to adopt a moderate course, and agreed, instead of remitting the articles of charge to the ordinary *qualificators*, to submit them to two arbiters chosen by the parties.

Egidius, after nominating Bartolomé Carranza and several other individuals, who were either absent from the country or objected to by the inquisitors, at last fixed, with the approbation of his judges, on Domingo de Soto, a Dominican and professor at Salamanca, as his arbiter. Soto came to Seville, and having obtained access to Egidius, with whom he had been acquainted at the university, professed, after mutual explanations, to coincide with him in his views of justification, which was the main article in the indictment, and to think that there would be no difficulty in procuring an amicable adjustment of the affair. It was arranged between them, that each should draw up a paper containing his sentiments on the disputed point, expressed in his own words, and that these papers should be read in the presence of the inquisitors. As the cause had excited great interest from its relation to a bishop elect and a preacher so popular in Seville, it was thought proper that it should be discussed at a public meeting held in the cathedral. On the day appointed for the trial, pulpits were allotted for Egidius and his arbiter, Soto; but, either from design or accident, they were placed at a great distance from one another. After sermon was ended, Soto read the declaration of his sentiments. Egidius, owing partly to the distance at which he sat, and partly to the bustle prevailing in a crowded and anxious assembly, was unable to follow the speaker; but taking it for granted that what was read agreed with what had passed between them in conversation, he nodded assent to it, as Soto raised his voice and looked toward him at the end of every proposition. He then proceeded to read his own declaration, which, in the judgment of all who were present, whether friends or foes, contradicted the former on all the leading points. The inquisitors availed themselves of this variance between his gestures and language to raise an outcry against him. The two declarations were instantly joined in process, and sentence was given forth, declaring him violently suspected of the Lutheran heresy, and condemning him to abjure the propositions imputed to him, to be imprisoned for three years, to abstain from writing or teaching for ten years, and not to leave the kingdom during that period, under the pain of being punished as a formal and relapsed heretic, or, in other words, being burnt alive. Confounded at the unexpected issue of the process, abashed by the exultation of his enemies, and half-convinced, by the mortification which he read in the countenances of his friends, that he must have said something far wrong, Egidius lost courage, and silently acquiesced in the sentence pronounced against him. It was not until some time after he had returned to his prison that he learned from one of his companions the base treachery of the friend in whom he had confided.

Such is the account of the process given by De Montes. The late historian of the Inquisition is disposed to call in question the truth of his statement so far as concerns the artifice imputed to the professor of Salamanca; upon this ground, that Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, during his trial, retaliated upon Soto by accusing him of "having been too indulgent in regard to doctor Egidius of Seville." But this objection is by no means conclusive. For, in the first place, Llorente bears witness to the general accuracy of De Montes, who expressly asserts that he received his information from Egidius in prison. In the second place, the charge of Carranza is not irreconcilable with the narrative which has been given; for De Montes states that Soto claimed the merit of having procured a lenitent sentence for Egidius. In fine, Llorente has shown, in reference to another case, that Soto was perfectly capable of the disgraceful conduct imputed to him on this occasion.

No sooner was it known that Egidius was condemned, than a flight of hungry applicants gathered round the fat benefice of Tortosa like crows round carrion. The holy fathers assembled at Trent were not so intently occupied in watching over the interests of the catholic church as not to have one eye turned to Spain, and ready to discern what might happen there to their advantage. While the trial of the bishop elect was in dependence, cardinal Granville, then bishop of Arras and prime minister of Spain, had his table covered with applications, in which the incense of adulation was thickly sprinkled on rancid avarice. In a letter, dated from Trent on the 19th of November 1551, the titular bishop

Jubin, *in partibus Infidelium*, writes: "We have received intelligence here, that the bishop elect of Tortosa has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment. I shall be infinitely obliged to you to think of me—the least of your servants—provided his lordship of Elna shall be translated to the bishopric of Tortosa, now vacant by this means." On the preceding day, the bishop of Elna had addressed a letter to the same quarter, in which, without giving the least hint of the object he had in view, he begs the premier to command him "as the meanest domestic of his household," calls himself "his slave," and assures him that the rare qualities of his eminence, his native goodness, and the favours he had conferred, were so deeply seated in the heart of his servant that he remembered him without ceasing, especially "in his poor sacrifices, the fittest time to make mention of one's masters." Two days after, the modest bishop has acquired as much courage as to name his request: he acknowledges that the bishopric of Tortosa was "too weighty a burden for his weak shoulders," but urges that he could discharge his episcopal functions better in such a tranquil spot than in the frontier province of Roussillon, where his pious exercises were interrupted by the noise of warlike instruments, and that he "felt a strong desire to end his days in tending his infirm sheep in the peace of God." The bishop of Algeri was equally disinterested as his brethren in seeking promotion. "It was not avarice that induced him to ask the favour" to be translated from the Island of Sardinia; he only wished to "have his residence on *terra firma*," that his spirit being relieved from the continual agitation in which it was kept by the restless waves which surrounded him, he might be "at more liberty to serve God, and pray for the life of the king and his minister." The bishop of Elna having been unsuccessful in his application, renewed it in the course of the following year, when he had recourse to a new line of argument in its support. After telling the premier "that his hands had made him," he requests him to remember, "if he pleased," that his majesty had certain rights in Valencia called *les bayles de Morella*, of which large sums were due to the treasury, as would appear from the lists which he had procured and took the liberty to transmit to his eminence! that most luckily the diocess of Tortosa included that district, though the episcopal seat was in his native country of Catalonia; and that, if it should please his majesty to gratify him with that bishopric, he could see to the payment of these dues without leaving his diocess, and "thus would have it in his power to serve God and the king at the same time."

O the duplicity, the selfishness, the servility of the clergy! What good cause but one would they not have ruined? And how deeply has that been marred by them! Boccaccio relates, (it is a tale, but deserves to be repeated for the sake of the moral it teaches,) that two persons, a Christian layman and a Jew, lived together in a retired spot on the northern boundary of Italy. The Christian had long piously laboured to convert his neighbour, and had succeeded so far as to be in daily expectation of his submitting to baptism, when all at once the idea struck the latter that he would previously visit the capital of Christendom. Dreading the effects of his journey, the Christian endeavoured to divert him from it; but in vain. After an absence of some weeks the Jew returned, and repairing to the house of the Christian, who had given up his convert for lost, surprised him with the intimation that he was now ready to be baptized; "for (added he) I have been at Rome, and have seen the pope and his clergy, and I am convinced that if Christianity had not been divine, it would have been ruined long ago under the care of such guardians."

All the applicants for the bishopric of Tortosa took care to urge the services which they had done to the emperor at the council of Trent. Several authors have spoken in high terms of the liberal views and independent spirit displayed by the Spanish divines who sat at that council; and Father Simon, in particular, asserts that they were ready, upon the refusal of the ecclesiastical reforms which they sought, to join with the French church in throwing off the authority of the court of Rome, if Charles V. had not, from political motives, discouraged them by withdrawing his support. A perusal of their correspondence and that of the imperial embassy serves to abate, in no small degree, the high opinion which these commendations are calculated to produce. If the Italian bishops were passive tools in the hands of the papal legates, their brethren of Spain were not less under the influence of the imperial ambassadors; and it is quite as clear that their zeal for the reformation of abuses was at first excited, as that it was afterwards restrained, by the policy of the emperor. Several of the reforms which they demanded were in favour of their own order, and would have added to their power and wealth in proportion as they diminished those of the papal see; a circumstance which did not escape the observation of the court of Spain. At the same time they satisfied themselves with murmuring in private at the shameful arts by which the council was managed, and had not the courage to resent the attacks made on its freedom, or the insults openly offered to their colleagues. The bishop of Verdun happening to apply the term *pretended reformation* to some of the plans proposed in the council, the papal legate, cardinal Crescentio, assailed him publicly with invective, calling him a thoughtless young man, and a fool, and ordering him to be silent. "Is this a free council?" said the elector of Cologne to the Spanish bishop of Orense, who sat next him. "It ought to be free," replied the bishop, with a caution which would not have disgraced an Italian. "But tell me your opinion candidly. Is the synod free?" "Do not press me at present, my lord," rejoined the prudent bishop; "that's a difficult question; I will answer it at home." It has been alleged that the papal influence over the council was confined to matters of discipline and ecclesiastical polity, and did not extend to points of faith, in the decision of which all the members were of one accord. But this is contradicted by unquestionable documents. Some of the most learned divines who were at Trent were dissatisfied with certain parts of the doctrine of the council, and with the confused and hurried manner in which this important part of the business was transacted. After the article concering the sacraments of penance and extreme unction had received the formal sanction of the holy and universal council, the divines of Louvain succeeded in convincing the leaders that it was erroneous. What was to be done? They agreed in a private conclave to alter it, after taking precautions to have the whole affair buried in silence, lest they should incur the ridicule of the Lutherans. "A great misfortune!" says the archbishop of Cologne; "but the least of two evils." The reflections of the counsellor of the imperial embassy are more unceremonious. "I believe (says he) that God has permitted this occurrence to cover them with shame and confusion. Surely, after this, they will open their eyes, according to the saying of the psalmist, *Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name.* God grant they may comprehend this; but I dare not hope for so much, and have always said that nothing short of a miracle will work a change." It is impossible to conceive any thing more deplorable than the picture of the council drawn in the confidential correspondence of Vargas, who was attached, as a legal adviser, to the embassy sent by Charles V. to Trent. "The legate is always the same," says he in a letter to the cardinal-bishop of Arras; "he is a man lost to all shame. Believe me, Sir, I have not words to express the pride and effrontery which he displays in the affairs of the council. Perceiving that we are timid, and that his majesty is unwilling to hurt or offend the pope, he endeavours to terrify us by assuming stately airs and a haughty tone. He treats the bishops as slaves; threatens and swears that he will depart. It is useless for his majesty to continue longer to urge the pope and his ministers. It is speaking to the deaf, and trying to soften the stones. It serves only to make us a laughing-stock to the world, and to furnish the heretics with subjects for pasquinades. We must delay till the time when God will purify the sons of Levi. That time must soon come; and, in my opinion, this purification will not be accomplished without some extraordinary chastisement. Things cannot remain long in their present state: the evils are too great. All the nerves of ecclesiastical discipline are broken. The traffic in things sacred is shameful. The prediction of St. Paul is about to be accomplished in the church of Rome, *That day cannot come, unless there come a falling away first.* As to the manner of treating doctrines, I have already written you, that they precipitate every thing, examine few questions, and do not submit them to the judgment of the learned divines who are here in attendance. Many of the bishops give their vote, and say *placet*, on points which they do not understand and are incapable of understanding. There is no one here who appears on the side of God, or dares to speak. We are all dumb dogs that cannot bark." Notwithstanding all this, and much more to the same purpose, Vargas adds, like a true son of the church: "As for myself, I obey implicitly, and will submit without resistance to whatever shall be determined in matters of faith. God grant that all may do this."

These facts are not irrelative to the subject. The secrets of the council of Trent soon transpired; and several individuals, who were afterwards brought to the stake in Spain, acknowledged that their eyes were first opened to the radical corruptions of the church of Rome by the accounts they received from some of the members of that synod as to the scandalous manner in which its decisions were influenced.

Egidius appeared among the criminals condemned to penance, in an auto-de-fe celebrated at Seville in 1552. The term of his imprisonment having expired in 1555, he, in the course of the following year, paid a visit to Valladolid, where he found a number of converts to the reformed doctrine. His wounded spirit was refreshed by what he saw of the grace of God in that city, and after spending a short time in the company of his brethren, and exhorting them to constancy in the faith, he returned to Seville. But the fatigue of travelling, to which he had been unaccustomed for some years, brought on a fever, which cut him off in a few days. He left behind him a number of writings in his native tongue, none of which appears to have been printed. His bones were afterwards taken from their grave, and committed to the flames, his property confiscated, and his memory declared infamous, by a sentence of the inquisitors, finding that he had died in the Lutheran faith.

The first introduction of the reformed doctrine into Valladolid was attended with circumstances nearly as extraordinary as those which had led to its reception in Seville. Francisco San-Roman, a native of Burgos, and son of the alcayde mayor of Bribiesca, having engaged in mercantile pursuits, went to the Low Countries. In the year 1540 his employers sent him from Antwerp to Bremen, to settle some accounts due to them in that city. The reformed religion had been introduced into Bremen; and the young Spaniard, curious to become acquainted with that doctrine which was so much condemned in his native country, went to one of the churches, where he heard James Spreng, formerly prior of the Augustinian monastery at Antwerp, and one of the first persons of note who embraced the opinions of Luther in the Netherlands. The sermon made so deep an impression on the mind of San-Roman, that he could not refrain from calling on the preacher, who, pleased with his candour and thirst for knowledge, introduced him to the acquaintance of some of his pious and learned friends. Among them was our countryman Doctor Maccabeus, then at Bremen, by whose conversation he profited greatly. Like some young converts he flattered himself that he could easily persuade others to embrace those truths which appeared to his own mind as clear as the light of day; and he burned with the desire of returning home and imparting the knowledge which he had received to his relations and countrymen. In vain did Spreng endeavour to restrain an enthusiasm from which he had himself suffered at an earlier period of his life. In the letters which he wrote to his employers at Antwerp, San-Roman could not help alluding to the change which his religious sentiments had undergone, and lamenting the blindness of his countrymen. The consequence was, that on his return to that city he was immediately seized by certain friars, to whom the contents of his letters had been communicated; and a number of Lutheran books and satirical prints against the church of Rome being found in his possession, he was thrown into prison. After a rigorous confinement of eight months, he was released at the solicitation of his friends, who represented that his zeal was now cooled, and that he would be duly watched in his native country. Going to Louvain, he met with Francisco Enzinas, one of his fellow-citizens, of whom we shall afterwards speak, who urged him not to rush upon certain danger by an indiscreet or unnecessary avowal of his sentiments, and to confine himself to the sphere of his proper calling, within which he might do much good, instead of assuming the office of a public teacher, or talking on religious subjects with every person who fell in his way. San-Roman promised to regulate his conduct by this prudential advice; but having gone to Ratisbon, where a diet of the empire was then sitting, and being elated at hearing of the favour which the emperor showed to the protestants, with the view of securing their assistance against the Turks, he forgot his prudent resolutions. Obtaining an introduction to Charles, he deplored the state of religion in his native country, and begged him to use his royal power in restraining the inquisitors and priests, who sought, by every species of violence and cruelty, to prevent the entrance of the only true and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ into Spain. By the mild answer which he received from the emperor, he was emboldened to renew his application, at which some of the Spanish attendants were so incensed that they would have thrown him instantly into the Danube, had not their master interposed, by ordering him to be reserved for trial before the proper judges. He was accordingly cast into chains, and conveyed, in the retinue of the emperor, from Germany to Italy, and from Italy to Africa. After the failure of the expedition against Algiers, he was landed in Spain, and delivered to the Inquisition at Valladolid. His process was short. When brought before the inquisitors, he frankly professed his belief in the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, that salvation comes to no man by his own works, merit or strength, but solely from the mercy of God through the sacrifice of the one Mediator; and he pronounced the mass, auricular confession, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images, to be blasphemy against the living God. If his zeal was impetuous, it supported him to the last. He endured the horrors of a protracted imprisonment with the utmost fortitude and patience. He resisted all the importunities used by the friars to induce him to recant. He refused, at the place of execution, to purchase a mitigation of punishment by making confession to a priest, or bowing to a crucifix which was placed before him. When the flames first reached him on his being fastened to the stake, he made an involuntary motion with his head, upon which the friars in attendance exclaimed that he was become penitent, and ordered him to be brought from the fire. On recovering his breath, he looked them calmly in the face, and said, "Did you envy my happiness?" at which words he was thrust back into the flames, and almost instantly suffocated. Among a great number of prisoners brought out in this public spectacle, he was the only individual who suffered death. The novelty of the crimes with which he was charged, joined to the resolution which he displayed on the scaffold and at the stake, produced a sensible impression on the spectators. A proclamation was issued by the inquisitors, forbidding any to pray for his soul, or to express a favourable opinion of such an obstinate heretic. Notwithstanding this, some of the emperor's body-guards collected his ashes as those of a martyr; and the English ambassador, who happened to be at Valladolid at that time, used means to procure a part of his bones as a relic. The guards were thrown into prison, and the ambassador was prohibited from appearing at court for some time. It is not unworthy of observation, that the sermon at this *auto-de-fe* was preached by the well-known Carranza, who was afterwards tried by the Inquisition, and died in a prison after a confinement of seventeen years.

This event took place in the year 1544. The reformed doctrine had previously been introduced into Valladolid, but its disciples contented themselves with retaining it in their own breasts, or talking of it in the most cautious way to their confidential friends. The speculation excited by the martyrdom of San-Roman took off this restraint. Expressions of sympathy for his fate, or of astonishment at his opinions, led to conversations, in the course of which the favourers of the new faith, as it was called, were easily able to recognise one another. The zeal, and even magnanimity, which he evinced in encountering public odium, and braving so horrible a death, for the sake of the truth, provoked to emulation the most timid among them; and within a few years after his martyrdom, they formed themselves into a church, which met regularly in private for the purposes of religious instruction and worship.

CHAPTER V.

Causes of the Progress of the Reformed Doctrine in Spain.

Before proceeding farther with the narrative of the religious movement in Spain, it may be proper to give an account of some facts which happened without the kingdom. This will furnish the reader with interesting information respecting Spaniards who embraced the Reformation abroad, and whose pious and enlightened exertions, in publishing the scriptures and other books in their native tongue, had great influence in disseminating the knowledge of the truth among their countrymen at home.

About the year 1540, three brothers, Jayme, Francisco, and Juan, sons of a respectable citizen of Burgos in Old Castile, were sent to study at Louvain, a celebrated seat of education, to which the Spanish youth had long been accustomed to resort. The family name of the young men was Enzinas, though they were better known among the learned in Germany by their assumed name of Dryander. Polite letters had been for some time cultivated in the university of Louvain, and the students indulged in a freedom of opinion, which was not tolerated at Paris and other places where the old scholastic ideas and modes of teaching were rigidly preserved. Along with a taste for elegant literature, the young Spaniards acquired the knowledge of the reformed doctrines. They lived in terms of great intimacy with the celebrated George Cassander, who corresponded with the leading protestant divines, and afterwards distinguished himself by a fruitless attempt to reconcile the popish and reformed churches. Dissatisfied with the temporizing principles of this learned man, and the partial reforms in which he was disposed to rest, the three brothers entered with the most cordial zeal into the views of those who had formally separated from the church of Rome.

Juan Enzinas, or Dryander, the younger brother, chose the medical profession, and having settled in Germany, became a professor in the university of Marburg. He was the author of several works on medicine and astronomy, and acquired reputation by the ingenuity which he displayed in the invention and improvement of instruments for advancing these sciences.

Jayme Enzinas, the elder brother, removed in 1541, by the direction of his father, to Paris. During his residence in that city he became confirmed in his attachment to the Reformation, and was successful in communicating his impressions to some of his countrymen who were prosecuting their studies along with him. The expectations which he had formed from the far-famed university of the French metropolis were miserably disappointed. He found the professors to be generally pedants and bigots, and the students equally destitute of good manners and a love for liberal pursuits. It was with the deepest emotion that he beheld the Christian heroism shown by the protestant martyrs under the cruel treatment to which they were exposed. There was something solemn, though appalling, in the composure with which a Spanish assembly witnessed the barbarous spectacle of an auto-de-fe; but the wanton ferocity with which a Parisian mob shouted, when the executioner, with his pincers, tore the tongue from the mouth of his victim, and struck him with it repeatedly in the face, before binding his body to the stake, was disgustingly horrible and fiendish. Unable to remain in a place where he could find neither learning nor humanity, Jayme Enzinas left Paris and returned to Louvain. Thence he went to Antwerp to superintend the printing of a catechism which he had drawn up in his native language for the benefit of his countrymen. Soon after this he received orders from his father, who entertained sanguine hopes of his advancement in the church, to visit Italy, and spend some time in the capital of Christendom. Nothing could be more contrary to his inclinations; but yielding to the dictates of filial duty, he set out leaving his heart with his brothers and other friends in the Netherlands. To a delicate taste and generous independence of spirit, Jayme Enzinas added a tenderness of conscience and candour of disposition which exposed him to peculiar danger in Italy, at a time when the jealousy of the priests was roused by the recent discovery that the reformed tenets had spread extensively in that country. After spending several years in great uneasiness of mind, without being able to procure liberty from his father to return, he resolved at last, in compliance with the urgent request of his brothers, to repair to Germany, and was preparing to quit Rome, when he was betrayed by one of his countrymen, who denounced him as a heretic to the Inquisition. The circumstance of a Spaniard being accused of Lutheranism, together with the character which he bore for learning, attracted much interest in Rome; and his examination was attended by the principal bishops and cardinals. Undaunted by the solemnity of the court, he avowed his sentiments, and defended them with such spirit that his judges, irritated at his boldness, condemned him instantly to the flames; a sentence which was loudly called for by such of his countrymen as were present. Attempts were afterwards made to induce him to recant, by the offer of reconciliation to the church upon his appearing publicly with the sanbenito, according to the custom of his native country. But he refused to purchase his life on such conditions, and died at the stake with the utmost constancy and courage. His martyrdom happened in the year 1546.

About the same time that Enzinas suffered, one of his countrymen and intimate friends met with a still more tragical fate in Germany. Juan Diaz, a native of Cuença, after he had studied for several years at Paris, was converted to the protestant religion by the private instructions of Jayme Enzinas. Being liberally educated, he had, previously to that event, conceived a disgust at the scholastic theology, and made himself master of the Hebrew language, that he might study the Bible in the original. With the view of enjoying the freedom of professing the faith which he had embraced, he left Paris in company with Matthew Budé and John Crespin, and went to Geneva, where he resided for some time in the house of his countryman, Pedro Gales. Having removed to Strasburg in the beginning of the year 1546, his talents and suavity of manners recommended him so strongly to the celebrated Bucer, that he prevailed on the senate to join the Spanish stranger with himself in a deputation which they were about to send to a conference on the disputed points of religion to be held at Ratisbon. On going thither Diaz met with his countryman Pedro Malvenda, whom he had known at Paris, and was now to confront as an antagonist at the conference. To the pride and religious prejudices of his countrymen, Malvenda added the rudeness of a doctor of the Sorbonne, and the insolence of a minion of the court. When informed by Diaz of the change which had taken place in his sentiments, he expressed the utmost horror; saying, that the heretics would boast more of making a convert of a single Spaniard than of ten thousand Germans. Having laboured in vain, at different interviews, to reclaim him to the catholic faith, he laid the matter before the emperor's confessor. It is not known what consultations they had; but a Spaniard, named Marquina, who had transactions with them, repaired soon after to Rome, and communicated the facts to a brother of Diaz, Doctor Alfonzo, who had long held the office of advocate in the sacred Rota. The pride and bigotry of Alfonso were inflamed to the highest degree by the intelligence of his brother's defection; and taking along with him a suspicious attendant, he set out instantly for Germany, determined, in one way or other, to wipe off the infamy which had fallen on the hitherto spotless honour of his family. In the mean time, alarmed at some expressions of Malvenda, and knowing the inveteracy with which the Spaniards hated such of their countrymen as had become protestants, Bucer and the other friends of Juan Diaz had prevailed upon him to retire for a season to Neuburg, a small town in Bavaria situated on the Danube. On arriving at Ratisbon, Alfonzo succeeded in discovering the place of his brother's retreat, and after consulting with Malvenda, repaired to Neuburg. By every art of persuasion he sought during several days to bring back his brother to the church of Rome. Disappointed in this, he altered his method,—professed that the arguments which he had heard had shaken his confidence, and listened with apparent eagerness and satisfaction to his brother while he explained to him the protestant doctrines, and the passages of scripture on which they rested. Finding Juan delighted with this unexpected change, he proposed that he should accompany him to Italy, where there was a greater field of usefulness in disseminating the doctrines of the gospel than in Germany, which was already provided with an abundance of labourers. The guileless Juan promised to think seriously on this proposal, which he submitted to the judgment of his protestant friends. They were unanimously of opinion that he should reject it; and in particular Ochino, who had lately fled from Italy, and was then at Augsburg, pointed out the danger and hopeless nature of the project. Alfonso did not yet desist. He insisted that his brother should accompany him at least as far as Augsburg, promising to acquiesce in the decision which Ochino should pronounce after they had conversed with him on the subject. His request appeared so reasonable that Juan agreed to it; but he was prevented from going by the arrival of Bucer and two other friends, who, having finished their business at Ratisbon, and fearing that Juan Diaz might be induced to act contrary to their late advice, had agreed to pay him a visit. Concealing the chagrin which he felt at this unexpected obstacle, Alfonso took an affectionate leave of his brother, after he had, in a private interview, forced a sum of money upon him, expressed warm gratitude for the spiritual benefit he had received from his conversation, and warned him to be on his guard against Malvenda. He proceeded to Augsburg on the road to Italy; but next day, after using various precautions to conceal his route, he returned, along with the man whom he had brought from Rome, and spent the night in a village at a small distance from Neuburg. Early next morning, being the 27th of March 1546, they came to the house where his brother lodged. Alfonso stood at the gate, while his attendant, knocking at the door and announcing that he was the bearer of a letter to Juan Diaz from his brother, was shown up stairs to an apartment. On hearing of a letter from his brother, Juan sprang from his bed, hastened to the apartment in an undress, took the letter from the hand of the bearer, and as it was still dark, went to the window to read it, when the ruffian, stepping softly behind him, despatched his unsuspecting victim with one stroke of an axe which he had concealed under his cloak. He then joined the more guilty murderer, who now stood at the stair-foot to prevent interruption, and ready, if necessary, to give assistance to the assassin whom he had hired to execute his purpose.

Alarmed by the noise which the assassin's spurs made on the steps as he descended, the person who slept with Juan Diaz rose hastily, and going into the adjoining apartment beheld, with unutterable feelings, his friend stretched on the floor, and weltering in his blood, with his hands clasped, and the instrument of death fixed in his head. The murderers were fled, and had provided a relay of horses to convey them quickly out of Germany; but the pursuit after them, which commenced as soon as the alarm could be given, was so hot, that they were overtaken at Inspruck, and secured in prison. Otho Henry, count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria, within whose territories the crime was perpetrated, lost no time in taking the necessary measures for having it judicially tried. Lawyers were sent from Neuburg with the night-cap of the deceased, the bloody-axe, the letter of Alfonso, and other documents; but though the prisoners were arraigned before the criminal court at Inspruck, the trial was suspended through the influence of the cardinals of Trent and Augsburg, to whom the fratricide obtained liberty to write at the beginning of his imprisonment. When his plea for the benefit of the clergy was set aside as contrary to the laws of Germany, various legal quirks were resorted to; and, at last, the judges produced an order from the emperor, prohibiting them from proceeding with the trial, and reserving the cause for the judgment of his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans. When the protestant princes, at the subsequent diet of Ratisbon, demanded, first of the emperor, and afterwards of his brother, that the murderers should be punished, their requests were evaded; and, in the issue, the murderers were allowed to escape untried and with impunity, to the outraging of humanity and justice, and the disgrace of the church of Rome, whose authorities were bound to see that the most rigorous scrutiny was made into the horrid deed, under the pain of being held responsible for it to heaven and to posterity. The liberated fratricide appeared openly at Trent, along with his bloody accomplice, without exciting a shudder in the breasts of the holy fathers met in council; he was welcomed back to Rome; and finally returned to his native country, where he was admitted to the society of men of rank and education, who listened to him while he coolly related the circumstances of his sanctified crime. Different persons published accounts, agreeing in every material point, of a murder which, all circumstances considered, has scarcely a parallel in the annals of blood since the time of the first fratricide, and affords a striking proof of the degree in which fanatical zeal will stifle the tenderest affections of the human breast, and stimulate to the perpetration of crimes the most atrocious and unnatural.

The narrative which I have followed was drawn up and published at the time by Claude Senarcle, a noble young Savoyard, who was strongly attached to Juan Diaz, had accompanied him from the time he left Paris, and slept in the same bed with him on the night before his murder. Its accuracy is confirmed by the attestation of Bucer, who was personally acquainted with many of the facts, as well as with the character of the author. But indeed so far were the Roman catholics from denying the facts, that many of them, and especially the countrymen of Diaz, justified and even applauded the deed. Juan Ginez de Sepulveda, who professes to have received the facts from the mouth of the terrible hero of the tragedy, has given an account of them so completely in accordance with Senarcle's, that we might suppose he had abridged that work, in the way of substituting the atrocious moral of fanaticism for the touching sentiments of friendship, charity, and piety, which pervade the whole narrative of the protestant historian. It is humbling to think that Sepulveda was one of the most elegant prose writers who flourished at that time in Spain.

Francisco Enzinas continued, after his brother's departure to Italy, to reside at Louvain. But though he lived on good terms with the professors of the university, he found his situation becoming daily more irksome and painful. Among the learned protestants in the neighbourhood with whom he carried on a confidential correspondence, were Albert Hardenberg, preacher to the Cistercian monastery of Adwert, which, since the days of John Wessel, the Dutch Wicliffe, had resembled an academy more than a convent; and the celebrated Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed faith, and was eminently successful in diffusing the knowledge of the truth in East Friesland. It would appear that the parents of Enzinas had intended him for the army, to which he was now decidedly averse. In a letter to A. Lasco, accompanying the present of an ancient and richly-mounted sword, which he had received from a nobleman, he says: "All the world will, I know, be in arms against me on account of the resolution which, in opposition to the advice of some worthy men, I have now formed to devote myself to literary pursuits. But I will not suffer myself, from respect to the favour of men, to hold the truth in unrighteousness, or to treat unbecomingly those gifts which God in his free mercy has been pleased to confer on me, unworthy as I am. On the contrary, it shall be my endeavour, according to my ability, to propagate divine truth. That I may do this by the grace of God, I find that it will be necessary for me, in the first place, to fly from the Babylonian captivity, and to retire to a place in which I shall be at liberty to cultivate undefiled religion and true Christianity, along with liberal studies. It is therefore my purpose to repair to Wittenberg, because that city contains an abundance of learned professors in all the sciences, and I entertain so high an esteem for the learning, judgment, and dexterity in teaching possessed by Philip Melancthon in particular, that I would go to the end of the world to enjoy the company and instruction of such men. I therefore earnestly beg that, as your name has great weight, you will have the goodness to favour me with letters of introduction to Luther, Philip, and other learned men in that city." He accordingly paid a visit to Wittenberg, where he was warmly received by all, and especially by the individual for whom he had expressed so high a veneration. But he returned to the Low Countries, probably by the advice of Melanchthon, to labour in a work which promised to be of the greatest benefit to his native country. This was the translation of the New Testament into the Spanish language.

Though Spain was the only nation which at that time did not possess the scriptures in the vulgar language, it had not always laboured under that deficiency. In the year 1233, Juan I. of Aragon, by a public edict, prohibited the use of any part of the Old or New Testament in the vernacular tongue, and commanded all, whether laity or clergy, who possessed such books, to deliver them to their ordinaries to be burnt, on the pain of being held suspected of heresy. On the other hand, Alfonso X. of Castile caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Castilian, with the view of improving the native language of his people; and a copy of that translation, executed in the year 1260, is still preserved in manuscript. Other ancient versions of the scriptures into the Limosin, or Catalonian, and Castillian dialects, are still to be seen, in whole or in part, among the manuscripts in the public libraries of Spain and France. Bonifacio Ferrer, brother of St. Vincente Ferrer, and prior of the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli in Valencia, who died in the year 1417, translated the whole scriptures into the Valencian or Catalonian dialect of Spain. His translation was printed at Valencia in the year 1478, at the expense of Philip Vizlant, a merchant of Isny in Germany, by Alfonso Fernandez, a Spaniard of Cordova, and Lambert Philomar, a German. But, although it was the production of a catholic author, and underwent the examination and correction of the inquisitor James Borrell, it had scarcely made its appearance when it was suppressed by the Inquisition, who ordered the whole impression to be devoured by the flames. So strictly was this order carried into execution, that scarcely a single copy appears to have escaped. Long after the era of the Reformation, it was taken for granted by all true Spaniards, that their language had never been made the unhallowed instrument of exposing the Bible to vulgar eyes; and with the exception of two incidental allusions, the translation of Ferrer remained unnoticed for nearly two hundred years after its publication. At length, in 1645, the last four leaves of a copy of this edition were discovered in the library belonging to the monastery of Portaceli. The number was reduced within a short time to one leaf; but happily this contained the imprint, or final epigraph, indicating the names of the translator and printers, together with the place and year of the impression. According to some authors, the version of Ferrer underwent, about the year 1515, a second impression, which shared the same fate as its predecessor; but of this statement the evidence is less complete and satisfactory.

Apparently ignorant that his native country had once possessed such a treasure, and anxious that they should be supplied with it, Francisco de Enzinas undertook a translation of the New Testament into the Castilian tongue. Having finished his task, he submitted the work to the judgment of the divines of Louvain. They allowed that there was no law of the state prohibiting the printing of translations of the Scriptures, but expressed their fears that such works would lead to the spread of heresy and disturbance of the peace of the church, and excused themselves from either sanctioning or censuring the undertaking, on the ground of their ignorance of the Spanish tongue. The private friends of the translator, who were acquainted with both languages, gave it as their opinion, after examining the work, that it would be a great honour as well as benefit to Spain. It was accordingly printed at Antwerp in the year 1543, under the title of "The New Testament, that is, the New Covenant of our only Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from the Greek into the Castilian language." The purblind monks, to whom it was submitted before publication, could not proceed farther than the title-page. One of them, whose pretentions to learning were not the least amongst those of his order, smelled Lutheranism in "the new covenant." The leaf was cancelled, and the suspicious phrase struck out. He next pointed out a palpable heresy in the expression "our *only* Redeemer." Recourse was again had to the operation of cancelling, and the obnoxious particle expelled. But his success in discovery only serve to quicken the censorial organ of the monk; so that the author, despairing to see an end of the process, gave directions for putting the work into the hands of the booksellers.

The emperor having soon after arrived at Brussels, the author presented a copy of the work to him, and requested his permission to circulate it among his countrymen. Charles received it graciously, and promising his patronage, if it were found to contain nothing contrary to the faith, gave it to his confessor Pedro de Soto to examine. After various delays, Enzinas, having waited on the confessor, was upbraided by him as an enemy to religion, who had tarnished the honour of his native country; and refusing to acknowledge a fault, was seized by the officers of justice and thrown into prison. Besides the crime of translating the Scriptures, he was charged with having made a translation of a work of Luther, and visiting Melancthon. To add to his distress, his father and uncles, hearing of his imprisonment, paid him a visit, and participating in the common prejudices of their countrymen, reproached him for bringing calamity on himself, and dishonour on his kindred. He continued however to possess his soul in patience, employed his time in translating the Psalms, and received many marks of sympathy from the citizens of Brussels, of whom he knew more than four hundred warmly attached to the protestant faith. After a confinement of fifteen months, he one day found his prison doors open, and walking out without the slightest opposition, escaped from Brussels and arrived safely at Wittenberg; an escape the more remarkable that a hot persecution raged at that time throughout the Netherlands, and the portraits of the protestant preachers, accompanied with the offer of a reward for their apprehension, were to be seen affixed to the gates of all the principal cities. The following extract shows the steps taken against him after his flight. "The inquisitors in Belgium have summoned my guest, the wise, upright and pious Spaniard, in his absence; and from the day fixed for his appearance, we conclude that sentence has already been pronounced against him. He sets out for your town to ascertain the fact, and to learn if there are any letters for him from that quarter. I have given him a letter to you, both that I may acquaint you with the cause of his journey, and because I know you feel for the calamities of all good men. He evinces great fortitude, though he evidently sees that his return to his parents and native country is now cut off. The thought of the anguish which this will give to his parents distresses him. These inquisitors are as cruel to us as the thirty tyrants were of old to their fellow-citizens at Athens; but God will preserve the remnant of his church, and provide an asylum for the truth somewhere." In another letter, written in 1546, the same individual says, "Franciscus the Spaniard has resolved to go to Italy, that he may assuage the grief of his mother." Whether he accomplished that journey or not, is uncertain; but in 1548 he went to England, on which occasion he was warmly recommended by Melancthon to Edward VI. and archbishop Cranmer, as a person of excellent endowments and learning, averse to all fanatical and seditious tenets, and distinguished by his piety and grave manners. He obtained a situation at Oxford; but returning soon after to the continent, he resided sometimes at Strasburg and sometimes at Basle, where he spent his time in literary pursuits, and in the society of the wise and good.

In the same year in which the New Testament of Enzinas came from the press, a Spanish translation of the seven penitential Psalms, the song of Solomon, and the lamentations of Jeremiah, was printed at Antwerp by Ferdinand Jarava, who, three years before, had printed the Book of Job, and the Psalms for the office of the dead, in the same language and at the same place. There exists also a copy of a Spanish psalter in Gothic letter, without date, but apparently ancient. The Jews appear to have early had translations of the Old Testament, or parts of it, in Spanish. In 1497, only five years after their expulsion from the peninsula, they printed the Pentateuch in that language at Venice. In 1547, this work was printed at Constantinople in Hebrew characters, and in 1552 it was reprinted at the same place in Roman characters. In 1553 they printed at Ferrara two editions of the Old Testament in Spanish; the one edited by Abraham Usque, and the other by Duarte Pinel. Bibliographers have generally held that the first of these was intended for the use of Jews, and the last for the use of Christians; an opinion which does not seem to rest on good grounds.

At the time that Egidius was thrown into prison, several of his religious friends became alarmed for their safety, and took refuge in Germany and Switzerland. Among these were Juan Perez, Cassiodoro de Reyna, and Cypriano de Valera, who were industriously employed during their exile, in providing the means of religious instruction for their countrymen. Juan Perez was born at Montilla, a town of Andalusia. He was sent to Rome in 1527, as *charge d'affaires* of Charles V., and procured from the pope a suspension of the decree by which the Spanish divines had condemned the writings of Erasmus. Subsequently he was placed at the head of the College of Doctrine, an endowed school at Seville, where he contracted an intimacy with Egidius and other favourers of the reformed opinions. He received the degree of doctor of divinity in his native country; and his talents and probity secured him a high place in the esteem of the foreigners among whom he resided, first at Geneva and afterwards in France. The works which he composed in his native tongue were of the most valuable kind. His version of the New Testament came from the press in 1556; his version of the Book of Psalms followed in the course of the subsequent year; and his Catechism, and Summary of Christian doctrine, appeared about the same time. They were all printed at Venice. Besides these, he published in Spanish several of the works of his countryman Juan Valdez. Being called from Geneva, and having officiated as a preacher at Blois, and as chaplain to Renée, duchess of Ferrara, in the castle of Montargis, he died of the stone at Paris, after he had bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue. The task which he left unfinished was continued by Cassiodoro de Reyna, who, after ten years' labour, produced a translation of the whole Bible, which was printed in 1569 at Basle. It was revised and corrected by Cypriano de Valera, who published the New Testament in 1596 at London, and both Testaments in 1602 at Amsterdam. It is no slight proof of the zeal with which the Spanish protestants sought to disseminate the Scriptures among their countrymen, that Juan Lizzarago published, in 1571, a translation of the New Testament into Basque, or the language of Biscay, which differs widely from the other dialects spoken in the peninsula. The versions of the three writers last mentioned did not appear until the Reformation was suppressed in Spain; but they were of great utility to many individuals, and the reprinting of De Valera's translation at a recent period was the means of provoking the Spanish clergy to make the dangerous experiment of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue.

All these versions were accompanied with vindications of the practice of translating the scriptures into vernacular languages, and the right of the people to read them. This formed one of the points most warmly contested between the Romanists and reformers. The Spanish divines distinguished themselves by their intemperate support of the illiberal side of the question; and the determination of Alfonso de Castro, "that the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular tongues, with the reading of them by the vulgar, is the true fountain of all heresies," continued long to be the standard of orthodoxy in Spain. There was, however, one honourable exception. Frederico Furio, a learned native of Valencia, defended the cause of biblical translation intrepidly and ably, first, in an academical dispute with John de Bononima, rector of the university of Louvain, and afterwards from the press. This raised against him a host of enemies, and his book was strictly prohibited; but he was protected by Charles

V., and what is singular, continued during life about the person of Philip II., that most determined patron of ignorance and the Inquisition.

The versions of the scriptures by which the reformation was promoted in Spain, were those of Enzinas and Perez. In spite of the suppression of the former in the Low Countries, copies of it were conveyed to the Peninsula. Accordingly pope Julius III. states in a bill addressed to the inquisitors in 1550, that he was informed that there were in the possession of booksellers and private persons a great number of heretical books, including Spanish Bibles, marked in the catalogue of prohibited books which the university of Louvain, at the desire of the emperor, had drawn up in the preceding year. And at a period somewhat later, Philip, who governed Spain during the absence of his father, ordered an examination of certain Bibles introduced into the kingdom, but not mentioned in the late index; and the council of the Supreme, having pronounced them dangerous, gave instructions to the provincial inquisitors to seize all the copies, and proceed with the utmost rigor against those who should retain them, without excepting members of universities, colleges or monasteries.

At the same time the strictest precautions were adopted to prevent the importation of such books by placing officers at all the sea-ports and land-passes, with authority to search every package, and the person of every traveller that should enter the kingdom. It might be supposed that these measures would have reared an insuperable barrier to the progress of illumination in Spain. But the thirst for knowledge, when once excited, is irresistible; and tyranny, when it goes beyond a certain point, inspires its victims at once with daring and ingenuity. The books provided by the Spanish refugees remained for some time locked up in Geneva, none choosing to engage in a hazardous and almost desperate attempt to convey them across the Pyrenees. But at last an humble individual had the courage to undertake, and the address to execute the task. This was Julian Hernandez, a native of Villaverda in the district of Campos, who on account of his small stature was commonly called Julian the Little. Having imbibed the reformed doctrine in Germany, he had come to Geneva and entered into the service of Juan Perez as amanuensis and corrector of the press. Two large casks, filled with translations of the scriptures and other protestant books in Spanish, were in 1557 committed to his trust, which he undertook to convey by land; and having eluded the vigilant eyes of the inquisitorial familiars, he lodged his precious charge safely in the house of one of the chief protestants of Seville, by whom the contents were quickly dispersed among his friends in different parts of the country.

CHAPTER VI.

Progress of the Reformation in Spain.

The circumstances attending the condemnation of Egidius inflicted a severe shock on the infant church of Seville. While the enemies of the truth triumphed in his fall, its friends felt "as when a standard-bearer fainteth." His release from imprisonment, and the proofs which he gave of unabated attachment to the doctrine which he had formerly taught, were consolatory to them; but the obstinacy with which he continued to the last to upbraid himself for his imbecility, together with the restraints under which he was laid, threw a melancholy air over his instructions, which had a tendency to discourage those who needed to be animated by the countenance and advice of a person of unbroken courage and high reputation. Providence furnished them with such a head, a little before the death of Egidius, by the return of the individual who had been his associate in his early labours, and who was unquestionably the greatest ornament of the reformed cause in Spain.

Constantine Ponce de la Fuente was a native of San Clemente de la Mancha, in the diocese of Cuença. Possessing a good taste and a love of genuine knowledge, he evinced an early disgust for the barbarous pedantry of the schools, and attachment to such of his countrymen as sought to revive the study of polite letters. Being intended for the church, he made himself master of Greek and Hebrew, to qualify him for interpreting the scriptures. At the same time he spoke and wrote his native language with uncommon purity and elegance. Like Erasmus, with whose writings he was first captivated, he was distinguished for his lively wit, which be took pleasure in indulging at the expense of foolish preachers and hypocritical monks. But he was endowed with greater firmness and decision of character than the philosopher of Rotterdam. During his attendance at the university, his youthful spirit had betrayed him into irregularities, of which his enemies afterwards took an ungenerous advantage; but these were succeeded by the utmost decorum and correctness of manners, though he always retained his gay temper, and could never deny himself his jest. One of his contemporaries has remarked, "that he never knew any man who loved or hated Constantine moderately;" a treatment which is experienced by every person who possesses superior talents and poignancy of wit combined with generosity and benevolence. His knowledge of mankind made him scrupulous in forming intimate friendships, but he treated all his acquaintance with a cordial and easy familiarity. Notwithstanding the opportunities he had of enriching himself, he was so exempt from avarice that his library, which he valued above all his property, was never large. His eloquence caused his services in the pulpit to be much sought after; but he was free from vanity, the besetting sin of orators, and scorned to prostitute his talents at the shrine of popularity. He declined the situation of preacher in the cathedral of Cuença, which was offered him by the unanimous vote of the chapter. When the more honourable and lucrative office of preacher to the metropolitan church of Toledo was afterwards put in his offer, after thanking the chapter for their good opinion of him he declined it, alleging as a reason, "that he would not disturb the bones of their ancestors;" alluding to a dispute between them and the archbishop Siliceo, who had insisted that his clergy should prove the purity of their descent. Whether it was predilection for the reformed opinions that induced him at first to fix his residence at Seville, is uncertain; but we have seen that he co-operated with Egidius in his plans for disseminating scriptural knowledge. The emperor having heard him preach during a visit to that city, was so much pleased with the sermon, that he immediately named him one of his chaplains, to which he added the office of almoner; and he soon after appointed him to accompany his son Philip to Flanders, "to let the Flemings see that Spain was not destitute of polite scholars and orators." Constantine made it a point of duty to obey the orders of his sovereign, and reluctantly quitted his residence in Seville, for which he had hitherto rejected the most tempting offers. His journey gave him the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with some of the reformers. Among these was James Schopper, a learned man of Biberach in Suabia, by whose conversation his views of evangelical doctrine were greatly enlarged and confirmed. In 1555 he returned to Seville, and his presence imparted a new impulse to the protestant cause in that city. A benevolent and enlightened individual having founded a professorship of divinity in the College of Doctrine, Constantine was appointed to the chair; and by means of the lectures which he read on the scriptures, together with the instructions of Fernando de St. Juan, provost of the institution, the minds of many of the young men were opened to the truth. On the first Lent after his return to Seville, he was chosen by the chapter to preach every alternate day in the cathedral church. So great was his popularity, that though the public service did not begin till eight o'clock in the morning, yet when he preached, the church was filled by four and even by three o'clock. Being newly recovered from a fever when he commenced his labours, he felt so weak that it was necessary for him repeatedly to pause during the sermon, on which occasions he was allowed to recruit his strength by taking a draught of wine in the pulpit; a permission which had never been granted to any other preacher.

While Constantine was pursuing this career of honour and usefulness, he involved himself in difficulties by coming forward as a candidate for the place of canon magistral in the cathedral of Seville. There are three canonries in every episcopal church in Spain, which must be obtained by comparative trials. These are cheifly filled by fellows belonging to the six Collegios Mayores, who form a kind of learned aristocracy, which has long possessed great influence in that country. No place of honour or emolument in the church or the departments of law is left unoccupied by these collegians. Fellows in orders, who possess abilities, are kept in reserve for the literary competitions; such as cannot appear to advantage in these trials, are provided through court-favour to stalls in the wealthier cathedrals; while the absolutely dull and ignorant are placed in the tribunal of the Inquisition, where, passing judgment in their secret halls, they may not by their blunders disgrace the college to which they belonged. The place of canon magistral in Seville having become vacant by the death of Egidius, the chapter, in accordance with the general wish of the city, fixed their eyes upon Constantine, as the person most fitted by his talents for filling that important office. Egidius had been introduced into it without engaging in the literary competition; but, in consequence of his unpopularity when he first ascended the pulpit, the canons had entered on their records a resolution that the usual trials should take place in all future elections. Constantine had uniformly ridiculed these literary jousts, as resembling the exercises of schoolboys and the tricks of jugglers. Finding him obstinate in refusing to enter the lists, the chapter were inclined to dispense with their resolution, when Fernando Valdes, the archbishop of Seville and inquisitor general, who had conceived a strong dislike to Constantine on account of a supposed injury which he had received from him when he was preacher to the emperor, interposed his authority to prevent the suspension of the law. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial, and edicts were published in all the principal cities, requiring candidates to make their appearance. The friends of Constantine now pressed him to lay aside his scruples; and an individual, who had great influence over his mind, represented so strongly the services which he would be able to render to the cause of truth in so influential a situation, and the hurtful effects which would result from its being occupied by some noisy and ignorant declaimer, that he consented at last to offer himself as a candidate. The knowledge of this fact prevented others from appearing, with the exception of two individuals who came from a distant part of the country. One of them declined the contest as soon as he became acquainted with the circumstances; but the other, a canon of Malaga, instigated by the archbishop, who wished to mortify his competitor, descended into the arena. Despairing, however, of being able to succeed by polemical skill, or by interest with the chapter, he had recourse to personal charges and insinuations, in which he was supported by all those who envied the fame of Constantine, had felt the sting of his satire, or hated him for his friendship with Egidius. He was accused of having contracted a marriage before he entered into holy orders; it was alleged that there were irregularities in his ordination and the manner in which he obtained his degree of doctor of divinity; and an attempt was made to fasten on him the charge of heresy. In spite of these accusations he carried his election, was installed in his new office, and commenced his duty as preacher in the cathedral with high acceptance. But this contest arrayed a party against him, which sought in every way to twhart his measures, and afterwards found an opportunity to make him feel the weight of its vengeance.

Constantine, while he instructed the people of Seville from the pulpit, was exerting himself to diffuse religious knowledge through the nation at large by means of the press. In the character of his writings, we have one of the clearest indications of the excellence of his heart. They were of that kind which was adapted to the spiritual wants of his countrymen, and not calculated to display his own talents, or to acquire for himself a name in the learned world. They were composed in his native tongue, and in a style level to the lowest capacity. Abstruse speculations and rhetorical ornaments, in which he was qualified both by nature and education to excel, were rigidly sacrificed to the one object of being understood by all, and useful to all. Among his works were a Catechism, whose highest recommendation is its artless and infantine simplicity; a small treatise on the doctrine of Christianity, drawn up in the familiar form of a Dialogue between a master and his pupil; an Exposition of the first Psalm in four sermons, which show that his pulpit eloquence, exempt from the common extremes, was neither degraded by vulgarity, nor rendered disgusting by affectation and effort at display; and the Confession of a Sinner, in which the doctrines of the gospel, poured from a contrite and humbled spirit, assume the form of the most edifying and devotional piety. His Summary of Christian Doctrine, without being deficient in simplicity, is more calculated to interest persons of learning and advanced knowledge. In this work he proposed to treat first of the articles of faith; and secondly, of good works and the sacrament. The first part only came from the press; the second being kept back until such time as it could be printed with greater safety, a period which never arrived. It was not the author's object to lay down or defend the protestant doctrines, but to exhibit from the scriptures, and without intermeddling with modern disputes, the great truths of the gospel. The work was translated into Italian, and has been highly praised by some Roman catholic writers. But it was viewed with great suspicion by the ruling clergy, who took occasion from it to circulate reports unfavourable to the author's orthodoxy, and held secret consultations on the propriety of denouncing him to the Inquisition. They complained that he had not condemned the Lutheran errors, nor vindicated the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; and that, if at any time he mentioned indulgences, purgatory and human merit, instead of extolling, he derogated from these authorised doctrines of the church, by warning his readers not to risk their salvation on them. When these charges came to the ears of Constantine, he contented himself with saying, that these topics did not properly belong to the first part of his treatise, but that he would explain his views respecting them in his second volume, which he was preparing for the press. This reply, backed by the popularity of which he was in possession, silenced his adversaries for that time.

Previously to the period of which we have been speaking, an occurrence took place which had nearly proved fatal to the disciples of the reformed faith in Seville. Francisco Zafra, a doctor of laws, and vicar of the parish church of San Vincente, had long cherished a secret predilection for the Lutheran sentiments. Being a man of learning, he was frequently called, in the character of *qualificator*, to pronounce judgment on the articles laid to the charge of persons denounced to the Holy Office, and had been instrumental in saving the lives of many individuals, who otherwise would have been condemned as heretics. He had received into his house Maria Gomez, a widow, who was a zealous and constant attendant on the private meetings of the protestants, and consequently well acquainted with all the persons of that persuasion in the city. In the year 1555 she became deranged in her intellect, and having conceived, as is not unusual with persons in that unhappy state of mind, a violent antipathy to her former friends, she talked of nothing but vengeance on heretics. It was found necessary to lay her under an easy restraint; but, escaping from her domestic confinement, she went straight to the castle of Triana, in which the inquisitors held their sittings, and, having obtained an audience, told them that the city was full of Lutherans, while they, whose duty it was to guard against the entrance and spread of this plague, were slumbering at their post. She ran over the names of those whom she accused, amounting to the number of more than three hundred. The inquisitors had no apprehension of the extent to which the reformed doctrines had been embraced in Seville, and could not but perceive marks of derangement in the appearance and incoherent talk of the informer; but, acting according to the maxim of their tribunal, that no accusation is to be disregarded, they resolved to make inquiry, and ordered the instant attendance of Zafra. Had he yielded to the sudden impressions of fear, and attempted to make his escape, the consequences would have been fatal to himself and his religious connexions. Instead of this, he, with great presence of mind, repaired on the first notice to the Holy Office, treated the accusation with indifference, stated the symptoms of the woman's distemper, with the reason which induced him to confine her, and referred to the members of his family and the neighbours for the truth of the facts. His statement, together with the character which he bore, succeeded in removing the suspicions of the inquisitors, who were persuaded that Maria laboured under a confirmed lunacy, and that her representations had no other foundation than the visionary workings of a disordered brain. Accordingly they requested Zafra to take the unfortunate woman along with him, and to keep her under a stricter confinement than that from which she had escaped. Thus did this dark cloud pass away, by the kindness of Providence, which watched over a tender flock, not yet sufficiently prepared for encountering the storm of persecution.

In the mean time the protestant church in Seville was regularly organized, and placed under the pastoral inspection of Christobal Losada, a doctor of medicine. He had paid his addresses to the daughter of a respectable member of that society, and was rejected on a religious ground; but having afterwards become acquainted with Egidius, he embraced the reformed opinions, and recommended himself so strongly to those of the same faith by his knowledge of the scriptures, and other gifts, that they unanimously chose him as their pastor. His future conduct did not disgrace their choice. He was assisted by a friar named Cassiodoro, whose ministry was uncommonly successful. The church met ordinarily in the house of Isabella de Baena, a lady not less distinguished for her piety than for her rank and opulence. Among the nobility who attached themselves to it, the two most distinguished were Don Juan Ponce de Leon, and Domingo de Guzman. The former was a younger son of Don Rodrigo, count de Baylen, cousin german of the duke D'Arcos, and allied to the principal grandees of Spain. So unbounded was this nobleman in charity to the poor, that, by distributing to their necessities, he encumbered his patrimonial estate, and reduced himself to those straits in which others of his rank involve themselves by prodigality and dissipation. He was equally unsparing in his personal exertions to promote the reformed cause. Domingo de Guzman was a son of the duke de Medina Sidonia, and being destined for the church, had entered the order of St. Dominic. His extensive library contained the principal Lutheran publications, which he lent and recommended with uncommon industry.

Most of the religious institutions in Seville and the neighbourhood were leavened with the new doctrines. The preacher of the Dominican monastery of St. Paul's was zealous in propagating them. They had disciples in the convent of St. Elizabeth, a nunnery established according to the rule of St. Francis d'Assisa. But they made the greatest progress in the Hieronymite convent of San Isidro del Campo, situated within two miles of Seville. This was owing in a great degree to a person whose singular character merits examination.

Garcia de Arias, commonly called Doctor Blanco, on account of the extreme whiteness of his hair, possessed an acute mind and extensive information; but he was undecided and vacillating in his conduct, partly from timidity and partly from caution and excess of refinement. He belonged to that class of subtle politicians, who, without being destitute of conscience, are wary in committing themselves, forfeit the good opinion of both parties by failing to yield a consistent support to either, and trusting to their address and dexterity to extricate themselves from difficulties, are sometimes caught in the toils of their own intricate management. There is no reason to question the sincerity of his attachment to the reformed tenets, but his adoption of them was known only to the leaders of the Sevillian church, with whom he was secretly in correspondence. By the ruling clergy, he was regarded not only as strictly orthodox, but as the ablest champion of their cause, and accordingly was consulted by them on every important question relative to the established faith. An anecdote which has been preserved is strikingly illustrative of his character and mode of acting. Gregorio Ruiz, in a sermon preached by him in the cathedral of Seville, employed expressions favourable to the protestant doctrine concerning justificaton and the merit of Christ's death, in consequence of which he was denounced to the Inquisition, and had a day fixed for answering the charges brought against him. In the prospect of this, he took the advice of Arias, with whose real sentiments he was perfecty acquainted, and to whom he confidentially communicated the line of defence which he meant to adopt. But on the day of his appearance, and after he had pleaded for himself, what was his surprise to find the man whom he had trusted rise, at the request of the inquisitors, and in an elaborate speech refute all the arguments which he had produced! When his friends remonstrated with Arias on the impropriety of his conduct, he vindicated himself by alleging that he had adopted the course which was safest for Ruiz and them; but, galled by the censures which they pronounced on the duplicity and baseness with which he had acted, he began to threaten that he would inform against them to the Holy Office. "And if we shall be forced to descend into the arena," said Constantine to him, "do you expect to be permitted to sit among the spectators?"

Yet this was the man who was made the instrument of conveying the light of divine truth into the convent of San Isidro, when it was immersed in the most profound ignorance and superstition. Without laying aside his characteristic caution, he taught his brethren, that true religion was something very different from what it was vulgarly supposed to be; that it did not consist in chanting matins and vespers, or performing any of those acts of bodily service, in which their time was consumed; and that if they expected to obtain the approbation of God, it behoved them to have recourse to the scriptures to know his mind. By inculcating these things in his sermons and in private conversation, he produced in the breasts of the monks a feeling of dissatisfaction with the circular and monotonous devotions of the cloister, and a spirit of inquiry after a purer and more edifying piety. But from versatility, or with the view of providing for his future safety, he all at once altered his plans, and began to recommend, by doctrine and example, austerities and bodily mortifications more rigid than those which were enjoined by the monastic rules of his order. During Lent he urged his brethen to remove every article of furniture from their cells, to lie on the bare earth, or sleep standing, and to wear shirts of haircloth, with iron girdles, next their bodies. The monastery was for a time thrown into confusion, and some individuals were reduced to a state of mind bordering on distraction. But this attempt to revive superstition producd a reaction which led to the happiest consequences. Suspecting the judgment or the honesty of the individual to whom they had hitherto looked up as an oracle, some of the more intelligent resolved to take the advive of Egidius and his friends at Seville; and, having received instructions from them, began to teach the doctrines of the gospel to their brethren in a plain and undisguised manner; so that, within a few years, the whole convent was leavened with the new opinions. The person who had the greatest influence in affecting this change was Cassiodoro de Reyna, afterwards celebrated as the translator of the Bible into the language of his country.

A more decided change on the internal state of this monastery took place in the course of the year 1557. An ample supply of copies of the scriptures and protestant books, in the Spanish language, having been received, they were read with avidity by the monks, and contributed at once to confirm those who had been enlightened, and to extricate others from the prejudices by which they were enthralled. In consequence of this, the prior and other official persons, in concurrence with the fraternity, agreed to reform their religious institute. Their hours of prayer, as they were called, which had been spent in solemn mummeries, were appointed for hearing prelections on the scriptures; prayers for the dead were omitted, or converted into lessons for the living; papal indulgences and pardons, which had formed a lucrative and engrossing traffic, were entirely abolished; images were allowed to remain, without receiving homage; habitual temperance was substituted in the room of superstitious fasting; and novices were instructed in the principles of true piety, instead of being initiated into the idle and debasing habits of monachism. Nothing remained of the old system but the monastic garb and the external ceremony of the mass, which they could not lay aside without exposing themselves to imminent and inevitable danger.

The good effects of this change were felt without the monastery of San Isidro del Campo. By their conversation, and by the circulation of books, these zealous monks diffused the knowledge of the truth through the adjacent country, and imparted it to many individuals who resided in towns at a considerable distance from Seville. In particular, their exertions were successful in religious houses of the Hieronymite order; and the prior and many of the brotherhood of the Valle de Ecija, situated on the banks of the Xenil, were among the converts to the reformed faith. Individuals of the highest reputation belonging to that order incurred the suspicion of heresy. Juan de Regla, prior of Santa Fé, and provincial of the Hieronymites in Spain, was a divine greatly celebrated for his talents and learning, and had assisted at the council of Trent during its second convocation. Being denounced to the inquisition of Saragossa, he was condemned to penance, and the abjuration of eighteen propositions savouring of Lutheranism. After his recantation, he verified the maxim respecting apostates, by his bitter persecution of those who were suspected of holding the new opinions, and was advanced to the office of confessor, first to Charles V. and afterwards to Philip II. Francisco de Villalba, a Hieronymite monk of Montamarta, sat in the council of Trent along with Regla, and was preacher to Charles and Philip. He waited on the former in his last moments, and pronounced his funeral oration with such appalling eloquence, that several of his hearers declared that he made their hair stand erect. After the emperor's death, a process was commenced against Villalba before the inquisition of Toledo, in which he was accused of having taught certain Lutheran errors. At the same time an attempt was made, in a chapter of the monks of St. Jerome, to attaint his blood, by showing that he was of Jewish extraction. This charge was refuted. But it was not so easy to put a stop to his trial before the inquisitors; all that he could obtain, through the intervention of the court, was, that his incarceration should be delayed until additional witnesses should be found; and while matters remained in this state, he was released from persecution by the hand of death.

While the reformed doctrine was advancing in Seville and its vicinity, it was not stationary at Valladolid. The protestants in this city had for their first pastor Domingo de Roxas, a young man of good talents, and allied to some of the principal grandees of Spain. His father was Don Juan, first Marquis de Poza; his mother was a daughter of the Conde de Salinas, and descended from the family of the Marquis de la Mota. Being destined for the church, Domingo de Roxas had entered into the order of Dominicans. He was educated under Bartolomé de Carranza, from whom he imbibed opinions more liberal than those which were common either in the colleges or convents of Spain. But the disciple did not confine himself to the timid course pursued by the master. The latter made use of the same language with the reformers respecting justification, and some other articles of faith; but he cautiously accompanied it with explications intended to secure him against the charge of heterodoxy. The former was bolder in his speculations, and less reserved in avowing them. Notwithstanding the warnings which he received from Carranza to be diffident of his own judgment, and submissive to the decisions of the church, De Roxas repudiated as unscriptural the doctrine of purgatory, the mass, and other articles of the established faith. Beside the books of the German reformers, with which he was familiar, he circulated certain writings of his own, and particularly a treatise, entitled, Explication of the Articles of Faith; containing a brief statement and defence of the new opinions. By his zealous exertions, many were induced to join themselves to the reformed church in Valladolid, among whom were several individuals belonging to his own family, as well as that of the Marquis of Alcagnizes, and other noble houses of Castille.

The protestants at Valladolid obtained an instructor of greater talents and reputation, though of inferior courage, in doctor Augustin Cazalla. This learned man was the son of Pedro Cazalla, chief officer of the royal finances, and of Leanor de Vibero; both of them descended from Jewish ancestors. In 1526 a process was commenced before the Inquisition against Constanza Ortiz, the mother of Leanor de Vibero, as having died in a state of relapse to Judaism; but her son-in-law, by his influence with the inquisitor Moriz, prevented her bones from being disturbed, and averted the infamy which otherwise would have been entailed on his family. His son, Augustin Cazalla, was born 1510, and at seventeen years of age had Bartolomé Carranza for his confessor. After attending the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid, he finished his studies at Alcala de Henares, and was admitted a canon of Salamanca. The interest possessed by his father, together with his own talents, opened up to him the most flattering prospects of advancement in the church. Being esteemed one of the first pulpit orators in Spain, he was in 1545, chosen preacher and almoner to the emperor, whom he accompanied in the course of the following year to Germany. During his residence in that country, he was engaged in opposing the Lutherans, by preaching and private disputation.

Spanish writers impute the extensive spread of the protestant opinions in the Peninsula, in a great degree, to the circumstance that their learned countrymen, being sent into foreign parts to confute the Lutherans, returned with their minds infected with heresy; an acknowledgment not very honourable to the cause which they maintain, as it implies that their national creed owes its support chiefly to ignorance, and that, when brought to the light of scripture and argument, its ablest defenders were convinced of its weakness and falsehood. "Formerly," says the author of the Pontifical History, "such Lutheran heretics as were now and then apprehended and committed to the flames, were almost all either strangers, Germans, Flemings and English, or, if Spaniards, they were mean people and of a bad race; but in these late years, we have seen the prisons, scaffolds, and stakes, crowded with persons of noble birth, and, what is still more to be deplored, with persons illustrious, in the opinion of the world, for letters and piety. The cause of this, and many other evils, was the affection which our catholic princes cherished for Germany, England, and other countries without the pale of the church, which induced them to send learned men and preachers from Spain to these places, in the hopes that, by their sermons, they would be brought back to the path of truth. But unhappily, this measure was productive of little good fruit; for of those who went abroad to give light to others, some returned home blind themselves, and being deceived, or puffed up with ambition, or a desire to be thought vastly learned, and improved by their residence in foreign countries, they followed the example of the heretics with whom they had disputed." This importont fact is confirmed by the testimony of contemporary protestant writers, with a particular reference to those divines whom Philip II. brought along with him into England, on his marriage with queen Mary. "It is much more notable," says the venerable Pilkington, "that we have seen come to pass in our days, that the Spaniards sent for into the realm on purpose to suppress the gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion to the which before they were utter enemies." It is probable that these authors include in their statement those divines who were accused to the Inquisition, and thrown into prison, on suspicion of heresy, though they were averse to Lutheranism, or, at most, favourably inclined to it in some points connected with the doctrine of justification. But there are at least two striking instances of the truth of their remark. It was during his attendance on the emperor in Germany, as we have already seen, that Constantine Ponce de la Fuente decidedly embraced the reformed faith; and Augustin de Cazalla became a convert to it in the same circumstances.

On returning to Spain in 1552, Cazalla took up his residence at Salamanca, where he remained for three years. But he kept up an epistolary correspondence with the protestants of Seville; and his office of royal chaplain leading him occasionally to visit Valladolid, he was induced by Domingo de Roxas to fix his abode in this city. He still continued, however, to be regarded as a patron of the established faith, and was consulted on the most important questions of an ecclesiastical kind. Soon after his return to Spain he was nominated by the emperor as a member of a junta of divines and lawyers, who were called to give their opinion on the conduct of Julius III. in transferring the general council from Trent to Bologna; on which occasion he joined with his colleagues in declaring that the pope was actuated in that measure more by personal considerations than regard to the good of the church. He also preached at different times before Charles V. after his retirement into the convent of St. Juste, when he had for hearers the princess Joanna, who governed Spain in the absence of her brother Philip II., together with other members of the royal family. In spite of the caution which he used on these occasions, his real sentiments were discovered by the more intelligent of those who frequented the court; but they were unwilling to fix the stigma of heresy on a person of so great reputation, and could not permit themselves to believe that he would rush upon certain danger by transgressing the line of prudence which he appeared to have prescribed to himself. In this opinion, however, they were deceived. After his settlement at Valladolid his mother's house became the ordinary place in which the protestant church assembled for worship. The greater part of his relations were among its members. He could not resist the pressing requests which were made to him to take the charge of its spiritual interests; and favoured with his talents and the authority of his name, it increased daily in numbers and respectability.

At Valladolid, as at Seville, the reformed doctrine penetrated into the monasteries. It was embraced by a great portion of the nuns of Santa Clara, and of the Cistercian order of San Belen; and had its converts among the class of devout women, called in Spain, *beatas*, who are bound by no particular rule, but addict themselves to works of charity.

The protestant opinions spread in every direction round Valladolid. They had converts in almost all the towns, and in many of the villages, of the ancient kingdom of Leon. In the town of Toro they were embraced by the licentiate Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate of great spirit, and by individuals belonging to the houses of the Marquises de la Mota and d'Alcagnizes. In the city of Zamora the protestants were headed by Don Christobal de Padilla, a cavalier who had undertaken the task of tutor to a noble family of that place, that he might have the better opportunity of propagating the knowledge of the truth. The reformed opinions were also introduced into Aldea del Palo and Pedroso, in the diocese of Zamora. In the last of these villages they had numerous converts, who enjoyed the instructions of Pedro de Cazalla, their parish priest. Their spread was equally extensive in the diocese of Palencia. In the episcopal city they were taught by Doctor Alfonso Perez, a priest, and patronised by Don Pedro Sarmiento, a cavalier of the order of Santiago, commander of Quintana, and a son of the Marquis de Roxas. The parish priest of the neighbouring villages of Hormigos belonged to the family of Cazalla, which was wholly protestant. From Valladolid the new opinions were diffused through Old Castile to Soria in the diocese of Osma, and to

Logrono on the borders of Navarre. In the last named town they were embraced by numbers, including the individual who was at the head of the custom-house, and the parish priest of Villamediana, in the neighbourhood Logrono.

The propagation of the reformed doctrine in all these places was owing in a great degree to Don Carlos de Seso. This distinguished nobleman was born at Verona in Italy. Having performed important services for Charles V., he was held in great honour by that monarch, through whose influence he obtained in marriage Donna Isabella de Castilla, a descendant of the royal family of Castile and Leon. De Seso was not less elevated by dignity of character, mental accomplishments and decorum of manners, than by his birth and connexions. While he resided at Valladolid he connected himself with the protestants in that city. At Toro, of which he was corregidor, or mayor, at Zamora, and at Palencia, he zealously promoted the cause of reformation, by the circulation of books and by personal instructions. After his marriage he settled at Villamediana, and was most successful in diffusing religious knowledge in the city of Logrono, and in all the surrounding country.

The reformed cause did not make so great progress in New Castile, but it was embraced by many in different parts of that country, and particularly in the city of Toledo. It had also adherents in the provinces of Granada, of Murcia, and of Valencia. But, with the exception of the places round Seville and Valadolid, nowhere were they more numerous than in Aragon. They had formed settlements in Sarragossa, Huesca, Balbastro, and many other towns. This being the case, it may appear singular that we have no particular account of the protestants in the eastern part of Spain. But one reason serves to account for both facts. The inhabitants of Bearn were generally protestants; and many of them crossing the Pyrenees, spread themselves over Aragon, and, at the same time that they carried on trade, found the opportunity of circulating their religious books and tenets among the natives. When violent measures were adopted for crushing the Reformation in Spain, the greater part of them made good their retreat, without difficulty and without noise, to their native country, where the proselytes they had made found an asylum along with them; whereas their brethren who were situated in the interior of the kingdom, either fell into the hands of their prosecutors, or, escaping with great difficulty, were dispersed over all parts of Europe; and thus the tragical fate of the one class, and the narrow and next to miraculous escape of the other, by exciting deep interest in the public mind, caused their names and their history to be inquired after and recorded.

By the facts which have been brought forward, the reader will be enabled to form an estimate of the extent to which the reformed doctrine was propagated in Spain, and of the respectability as well as number of its disciples. Perhaps there never was in any other country so large a proportion of persons, illustrious either from their rank or their learning, among the converts to a new and proscribed religion. This circumstance helps to account for the singular fact, that a body of dissidents, who could not amount to fewer than two thousand persons, scattered over an extensive country, and loosely connected with one another, should have been able to communicate their sentiments, and hold their private meetings, for a number of years, without being detected by a court so jealous and vigilant as that of the Inquisition. In forming a judgment of the tendency which existed at this time in the minds of Spaniards towards the reformed doctrine, we must take into account, not only the numbers who embraced it, but also the peculiar and almost unprecedented difficulties which resisted its progress. At the beginning of Christianity, the apostles had for some time the external liberty of preaching the gospel; and when persecution forced them to flee from one city, they found "an effectual door" opened to them in another. Luther, and his co-adjutors in Germany, were enabled to proclaim their doctrine from the pulpit and the press, under the protection of princes and free cities, possessing an authority within their own territories which was independent of the emperor. The reformers of Scotland enjoyed a similar advantage under their feudal chiefs. The breach of Henry VIII. with the pope, on a domestic ground, gave to the people of England the Bible in their own language, which they were at least permitted to hear read from the pulpits, to which it was chained. In France, a Hugonot could not be seized without the concurrence and orders of the magistrates, who sometimes proved reluctant and dilatory. And the same check was imposed on the violence of a persecuting priesthood, in many of the Italian states. But not one of these advantages was enjoyed by the friends of the Reformation in Spain, where the slightest expression of public opinion in favour of the truth was prevented or instantly put down by a terrific tribunal, armed with both swords, and present at once in every part of the kingdom. That flame must have been intense, and supplied with ample materials of combustion, which could continue to burn and to spread in all directions, though it was closely pent up, and the greatest care was taken to search out and secure every aperture and crevice by which it might find a vent, or come into communication with the external atmosphere. Had these obstructions to the progress of the reformed doctrine in Spain been removed, though only in part and for a short time, it would have burst into a flame, which resistance would only have increased, and which, spreading over the Peninsula, would have consumed the Inquisition, the hierarchy, the papacy, and the despotism by which they had been reared and were upheld. These were not the sanguine anticipations of enthusiastic friends to the Reformation, but the deliberately-expressed sentiments of its decided enemies. "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time," says one of them, "to put a stop to these preachers, the protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all ranks, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to receive it." The testimony of another popish writer is equally strong. "All the prisoners in the inquisitions of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons abundantly well-qualified. I shall here pass over their names in silence, that I may not, by their bad frame, stain the honour of their ancestors, and the nobility of the several illustrious families which were infected with this poison. And as these prisoners were persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop put to that evil been delayed two or three months longer, I am persuaded all Spain would have been set in a flame by them." I subjoin the reflection of a protestant author, who resided for a considerable time in Spain, and, feeling a deep interest in this portion of its history, drew up a short account of its protestant martyrs. "So powerful (says he) were the doctrines of the Reformation in those days, that no prejudices nor interests were any where strong enough to hinder piously-disposed minds, after they came thoroughly to understand them, from embracing them. And that the same doctrines have not still the same divine force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to popery's not being so gross, nor to any change in people's natural dispositions, but is owing purely to the want of the same zeal for those doctrines in their professors, and especially for the three great doctrines of the Reformation, which the following martyrs sealed with their blood: which were, that the pope is antichrist; that the worship of the church of Rome is idolatrous; and that a sinner is justified in the sight of God by faith and through Christ's and not through his own merits."

CHAPTER VII.

Suppression of the Reformation in Spain.

We cannot condemn, either upon the principles of nature or revelation, those individuals who, finding themselves in the utmost peril of their lives, chose to forsake their native country, and to seek abroad for a place in which they were at liberty to worship God according to their consciences. Yet it was this step on the part of some of the Spanish protestants which led to the discovery of their brethren who remained behind. Their sudden disappearance led to inquiries as to the cause, and the knowledge of this excited suspicions that they were not the only persons who were disaffected to the religion of their country. The divines attached to the court of Philip II. at Brussels kept a strict watch upon the refugees from Spain who had settled in Geneva and different places of Germany; and, having got possession of their secrets by means of spies, conveyed information to the inquisitors, that a large quantity of heretical books had been sent to Spain, and that the protestant doctrine was spreading rapidly in the kingdom. This intelligence was recieved in the close of the year 1557.

Roused from their security, the inquisitors instantly put their extensive police in motion, and were not long in discovering the individual who had been active in introducing the heretical books. Juan Hernandez, in consequence of information received from a smith, to whom he had shown a copy of the New Testament, was apprehended and thrown into prison. He did not seek to conceal his sentiments, and gloried in the fact that he had contributed to the illumination of his countrymen by furnishing them with the scriptures in their native tongue. But the inquisitors were disappointed in the expectations they had formed from his apprehension. His life indeed was in their hands, and they could dispose of it according to their pleasure; but the blood of an obscure individual appeared, in their eyes, altogether inadequate to wash away the disgrace which they had incurred by their failure in point of vigilance, or to expiate the enormous crime which had defiled the land. What they aimed at was, to obtain from the prisoner such information respecting his associates as would enable them "at once to crush the viper's nest," (to use their own words) and set them at ease for the future. But they found themselves mortifyingly baffled in all their attempts to accomplish this object. In vain they had recourse to those arts of deceit in which they were so deeply practised, in order to draw from Hernandez his secret. In vain they employed promises and threats, examinations and cross-examinations, sometimes in the hall of audience, and at other times in his cell, into which they sent alternately their avowed agents, and persons who "feigned themselves just men," and friendly to the reformed doctrine. When questioned concerning his own faith, he answered frankly; and though destitute of the advantages of a liberal education, he defended himself with boldness, silencing, by his knowledge of the scriptures alone, his judges, together with the learned men whom they brought to confute him. But when asked to declare who were his religious instructors and companions, he refused to utter a word. Nor were they more successful when they had recourse to that horrid engine which had often wrung secrets from the stoutest hearts, and made them betray their nearest and best-beloved friends. Hernandez displayed a firmness and heroism altogether above his physical strength and his station in life. During the three years complete that he was kept in prison, he was frequently put to the torture, in every form and with all the aggravations of cruelty which his persecutors, incensed at his obstinacy, could inflict or devise; but, on every fresh occasion, he appeared before them with unsubdued fortitude; and when led, or rather dragged, from the place of torment to his cell, he returned with an air of triumph, chanting this *refran*, in his native tongue:

> Vencidos van los frayles, vencidos van:
> Corridos van los lobos, corridos van.
>
> Conquered return the friars, conquered return:
> Scattered return the wolves, scattered return.

At length the inquisitors got possession of the secret which they were so eager to know. This was obtained at Seville, by means of the superstitious fears of one member of the protestant church, and the treachery of another, who had for some time acted as a concealed emissary of the inquisition. At Valladolid, it was obtained by one of those infernal arts, which that tribunal, whenever it served its purposes, has never scrupled to employ. Juan Garcia, a goldsmith, had been in the habit of summoning the protestants to sermons; and aware of the influence which superstition exerted over the mind of his wife, he concealed from her the place and times of their assembling. Being gained by her confessor, this demon in woman's shape dogged her husband one night, and having ascertained the place of meeting, communicated the fact to the Inquisition. The traitress received her earthly reward in an annuity for life, paid from the public funds!

Having made these important discoveries, the council of the Supreme despatched messengers to the several tribunals of inquisition through the kingdom, directing them to make inquiries with all secrecy within their respective jurisdictions, and to be prepared, on receiving further instructions, to act in concert. The familiars were employed in tracing out the remoter ramifications of heresy; and guards were planted at convenient places, to intercept and seize such persons as might attempt to escape. These precautions having been taken, orders were issued to the proper agents; and by a simultaneous movement, the protestants were seized at the same time in Seville, in Valladolid, and in all the surrounding country. In Seville and its neighbourhood two hundred persons were apprehended in one day; and, in consequence of information resulting from their examinations, the number soon increased to eight hundred. The castle of Triana, the common prisons, the convents, and even private houses, were crowded with the victims. Eighty persons were committed to prison in Valladolid, and the number of individuals seized by the other tribunals was in proportion. When the alarm was first given, many were so thunderstruck and appalled as to be unable to take the least step for securing their safety. Some ran to the house of the Inquisition, and informed against themselves, without knowing what they were doing; like persons who, rushing out of a house which has taken fire in the night-time, precipitate themselves into a devouring flood. Others, in attempting to make their escape, were pursued and overtaken; and some, who had reached a protestant country, becoming secure, fell into the snares laid for them by the spies of the Holy Office, were forcibly carried off, and brought back to Spain. Among those who made good their retreat, was the licentiate Zafra, formerly mentioned, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the inquisitors. He was apprehended among the first, but, during the confusion caused by want of room to contain the prisoners, contrived to make his escape, and to conceal himself, until he found a favourable opportunity of retiring into Germany.

The reader will recollect the reform which the monks of San Isidro had introduced into their convent. Desirable as this change was in itself, and commendable as was their conduct in adopting it, it brought them into a situation both delicate and painful. They could not throw off the monastic forms entirely, without exposing themselves to the fury of their enemies; nor yet could they retain them, without being conscious of acting to a certain degree hypocritically, and giving countenance to a pernicious system of superstition, by which their country was at once deluded and oppressed. In this dilemma, they held a cansultation on the propriety of deserting the convent, and retiring to some foreign land, in which, at the expense of sacrificing their worldly emoluments and spending their lives in poverty, they might enjoy peace of mind and the freedom of religious worship. The attempt was of the most hazardous kind, and difficulties presented themselves to any plan which could be suggested for carrying it into execution. How could so many persons, well known in Seville and all around it, after having left one of the most celebrated monasteries in Spain deserted, expect to accomplish so long a journey, without being discovered? If, on the other hand, a few of them should make the attempt and succeed, would not this step bring the lives of the remainder into the greatest jeopardy; especially as the suspicions of the inquisitors, which had for a considerable time been laid asleep, had been lately aroused? This last consideration appeared so strong, that they unanimously resolved to remain where they were, and commit themselves to the disposal of an all-powerful and gracious providence. But the aspect of matters becoming hourly darker and more alarming, another chapter was held, at which it was agreed that it would be tempting instead of trusting providence to adhere to their former resolution, and that therefore every one should be left at liberty to adopt that course which in the emergency appeared to his own mind best and most advisable. Accordingly, twelve of their number left the monastery, and taking different routes, got safely out of Spain, and at the end of twelve months met in Geneva, which they had previously agreed upon as the place of their rendezvous. They were gone only a few days when the storm of persecution burst on the heads not only of their brethren who remained in San Isidro, but of all their religious connexions in Spain.

It was in the beginning of the year 1558 that this calamitous event befell Spain. Previously to that period Charles V., having relinquished his schemes of worldly ambition, and resigned the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, had retired into the convent of St. Juste, situated in the province of Estremadura, where he spent the remainder of his days in the society and devotional exercises of monks. Several historians of no inconsiderable reputation have asserted, that Charles, during his retreat, became favourable to the sentiments of the protestants of Germany, that he died in their faith, that Philip charged the Holy Office to investigate the truth of this report, and that he had at one time serious thoughts of disinterring the bones of his father as those of a heretic. Various causes may be assigned for the currency of these rumours. Charles had three years before been involved in a dispute with Paul IV., who had threatened him with excommunication; Constantine Ponce and Augustin Cazalla, two of his chaplains, had embraced the protestant opinions; his confessor De Regla had been forced to abjure them; and Carranza and Villalba, who exhorted him on his death-bed, were soon after denounced to the Inquisition. To these presumptions it may be added, that the manner in which Philip treated his son Don Carlos, and the known fact that he never scrupled to employ the Inquisition as an engine for accomplishing purposes purely political, if not domestic also, have induced historians, from supposing him capable of any crime, to impute to him those of which he was never guilty. There is the best reason for believing that Charles, instead of being more favourably disposed, became more averse to the protestants in his latter days, and that, so far from repenting of the conduct which he had pursued towards them, his only regret was that he had not treated them with greater severity. When informed that Lutheranism was spreading in Spain, and that a number of persons had been apprehended under suspicion of being infected with it, he wrote letters, from the monastery of St. Juste, to his daughter Joanna, governess of Spain, to Juan de Vega, president of the council of Castile, and to the inquisitor general, charging them to exert their respective powers with all possible vigour "in seizing the whole party, and causing them all to be burnt, after using every means to make them Christians before their punishment; for he was persuaded that none of them would become sincere catholics, so irresistible was their propensity to dogmatize." He afterwards sent Luis Quixada, his major-domo, to urge the execution of these measures. In conversation with the prior and monks of the convent, he took great credit to himself for having resisted the pressing solicitations of the protestant princes to read their books and admit their divines to an audience; although they promised on that condition to march with all their forces, at one time against the king of France, and at another against the Turk. The only thing for which he blamed himself was his leniency to them, and particularly keeping faith with the heresiarch. Speaking of the charge he had given to the inquisitors respecting the heretics in Spain, "If they do not condemn them to the fire," said he, "they will commit a great fault, as I did in permitting Luther to live. Though I spared him solely on the ground of the safe-conduct I had sent him, and the promise I made at a time when I expected to suppress the heretics by other means, I confess nevertheless that I did wrong in this, because I was not bound to keep my promise to that heretic, as he had offended a master greater than I, even God himself. I was at liberty then, yea I ought, to have forgotten my word, and avenged the injury he had done to God. If he had injured me only, I should have kept my promise faithful; but, in consequence of my not having taken away his life, heresy continued to make progress, whereas his death, I am persuaded, would have stifled it in its birth." Nor does this rest merely on the evidence of reported conversations. In his testament, made in the Low Countries, he charged his son "to be obedient to the commandments of holy mother church, and especially to favour and countenance the holy office of the Inquisition against heretical pravity and apostasy." And in a codicil to it, executed in the convent of St. Juste a few weeks before his death, after mentioning the instructions he had formerly given on this subject, and the confidence which he placed in his son for carrying them into execution, he adds: "Therefore I entreat him and recommend to him with all possible and due earnestness, and moreover command him as a father, and by the obedience which he owes me, carefully to attend to this, as an object which is essential and nearly concerns him, that heretics be pursued and punished as their crime deserves, without excepting any who are guilty, and without showing any regard to entreaties, or to rank or quality. And that my intentions may be carried into full effect, I charge him to favour and cause to be favoured the holy Inquisition, which is the means of preventing and correcting so many evils, as I have enjoined in my testament; that so he may fulfil his duty as a prince, and that our Lord may prosper him in his reign, and protect him against his enemies, to my great peace and contentment."

But though it appears from these facts that the imprisoned protestants had nothing to hope from Charles V., yet their calamities were aggravated by his retirement and the succession of Philip II. That bigotry which in the father was paralysed by the incipient dotage which had inflamed it, was combined in the son with all the vigour of youth, and with a temper naturally gloomy and unrelenting. Other circumstances conspired to seal the doom of the reformers in Spain. The wars which had so long raged between that country and France were terminated by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, and the peace between the rival kingdoms was ratified by the marriage of Philip to the eldest daughter of the French king. Previously to that event the dissension between the Spanish monarch and the court of Rome had been amicably adjusted. The papal throne was filled at this time by Paul IV., a furious persecutor, and determined supporter of the Inquisition. And the office of inquisitor general in Spain was held by Francisco Valdes, a prelate who had already distinguished himself from his two immediate predecessors by the severity of his administration, and whose worldly passions were unmitigated by the advanced age to which he had arrived. The supreme pontiff, the inquisitor general, and the monarch, were alike disposed to adopt the most illegal and sanguinary measures for extinguishing heresy in the Peninsula.

When only sixteen years of age, Philip gave a proof of his extreme devotion to the inquisition, and of the principles on which his future reign was to be conducted. In the year 1543 the marquis de Terranova, viceroy of Sicily, ordered two familiars of the Holy Office to be brought before the ordinary tribunals, for certain crimes of which they were guilty. Though this was in perfect accordance with a law which, at the request of the inhabitants, Charles V. had promulgated, suspending for ten years the powers of the inquisitors to judge in such causes within the island, yet a complaint was made, on the part of the familiars, to Philip, then acting as regent of the Spanish dominions, who addressed a letter to the viceroy, exhorting him, as an obedient son of the church, to give satisfaction to the holy fathers whom he had offended. The consequence was, that the marquis, who was grand constable and admiral of Naples, one of the first peers of Spain, and sprung from the royal stock of Aragon, felt himself obliged to do penance in the church of the Dominican monastery, and to pay a hundred ducats to the catchpolls of the Inquisition, whose vices he had presumed to correct. During the regency of the prince, the Spanish inquisitors in more than one instance obtained the revival of those powers which had been supended, as at once injurious to the civil judicatures and to the liberties of the subject.

During the negociation in 1557 between the court of Spain and the Roman see, which ended so disgracefully to the former, Philip wrote to his general, the duke of Alva, "that Rome was a prey to great calamities at the time of his birth, and it would be wrong in him to subject it to similar evils at the commencement of his reign; it was therefore his will that peace should be speedily concluded on terms no way dishonourable to his holiness; for he would rather part with the rights of his crown than touch in the slightest degree those of the holy see." In pursuance of these instructions, Alva, as viceroy of Naples, was obliged to fall on his knees, and, in his own name, as well as that of his master and the emperor, to beg pardon of the pope for all the offences specified in the treaty of peace; upon which they were absolved from the censures which they had respectively incurred. After this ceremony was over, the haughty and gratified pontiff, turning to the cardinals, told them "that he had now rendered to the holy see the most important service it would ever receive; and that the example which the Spanish monarch had just given would teach popes henceforth how to abase the pride of kings, who knew not the extent of that obeisance which they legitimately owed to the heads of the church." With good reason might Charles V. say in his testament, when leaving his dying charge to extirpate heresy, "that he was persuaded the king his son would use every possible effort to crush so great an evil with all the severity and promptitude which it required.

Paul IV. acceded with the utmost readiness to the applications which were now addressed to him by Philip, in concurrence with Valdes, the inquisitor general, for such enlargements of the authority of the Holy Office as would enable it to compass the condemnation of the heretics who were in prison, and to seize and convict others. On the 15th of February 1558 he issued a summary brief, renewing all the decisions of councils and sovereign pontiffs against heretics and schismatics; declaring that this measure was rendered necessary by the information he had received of the daily and increasing progress of heresy; and charging Valdes to persecute the guilty, and inflict upon them the punishments decreed by the constitutions, particularly that which deprived them of all their dignities and functions, "whether they were bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals or legates,—barons, counts, marquises, dukes, princes, kings or emperors. This sweeping brief, from whose operation none was exempted but his holiness, was made public in Spain with the approbation of the monarch, soon after he himself and his father had been threatened with excommunication and dethronement. Valdes, in concurrence with the council of the Supreme, prepared instructions to all the tribunals of the Inquisition, directing them, among other things, to search for heretical books, and to make a public auto-de-fe of such as they should discover, including many works not mentioned in any former prohibitory index. This was also the epoch of that terrible law of Philip which ordained the punishment of death, with confiscation of goods, against all who sold, bought, read, or possessed, any book that was forbidden by the Holy Office. To ferret the poor heretics from their lurking-places, and to drive them into the toils of this bloody statute, Paul IV., on the 6th of January 1559, issued a bull, enjoining all confessors strictly to examine their penitents of whatever rank, from the lowest to that of cardinal or king, and to charge them to denounce all whom they knew to be guilty of this offence, under the pain of the greater excommunication, from which none but the pope or the inquisitor general could release them; and subjecting such confessors as neglected this duty to the same punishment that was threatened against their penitents. On the following day the pope declared, in full consistory, that the heresy of Luther and other innovators being propagated in Spain, he had reasons to suspect that it had been embraced by some bishops; on which account he authorized the grand inquisitor, during two years from that day, to hold an inquest on all bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and primates of that kingdom, to commence their processes, and, in case he had grounds to suspect that they intended to make their escape, to seize and detain them, on condition of his giving notice of this immediately to the sovereign pontiff, and conveying the prisoners, as soon as possible, to Rome.

As if these measures had not been calculated sufficiently to multiply denunciations, Philip seconded them by an edict renewing a royal ordinance, which had fallen into desuetude or been suspended, and which entitled informers to the fourth part of the property of those found guilty of heresy. But the existing code of laws, even after those which had been long disabled or forgotten were revived, was too mild for the rulers of this period. Statutes still more barbarous and unjust were enacted. At the request of Philip and Valdes, the pope, on the 4th of February 1559, gave forth a brief, authorizing the council of the Supreme, in derogation of the standing laws of the Inquisition, to deliver over to the secular arm those who were convicted of having taught the Lutheran opinions, even though they had not relapsed, and were willing to recant. It has been justly observed, that though history had had nothing else with which to reproach Philip II. and the inquisitor general, Valdes, than their having solicited this bull, it would have been sufficient to consign their names to infamy. Neither Ferdinand V. and Torquemada, nor Charles V. and Manriquez, had pushed matters to this length. They never thought of burning alive, or subjecting to capital punishment, persons who were convicted of falling into heresy for the first time, and who confessed their errors; nor did they think themselves warranted to proceed to this extremity by the suspicion that such confessions were dictated by the fear of death. This was the last invention of tyranny, inflamed into madness by hatred and dread of the truth. Were it necessary to point out aggravations of this iniquity, we might state that the punishment was to be inflicted for actions done before the law was enacted; and that it was unblushingly applied to those who had been long immured in the cells of the Inquisition.

The next object was to find fit agents for carrying these sanguinary statutes into execution. It is one of the wise arrangements of a merciful providence for thwarting designs hurtful to human society, and for inspiring their authors with the dread of ultimate discomfiture, that wicked men and tyrants are disposed to suspect the most slavish and devoted instruments of their will. The individuals at the head of the inquisitorial tribunals of Seville and Valladolid had incurred the suspicions of Valdes, as guilty of culpable negligence, if not of connivance at the protestants, who had held their conventicles in the two principal cities of the kingdom, almost with open doors. To guard against any thing of this kind for the future, and to provide for the multiplicity of business which the late disclosures had created, he delegated his powers of inquisitor general to two individuals, in whom he could place entire confidence, Gonzales Munebrega, archbishop of Tarragona, and Pedro de la Gasca, archbishop of Palencia, who fixed their residence, the former at Seville, and the latter at Valladolid, in the character of vice-inquisitors general. Both substitutes proved themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them; but the conduct of Munebrega gratified the highest expectations of Valdes and Philip. When engaged in superintending the examinations of the prisoners, and giving directions as to the torture to which they should be put, he was accustomed to indulge in the most profane and cruel raillery, saying that these heretics had the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," so deeply seated in their hearts, that it was necessary to tear the flesh from their bones, to make them inform against their brethren. During the intervals of business, he was to be seen sailing in his barge on the river, or walking in the gardens of the Triana, dressed in purple and silk, accompanied with a train of servants, surrounded by wretched poetasters, and followed by hired crowds, who at one time saluted him with their huzzas, and at another insulted the protestants, whom they descried through the grated windows of the castle. An anecdote which is told of him, though trifling compared with the horrors of that time, deserves to be repeated as a proof of the insolence of office, and one among many instances of the shameless manner in which the inquisitors converted their authority into an instrument of gratifying their meanest passions. A servant of the vice-inquisitor general snatched a stick one day from the gardener's son, who was amusing himself in one of the avenues. The father, attracted by the cries of his child, came to the spot, and having in vain desired the servant to restore the stick, wrested it from his hand, which was slightly injured in the struggle. A complaint was instantly made to Munebrega; and the conduct of the gardener being found sufficient to fasten on him a suspicion of heresy *de levi*, he was thrown into prison, where he lay nine months heavily ironed.

The reader will mistake very much, if he suppose that the holy fathers undertook all these extraordinary services from pure zeal for the truth, or under the idea that their superabundant and supererogatory labours would secure to them an unseen and future recompense. If heretics were visited in this life with exemplary punishment for the sins of which they had been guilty, why should not the defenders of the faith have "their good things" in this life? To meet the expenses of this domestic crusade, the pope, at the request of the inquisitors, authorized them to appropriate to their use certain ecclesiastical revenues, and granted them, in addition, an extraordinary subsidy of a hundred thousand ducats of gold, to be raised by the clergy. The bull issued for that purpose stated, that the heresy of Luther had made an alarming progress in Spain, where it was embraced by many rich and powerful individuals; that, with a view of putting a stop to it, the inquisitor general had been obliged to commit to prison a multitude of suspected persons, to increase the number of judges in the provincial tribunals, to employ supernumerary familiars, and to purchase and keep in readiness a supply of horses in different parts of the kingdom for the pursuit of fugitives; and that the ordinary revenue of the Holy Office was quite insufficient to defray the expenses of so enlarged an establishment, and at the same time to maintain such of the prisoners as were destitute of means to support themselves. Zealous as the clergy in general were against heresy, they fretted exceedingly against this tax on their income; and after the Inquisition had succeeded in exterminating the Lutherans, it needed to direct its thunders, and even to call in the assistance of the secular arm, against certain refractory canons, who resisted the payment of the sums in which they had been assessed.

While these preparations were going on, it is not easy to conceive, but easier to conceive than describe, the situation and feelings of the captive protestants. To have had the prospect of an open trial, though accompanied with the certainty of being convicted and doomed to an ignominious death, would have been relief to their minds. But, instead of this, they were condemned to a protracted confinement, during which their melancholy solitude was only broken in upon by attempts to bereave them of their best consolation; distracted, on the one hand, by the entreaties of their disconsolate friends, who besought them to purchase their lives by an early recantation, and harassed, on the other, by the endless examinations to which they were subjected by their persecutors; assured to-day that they would escape provided they made an ingenuous confession of all they knew, and told to-morrow that the confessions which they had made in confidence had only served to confirm the suspicions entertained of their sincerity; hearing, at one time, of some unhappy individual who was added to their number, and receiving, at another time, the still more distressing intelligence that a fellow-prisoner, entangled by sophistry, or overcome by torments, had consented to abjure the truth. A milder tribunal would have been satisfied with making an example of the ringleaders, or would have brought out the guilty for execution as soon as their trials could be overtaken. The policy of Philip

II. and his inquisitors was different. They wished to strike terror into the minds of the whole nation, and exhibit to Europe a grand spectacle of zeal for the catholic faith, and vengeance against heresy. Filled with those fears which ever haunt the minds of tyrants, they imagined that heresy had spread more extensively than was really the case, and therefore sought to extort from their prisoners such confessions as would lead to the discovery of those who still remained concealed, or who might be in the slightest degree infected with the new opinions. While they had not the most distant intention of extending mercy to those who professed themselves penitent, and had already procured a law which warranted them to withhold it, they were nevertheless anxious to secure a triumph to the catholic faith, by having it in their power to read, in the public auto-de-fe, the forced retractions of those who had embraced the truth. With this view, the greater part of the protestants were detained in prison for two, and some of them for three years, during which their bodily health was broken, or their spirit subdued, by the rigour of confinement and the severity of torture. The consequence of this treatment was, that the constancy of some of them was shaken, while others ended their days by a lingering and secret martyrdom.

Among those of the last class was Constantine Ponce de la Fuente. Exposed as he was to the hatred of those who envied his popularity, and the jealousy of those who looked upon him as the ablest supporter of the new opinions, it is not to be supposed that this learned man could escape the storm that overwhelmed the reformed church in Spain. He was among the first who were apprehended, when the familiars were let loose on the protestants of Seville. When information was conveyed to Charles V. in the monastery of St. Juste, that his favourite chaplain was thrown into prison, he exclaimed, "If Constantine be a heretic, he is a great one!" and when assured, at a subsequent period, by one of the inquisitors, that he had been found guilty, he replied with a sigh, "You cannot condemn a greater!"

The joy which the inquisitors felt at obtaining possession of the person of a man whom they had long eyed with jealousy, was in no small degree abated by the difficulties which they found in the way of procuring his conviction. Knowing the perilous circumstances in which he was placed, he had for some time back exercised the utmost circumspection over his words and actions. His confidential friends, as we have already stated, were always few and select. His penetration enabled him with a single glance to detect the traitor under his mask; and his knowledge of human nature kept him from committing himself to the weak though honest partisans of the reformed faith. The veneration and esteem in which he was held by his friends was so great, that they would have died sooner than compromise his safety by their confessions. When brought before his judges, he maintained his innocence, challenged the public prosecutor to show that he had done any thing criminal, and repelled the charges brought against him with such ability and success as threw his adversaries into the greatest perplexity. There was every probability that he would finally baffle their efforts to convict him of heresy, when an unforeseen occurrence obliged him to abandon the line of defence which he had hitherto pursued. Dona Isabella Martinia, a widow lady of respectability and opulence, had been thrown into prison as a suspected heretic, and her property confiscated. The inquisitors being informed, by the treachery of a servant in the family, that her son, Francisco Bertran, had contrived, before the inventory was taken, to secrete certain coffers contained valuable effects, sent their alguazil, Luis Sotelo, to demand them. As soon as the alguazil entered the house, Bertran, in great trepidation, told him he knew his errand, and would deliver up what he wanted, on condition that he screened him from the vengeance of the Inquisition. Conducting the alguazil to a retired part of the building, and breaking down a thin partition-wall, he disclosed a quantity of books which Constantine Ponce had deposited with his mother for the purpose of security, some time before his imprisonment. Sotelo signified that these were not exactly what he was in search of, but that he would take charge of them, along with the coffers which he was instructed to carry to the Holy Office. Dazzling as were the jewels of Isabella Martinia, the eyes of the inquisitors glistened still more at the sight of the books of Constantine. On examining them, they found, beside various heretical works, a volume of his own handwriting, in which the points of controversy between the church of Rome and the protestants were discussed at considerable length. In it the author treated of the true church according to the principles of Luther and Calvin, and, by an application of the different marks which the scriptures gave for discriminating it, showed that the papal church had no claim to the title. In a similar way he decided the questions respecting justification, the merit of good works, the sacraments, indulgences, and purgatory; calling this last the wolf's head, and an invention of the monks to feed idle bellies. When the volume was shown to Constantine, he acknowledged at once that it was in his handwriting, and contained his sentiments. "It is unnecessary for you (added he) to produce further evidence: you have there a candid and full confession of my belief. I am in your hands; do with me as seemeth to you good."

No arts or threatnings could prevail on him to give any information respecting his associates. With the view of inducing the other prisoners to plead guilty, the agents of the Holy Office circulated the report that he had informed against them when put to the question; and they even suborned witnesses to depone that they had heard his cries on the rack, though he never endured that inhuman mode of examination. By what motives the judges were restrained from subjecting him to it, is uncertain. I can only conjecture that it proceeded from respect to the feelings of the emperor; for, soon after his death, Constantine was removed from the apartment which he had hitherto occupied, and thrust into a low, damp, and noisome vault, where he endured more than his brethren did from the application of the engines of torture. Oppressed and worn out with a mode of living so different from what he had been used to, he was heard to exclaim, "O my God, were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or pagans still more savage, that thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptized fiends?" He could not remain long in such a situation. Putrid air and unwholesome diet, together with grief for the ruin of the reformed cause in his native country, brought on a dysentery, which put an end to his days, after he had been nearly two years in confinement.

Not satisfied with wreaking their vengeance on him when alive, his adversaries circulated the report that he had put an end to his own life by opening a vein with a piece of broken glass; and ballads grounded on this fabricated story, and containing other slanders, were indecently hawked through the streets of Seville. Had there been the least foundation for this report, we may be sure the inquisitors would have taken care to verify it, by ordering an inquest to be held on the dead body. But the calumny was refuted by the testimony of a young monk of San Isidro, named Fernando, who being providentially confined in the same cell with Constantine, ministered to him during his sickness, and closed his eyes in peace.

The slanders which were at this time so industriously propagated against him, only serve to show the anxiety of the inquisitors to blast his fame and the dread which they felt lest the reformed opinions should gain credit from the circumstance of their having been embraced by a person of so great eminence and popularity. In this object, however, they did not succeed altogether to their wish. This appeared when his effigy and bones were brought out in the public auto-de-fe celebrated at Seville on the 22d of December 1560. The effigies of such heretics as had escaped from justice, by flight or by death, usually consisted of a shapeless piece of patch-work surmounted by a head; that of Constantine Ponce consisted of a regular human figure, complete in all its parts, dressed after the manner in which he appeared in public, and representing him in his most common attitude of preaching, with one arm resting on the pulpit and the other elevated. The production of this figure in the spectacle, when his sentence was about to be read, excited a lively recollection of a preacher so popular, and drew from the spectators an expression of feeling by no means pleasing to the inquisitors. In consequence of this they caused it to be withdrawn from the prominent situation which it occupied, and to be brought near to their own platform, where they commenced the reading of the articles of the libel on which Constantine had been condemned. The people, displeased at this step, and not hearing what was read, began to murmur; upon which Calderon, who, as mayor of the city, presided on the occasion, desired the acting secretary to go to the pulpit provided for that part of the ceremony. This intimation being disregarded, the murmurs were renewed, and the mayor, raising his voice, ordered the service to be suspended. The inquisitors were obliged to restore the effigy to its former place, and to recommence the reading of the sentence in the audience of the people; but the secretary was instructed, after naming a few of the errors into which the deceased had fallen, to conclude by saying, that he had vented others so horible and impious that they could not be heard without pollution by vulgar ears. After this the effigy was sent to the house of the Inquisition, and another of ordinary construction was conveyed to the stake to be burnt along with the bones of Constantine. The inquisitors were not a little puzzled how to act respecting his works, which had already been printed by their approbation; but they at last agreed to prohibit them, "not because they had found any thing in them worthy of condemnation," as their sentence runs, "but because it was not fit that any honourable memorial of a man doomed to infamy should be transmitted to posterity." But they had a still more delicate task to perform. The history of a voyage to Flanders by Philip II. when prince of Asturias, had been printed at Madrid by royal authority, in which his chaplain Constantine was described as "the greatest philosopher, the profoundest divine, and the most eloquent preacher, who has been in Spain for many ages." Whether Philip himself gave information of this work, we know not; but there can be no doubt that he would have run the risk of excommunication by retaining it in his library, after it was stigmatized by the inquisitorial censors of the press. They ordered all the copies of the book to be delivered to them, that they might delete the obnoxious panegyric; "and on this passage," says one who afterwards procured a copy of the History in Spain, "the expurgator of the book, which is in my hands, was so liberal of his ink, that I had much ado to read it."

Constantine Ponce was not the only protestant who fell a sacrifice to the noxious vapours and ordure of the inquisitorial prisons. This was also the fate of Olmedo, a man distinguished for his learning and piety, who fell into the hands of the inquisitors of Seville, and was often heard to exclaim, that there was no species of torture which he would not endure in preference to the horrors of his present situation. Considering the treatment which the prisoners received, it is wonderful that many of them were not driven to distraction. One individual only, a female, had recourse to the desperate remedy of shortening her days. Juana Sanchez, a *beata*, after having been long kept in prison at Valladolid, was found guilty of heresy. Coming to the knowledge of her sentence before it was formally intimated to her, she cut her throat with a pair of scissors, and died of the wound in the course of a few days. During the interval every effort was employed by the friars to induce her, not to repent of the suicide, but to recant the errors which she had cherished. She repulsed them with indignation, as monsters equally devoid of humanity and religion.

I must again refer my readers to the common histories of the Inquisition, for information as to the modes of torture and other cruel devices used for procuring evidence to convict those who were imprisoned on a charge of heresy. One or two instances, however, are of such a character that it would be unpardonable to omit them in this place. Among the protestants seized in Seville was the widow of Fernando Nugnez, a native of the town of Lepe, with three of her daughters and a married sister. As there was no evidence against them, they were put to the torture, but refused to inform against one another. Upon this the presiding inquisitor called one of the young women into the audience-chamber, and after conversing with her for some time, professed an attachment to her person. Having repeated this at another interview, he told her, that he could be of no service to her unless she imparted to him the whole facts of her case; but if she entrusted him with these, he would manage the affair in such a way as that she and all her friends should be set at liberty. Falling into the snare, the unsuspecting girl confessed to him that she had at different times conversed with her mother, sisters, and aunt, on the Lutheran doctrines. The wretch immediately brought her into court, and obliged her to declare judicially what she had owned to him in private. Nor was this all: under the pretence that her confession was not sufficiently ample and ingenuous, she was put to the torture by the most excruciating engines, the pulley and the wooden horse; by which means evidence was extorted from her, which led, not only to the condemnation of herself and her relations, but also to the seizure and conviction of others who afterwards perished in the flames. Another instance relates to a young countryman of our own. An English vessel, which had entered the port of St. Lucar, was visited by the familiars of the Inquisition, and several of the crew, who, with the frankness of British seamen, avowed themselves protestants, were seized before they came on shore. Along with them the familiars conveyed to prison a boy of twelve years of age, the son of a respectable merchant to whom the principal part of the cargo belonged. The pretext for his apprehension was, that an English psalm-book was found in his portmanteau; but there is reason to believe that the real ground was the hope of extorting from the father a rich ransom for his son's liberation. Having been piously educated, the youth was observed to be regular in his devotions, and to relieve the iksomeness of his confinement by occasionally singing one of the psalms which he had committed to memory. Both of these were high offences; for every piece of devotion not conducted under the direction of its ghostly agents, and even every mark of cheerfulness on the part of the prisoners, is strictly prohibited within the gloomy walls of the Holy Office. On the report of the jailer, the boy's confinement was rendered more severe; in consequence of which he lost the use of both his limbs, and it was found necessary, for the preservation of his life, to remove him to the public hospital.

So shameful were the measures taken for procuring the conviction of the prisoners at this time, that a legal investigation of the procedure in the inquisitorial tribunals was afterwards demanded by persons of great respectability in the church. In 1560, Senor Enriquez, an ecclesiastic of rank in the collegiate church of Valladolid, presented to Philip a remonstrance against the inquisition of that city, in which he charged it with tyranny and avarice. Among other things he asserted, that in the cause of Cazalla the officers had allowed the nuns, who like him were imprisoned for Lutheranism, to converse together, that, by confirming one another in their errors, the judges might have it in their power to condemn them, and thus to confiscate their property. Having accomplished the object which they had in view, they changed their measures, kept the prisoners apart, and, by examinations and visits, promises and threatenings, tried every method to induce them to recant and die in the bosom of the church.

Nearly two years having been spent in the previous steps, the time was considered as come, according to Spanish ideas of unity of action, for the exhibition of the last scene of the horrible tragedy. Orders were accordingly issued by the council of the Supreme for the celebration of public autos-de-fe, under the direction of the several tribunals of inquisition through the kingdom. Those which took place at Seville and Valladolid were the most noted for the pomp with which they were solemnized, and for the number and rank of the victims. Before describing these, it may be proper to give the reader a general idea of the nature of these exhibitions, and the order in which they were usually conducted.

An *auto-de-fe*, or *act of faith*, was either particular or general. In the particular auto, or *autillo*, as it is called, the offender appeared before the inquisitors in their hall, either alone or in the presence of a select number of witnesses, and had his sentence intimated to him. A general auto, in which a number of heretics were brought out, was performed with the most imposing solemnity, and formed an imitation of an ancient Roman triumph, combined with the last judgment.* It was always celebrated on Sunday or holyday, in the largest church, but more frequently in the most spacious square, of the town in which it happened to be held. Intimation of it was publicly made beforehand in all the churches and religious houses in the neighbourhood. The attendance of the civil authorities, as well as of the clergy, secular and regular, was required; and, with the view of attracting the multitude, an indulgence of forty days was proclaimed to all who should witness the ceremonies of the act.

On the evening preceding the auto, such of the prisoners as were penitent, and were to suffer a punishment milder than death, were assembled, the males in one apartment of the prison, and the females in another, when they had their respective sentences intimated to them. At midnight a confessor entered the cell of the prisoners who were sentenced to the stake, and intimated to them for the first time the fate which awaited them, accompanying the intimation with earnest exhortations to recant their errors, and die reconciled to the church; in which case they obtained the favour of being strangled before their bodies were committed to the flames. On such occasions the most heart-rending scenes sometimes took place.

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* The last mentioned resemblance is noticed in a letter written by a Moor in Spain to a friend in Africa, giving him an account of the sufferings of his countrymen from the Inquisition: "After this they meet in the square of Hatabin, and there having erected a large stage, they make all resemble the day of judgment; and he that reconciles himself to them is clothed in a yellow mantle, and the rest are carried to the flames with effigies and horrible figures." (Marmol, Historia del Rebelion del Reyno de Granada, lib. iii. cap. 3.)

Early on the following morning the bells of all the churches began to toll, when the officials of the Inquisition repaired to the prison, and having assembled the prisoners, clothed them in the several dresses in which they were to make their appearance at the spectacle. Those who were found suspected of having erred in a slight degree were simply clothed in black. The other prisoners wore a sanbenito, or species of loose vest of yellow cloth, called *zamarra* in Spanish. On the sanbenito of those who were to be strangled were painted flames burning downwards, which the Spaniards call *fuego revolto*, to intimate that they had escaped the fire. The sanbenito of those who were doomed to be burnt alive was covered with figures of flames burning upwards, around which were painted devils, carrying faggots, or fanning the fire. Similar marks of infamy appeared on the pasteboard cap, called *coroza*, which was put on their heads. After this ceremony was over, they were desired to partake of a sumptuous breakfast, which, on their refusal, was devoured by the menials of the office.

The persons who were to take part in the ceremony being all assembled in the court of the prison, the procession moved on, generally in the following order. Preceded by a band of soldiers to clear the way, came a certain number of priests in their surplices, attended by a company of young persons, such as the boys of the college of Doctrine in Seville, who chanted the liturgy in alternate choruses. They were followed by the prisoners, arranged in different classes according to the degrees of their supposed delinquencies, the most guilty being placed last, having either extinguished torches or else crosses in their hands, and halters suspended from their necks. Every prisoner was guarded by two familiars, and, in addition to this, those who were condemned to die were attended each by two friars. After the prisoners came the local magistrates, the judges, and officers of state, accompanied by a train of nobility on horseback. They were succeeded by the secular and monastic clergy. At some distance from these were to be seen moving forward, in slow and solemn pomp, the members of the Holy Office, the persons who principally shared the triumph of the day, preceded by their fiscal, bearing the standard of the Inquisition, composed of red silk damask, on which the names and insignia of pope Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand the Catholic, the founders of the tribunal, were conspicuous, and surmounted by a crucifix of massive silver, overlaid with gold, which was held in the highest veneration by the populace. They were followed by the familiars on horseback, forming their body guard, and including many of the principal gentry of the country as honorary members. The procession was closed by an immense concourse of the common people, who advanced without any regular order.

Having arrived at the place of the auto, the inquisitors ascended the platform erected for their reception, and the prisoners were conducted to another which was placed opposite to it. The service commenced with a sermon, usually preached by some distinguished prelate; after which the clerk of the tribunal read the sentences of the penitents, who, on their knees, and with hands laid on the missal, repeated their confessions. The presiding inquisitor then descended from the throne on which he sat, and advancing to the altar, absolved the penitents *a culpa*, leaving them under the obligation to bear the several punishments to which they had been adjudged, whether these consisted of penances, banishment, whipping, hard labour, or imprisonment. He then administered an oath to all who were present at the spectacle, binding them to live and die in the communion of the Roman church, and to uphold and defend, against all its adversaries, the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition; during which ceremony the people were to be seen all at once on their knees in the streets. The more tragical part of the scene now followed. The sentences of those who were doomed to die having been publicly read, such of them as were in holy orders were publicly degraded, by being stripped, piece by piece, of their priestly vestments; a ceremony which was performed with every circumstance calculated to expose them to ignominy and execration in the eyes of the superstitious beholders. After this they were formally delivered over to the secular judges, to suffer the punishment awarded to heretics by the civil law. It was on this occasion that the inquisitors performed that impious farce which has excited the indignation of all in whose breasts fanaticism, or some worse principle, has not extinguished every sentiment of common feeling. When they delivered the prisoner into the hands of the secular judges whom they had summoned to receive him, they besought them to treat him with clemency and compassion.[*] This they did to escape falling under the censure of *irregularity*, which the canons of the church had denounced against ecclesiastics who should be accessory to the inflicting of any bodily injury. Yet they not only knew what would be the consequence of their act, but had taken all the precautions necessary for securing it. Five days before the auto-de-fe, they acquainted the ordinary royal judge with the number of prisoners to be delivered over to him, in order that the proper quantity of stakes, wood, and every thing else requisite for the execution, might be in readiness. The prisoners once declared by the inquisitors to be impenitent or relapsed heretics, nothing was competent to the magistrate but to pronounce the sentence adjudging them to the flames; and had he presumed in any instance to change the sentence of death into perpetual imprisonment, though it were in one of the remotest forts of Asia, Africa, or America, he would soon have felt the vengeance of the Holy Office. Besides, the statutes adjudging heretics to the fire had been confirmed by numerous bulls of popes, which commanded the inquisitors to watch over their exact observance. And in accordance with this, they, at every auto-de-fe, required the magistrates to swear that they would faithfully execute the sentences against the persons of heretics, without delay, "in the way and manner prescribed by the sacred canons, and the laws which treated on the subject." Were it necessary to say more on this topic, we might add that the very appearance of the prisoners, when brought out in the public spectacle, proclaimed the unblushing hypocrisy of the inquisitors. They implored the secular judge to treat with lenity and compassion persons whom they themselves had worn to skeletons by a cruel incarceration,—not to shed the blood of him from whose body they had often made the blood to spring, nor to break a bone of her whose tender limbs were already distorted and mangled by their hellish tortures!

The penitents having been remanded to their several prisons, the other prisoners were led away to execution. Some writers have spoken as if they were executed on the spot where their sentence was read, and in the presence of all who had witnessed the preceding parts of the spectacle. This, however, is a mistake. The stakes were erected without the walls of the town in which the auto-de-fe was celebrated; but though the last act was deemed too horrid to be exhibited on the same stage with those which we have described, yet it was performed publicly, and was witnessed, not only by the mob, but by persons who from their rank and station might have been expected to turn with disgust from so revolting a spectacle.

Seville contained by far the greatest number of protestants under confinement; and the long period during which its prisons had been crowded gave it a claim to the benefit of the first jail-delivery. Valladolid, however, was preferred; for no other reason, apparently, than that it afforded the Inquisition the opportunity of exhibiting the greatest proportion of criminals of whom it could boast as converts from heresy.

The first public auto-de-fe of protestants was accordingly celebrated in Valladolid on the 21st of May 1559, being Trinity Sunday, in the presence of Don Carlos, the heir apparent to the crown, and his aunt Joana, queen dowager of Portugal and governess of the kingdom during the absence of her brother Philip II.; attended by a great concourse of persons of all ranks. It was performed in the grand square between the church of St. Francis and the house of the Consistory. In the front of the town-house, and by the side of the platform occupied by the inquisitors, a box was erected, which the royal family could enter without interruption from the crowd, and in which they had a full view of the prisoners. The spectacle continued from six o'clock in the morning til two in the afternoon, during which the people exhibited no symptoms of impatience, nor did the queen retire until the whole was concluded. The sermon was preached by the celebrated Melchior Cano, bishop of the Canaries; the bishop of Palencia, to whose diocese Valladolid at that time belonged, performed the ceremony of degrading such of the victims as were in holy orders. When the company were assembled and had taken their places, Francisco Baca, the presiding inquisitor, advancing to the bed of state on which the prince and his aunt were seated, administered to them the oath to support the Holy Office, and to reveal to it every thing contrary to the faith which might come to their knowledge, without respect of persons. This was the first time that such an oath had been exacted from any of the royal family; and Don Carlos, who was then only fourteen years of age, is said from that moment to have vowed an implacable hatred to the Inquisition.

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[*] The protestant historian of the Inquisition, de Montes, states the matter thus:—When the person who is relaxed has confessed, the inquisitors, on delivering him to the secular judges, "beseech them to treat him with much commiseration, and not to break a bone of his body, nor shed his blood;" but when he is obstinate, they "beseech them, if he shall show any symptoms of true repentance, to treat him with much commiseration," &c. (Montanus, p. 148.) I do not observe any such distinction in the accounts of the popish historians. (Llorente, ii. 250–253. Puigblanch, i. 279–281.)

The prisoners brought forth on this occasion amounted to thirty, of whom sixteen were reconciled, and fourteen were "relaxed," or delivered over to the secular arm. Of the last class, two were thrown alive into the flames, while the remainder were previously strangled.

The greater part of the first class were persons distinguished by their rank and connexions. Don Pedro Sarmiento de Roxas, son of the first marquis de Poza, and of a daughter of the conde de Salinas y Ribadeo, was stripped of his ornaments as chevalier of St. James, deprived of his office as commander of Quintana, and commanded to wear a perpetual sanbenito, to be imprisoned for life, and to have his memory declared infamous. His wife Dona Mercia de Figueroa, dame of honour to the queen, was sentenced to wear the coat of infamy, and to be confined during the remainder of her life. His nephew Don Luis de Roxas, eldest son of the second marquis de Poza, and grandson of the marquis d'Alcagnizes, was exiled from the cities of Madrid, Valladolid, and Palencia, forbidden to leave the kingdom, and declared incapable of succeeding to the honours or estates of his father. Dona Ana Henriquez de Roxas, daughter of the marquis d'Alcagnizes, and wife of Don Juan Alonso de Fonseca Mexia, was a lady of great accomplishments, understood the Latin language perfectly, and though only twenty-four years of age, was familiar with the writings of the reformers, particularly those of Calvin. She appeared in the sanbenito, and was condemned to be separated from her husband and spend her days in a monastery. Her aunt Dona Maria de Roxas, a nun of St. Catherine in Valladolid, and forty years of age, received sentence of perpetual penance and imprisonment, from which, however, she was released by an influence which the inquisitors did not choose to resist. Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, brother to the marquis de la Mota, was subjected to the same punishment as the first-mentioned nobleman. This brave chevalier had distinguished himself in many engagements against the Turks both by sea and land, and performed so great feats of valour in the expeditions to Algiers, Bugia, and other parts of Africa, that Charles the Fifth had advanced him to the rank of first captain, and afterwards of general. Having appealed to Rome against the sentence of the inquisitors, and represented the services which he had done to Christendom, De Ulloa was eventually restored to his rank as commander of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Juan de Vibero Cazalla, his wife Dona Silva de Ribera, his sister Dona Constanza, Dona Francisca Zunega de Baeza, Marina de Saavedra the widow of a hidalgo named Juan Cisneros de Soto, and Leanor de Cisneros (whose husband Antonio Herezuelo was doomed to a severer punishment), with four others of inferior condition, were condemned to wear the sanbenito, and be imprisoned for life. The imprisonment of Anthony Wasor, an Englishman, and servant to Don Luis de Roxas, was restricted to one year's confinement in a convent. Confiscation of property was an article in the sentence of all these persons.

Among those who were delivered over to the secular arm, one of the most celebrated was Doctor Augustin Cazalla. His reputation, and the office he had held as chaplain to the late emperor, made him an object of particular attention to the inquisitors. During his confinement he underwent frequent examinations, with the view of establishing the charges against himself and his fellow-prisoners. Cazalla was deficient in the courage which was requisite for the situation into which he had brought himself. On the 4th of March 1559 he was conducted into the place of torture, when he shrunk from the trial, and promising to submit to his judges, made a declaration, in which he confessed that he had embraced the Lutheran doctrine, but denied that he had ever taught it, except to those who were of the same sentiments with himself. This answered all the wishes of the inquisitors, who were determined that he should expiate his offence by death, at the same time that they kept him in suspense as to his fate, with the view of procuring from him additional information. On the evening before the auto-de-fe, Antonio de Carrera, a monk of St. Jerome, being sent to acquaint him with his sentence, Cazalla begged earnestly to know, if he might entertain hopes of escaping capital punishment; to which Carrera replied, that the inquisitors could not rely on his declarations, but that, if he would confess all that the witnesses had deponed against him, mercy might perhaps be extended to him. This cautious reply convinced Cazalla that his doom was fixed. "Well, then," said he, "I must prepare to die in the grace of God; for it is impossible for me to add to what I have said, without falsehood." He confessed himself to Carrera that night, and next morning. On the scaffold, seeing his sister Constanza passing among those who were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, he pointed to her, and said to the princess Joana, "I beseech your highness, have compassion on this unfortunate woman, who has thirteen orphan children!" At the place of execution, he addressed a few words to his fellow-prisoners in the character of a penitent, in virtue of which he obtained the poor favour of being strangled before his body was committed to the fire. His confessor was so pleased with his behaviour as to say, he had no doubt Cazalla was in heaven. His sister Dona Beatriz de Vibero, Doctor Alonso Perez, a priest of Palencia, Don Christobal de Ocampo, chevalier of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and almoner to the grand prior of Castile, Don Christobal de Padilla, and seven others, shared the same fate as Cazalla. Among these were the husband of the woman who had informed against the protestant conventicle in Valladolid, and four females, one of whom, Dona Catalina de Ortega, was daughter-in-law to the fiscal of the royal council of Castile. They were all protestants, except Gonzales Baez, a Portuguese, who was condemned as a relapsed Jew.

The two individuals who on this occasion had the honour to endure the flames were Francisco de Vibero Cazalla, parish priest of Hormigos, and Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate of Toro. Some writers say that the former begged, when under the torture, to be admitted to reconciliation; but it is certain that he gave no sign of weakness or a wish to recant on the day of the auto-de-fe. Seeing his brother Augustin Cazalla, not at the stake, but on the adjoining scaffold among the penitents, and being prevented from speaking by the gag, he signified his sorrow by an expressive motion of his hands; after which he bore the fire without shrinking. Herezuelo conducted himself with surpassing intrepidity. From the moment of his apprehension to that of his death, he never exhibited the least symptom of a wish to save his life, or to mitigate his sufferings, by compromising his principles. His courage remained unshaken amidst the horrors of the torture, the ignominy of the public spectacle, and the terrors of the stake. The only thing that moved him, on the day of the auto-de-fe, was the sight of his wife in the garb of a penitent; and the look which he gave (for he could not speak), as he passed her to go to the place of execution, seemed to say, "*This* is hard to bear!" He listened without emotion to the friars who teazed him with their importunate exhortations to repent, as they conducted him to the stake; but when, at their instigation, his former associate and instructor, Doctor Cazalla, began to address him in the same strain, he threw upon him a glance of disdain, which froze the words on his recreant lips. "The bachelor Herezuelo (says the popish author of the Pontifical History) suffered himself to be burnt alive with unparalleled hardihood. I stood so near him that I had a complete view of his person, and observed all his motions and gestures. He could not speak, for his mouth was gagged on account of the blasphemies which he had uttered; but his whole behaviour showed him to be a most resolute and hardened person, who, rather than yield to believe with his companions, was determined to die in the flames. Though I marked him narrowly, I could not observe the least symptom of fear, or expression of pain; only, there was a sadness in his countenance beyond any thing I had ever seen. It was frightful to look in his face, when one considered that in a moment he would be in hell with his associate and master, Luther." Enraged to see such courage in a heretic, one of the guards plunged his lance into the body of Herezuelo, whose blood was licked up by the flames with which he was already enveloped.

Herezuelo and his wife, Leanor de Cisneros, were divided in their death, but it was in the time of it only, not the kind or manner; and their memory must not be divided in our pages. Leanor was only twenty-two years of age when she was thrown into the Inquisition; and when we consider that, during her imprisonment, she was precluded from all intercourse with her husband, kept in ignorance of his resolutions, and perhaps deceived into the belief that she would find him among the class of penitents in the auto, we need not wonder that one of her tender sex and age should have fainted in the day of trial, suffered herself to be overcome by the persuasions of the monks, or, yielding to the feelings of nature, consented to renounce with the hand that truth which she continued to believe with the heart. Such assaults have shaken, and threatened to throw to the ground, pillars in the church. But Leanor was not long in recovering from the shock. The parting look of her husband never departed from her eyes; the reflection that she had inflicted a pang on his heart, during the arduous conflict which he had to maintain, fanned the flame of attachment to the reformed religion which secretly burned in her breast; and having resolved, in dependence on that strength which is made perfect in weakness, to emulate the example of constancy set by one in every respect so dear to her, she resolutely broke off the course of penance on which she had entered. The consequence of this was, that she was again thrown into the secret prisons. During eight years that she was kept in confinement, every effort was made in vain to induce her to renew her recantation. At last she was brought out in a public auto-de-fe celebrated at Valladolid; and we have the account of her behaviour from the same pen which so graphically described that of her husband. "In the year 1568, on the 26th of September, justice was executed on Leanor de Cisneros, widow of the bachelor Herezuelo. She suffered herself to be burnt alive, notwithstanding the great and repeated exertions made to bring her to a conviction of her errors. Finally, she resisted, what was sufficient to melt a stone, an admirable sermon preached, at the auto of that day, by his excellency Don Juan Manuel, bishop of Zamora, a man no less learned and eloquent in the pulpit than illustrious in blood. But nothing could move the impenetrable heart of that obstinate woman."

One part of the solemnities in the first auto at Valladolid, though not so shocking to the feelings as some others which have been related, was nevertheless a flagrant violation both of justice and humanity. Dona Leanor de Vibero, the mother of Doctor Cazalla and of four other children who appeared as criminals in this auto-de-fe, had died some years before, and was buried in a sepulchral chapel of which she was the proprietress. No suspicion of heresy attached to her at the time of her death; but, on the imprisonment of her children, the fiscal of the inquisition at Valladolid commenced a process against her; and certain witnesses under the torture having deponed that her house was used as a temple for the Lutherans, sentence was passed, declaring her to have died in a state of heresy, her memory to be infamous, and her property confiscated; and ordering her bones to be dug up, and, together with her effigy, publicly committed to the flames; her house to be razed, the ground on which it stood to be sown with salt, and a pillar, with an inscription stating the cause of its demolition, to be erected on the spot. All this was done, and the last-mentioned monument of fanaticism and ferocity against the dead was to be seen until the year 1809, when it was removed during the occupation of Spain by the French.

There were still a great number of protestant prisoners in Valladolid; but though the processes of most of them were terminated, they were kept in confinement, to afford a gratifying spectacle to the monarch on his arrival from the Low Countries. The second auto-de fe in this city was celebrated on the 8th of October 1559. Philip II. appeared at it, attended by his son, his sister, the prince of Parma, three ambassabors from France, with a numerous assemblage of prelates, and nobility of both sexes. The inquisitor general Valdes administered the oath to the king; on which occasion Philip, rising from his seat, and drawing his sword in token of his readiness to use it in support of the Holy Office, swore and subscribed the oath, which was afterwards read aloud to the people by one of the officers of the Inquisition.

Twenty-nine prisoners appeared on the scaffold, of whom sixteen wore the garb of penitents, while the flames painted on the sanbenitos and corozas of the remainder marked them out for the stake. Among the former were Dona Isabella de Castilla, wife of Don Carlos de Seso, her niece Dona Catalina, and three nuns of St. Belen. The first two were condemned to lose all their property, to wear the sanbenito, and be imprisoned during life. To the Lutherans subjected to penances were added two men, one of whom was convicted of having sworn falsely that a child had been circumcised, with the view of bringing the father to the stake; the other of having personated an alguazil of the Holy Office. The former was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes, to lose the half of his property, and to work in the galleys for five years; the latter to receive four hundred lashes, to lose the whole of his property, and to work in the galleys for life; a striking specimen of the comparative estimate which the Inquisition forms of meditated murder, and an insult on its own prerogatives.

At the head of those devoted to death was Don Carlos de Seso, with whose name the reader is already acquainted. Arrested at Logrono, he was thrown into the secret prisons of the inquisition of Valladolid; and, on the 28th of June 1558, answered the interrogatories of the fiscal. His conduct during the whole of his imprisonment, and in the formidable scene by which it terminated, was worthy of his noble character, and the active part he had taken in the cause of religious reform. In the examinations which he underwent, he never varied, nor sought to excuse himself by affixing blame to those whom he knew his judges were anxious to condemn. When informed of his sentence on the night before his execution, he called for pen, ink, and paper, and having written a confession of his faith, gave it to the officer, saying, "This is the true faith of the gospel, as opposed to that of the church of Rome which has been corrupted for ages; in this faith I wish to die, and in the remembrance and lively belief of the passion of Jesus Christ, to offer to God my body now reduced so low." "It would be difficult (says one who read this document in the archives of the Inquisition) to convey an idea of the uncommon vigour of sentiment with which he filled two sheets of paper, though he was then in the presence of death." The whole of that night and next morning was spent by the friars in ineffectual attempts to induce him to recant. He appeared in the procession with a gag in his mouth, which remained while he was in the auto-de-fe, and on the way to the place of execution. It was removed after he was bound to the stake, and the friars began again to exhort him to confess. He replied, in a loud voice, and with great firmness, "I could demonstrate to you that you ruin yourselves by not imitating my example; but there is no time. Executioners, light the pile which is to consume me." They obeyed, and De Seso expired in the flames without a struggle or a groan. He died in the forty-third year of his age.

Pedro de Cazalla, parish priest of Pedrosa, when arrested on the 25th of April 1558, confessed that he had embraced the protestant doctrines. Having afterwards supplicated reconciliation, he could obtain only two votes in the court of Inquisition for a punishment milder than death, and the decision of the majority was confirmed by the council of the Supreme. He refused to make confession to the priest sent to intimate his sentence, and appeared in the auto with the gag; but after he was bound to the stake, having asked, or the attendant monks having represented him as asking a confessor, he was strangled and then cast into the fire. He was only in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Domingo de Roxas, son of the marquis de Poza, two of whose children appeared in the former auto, was seized, in the garb of a laic, at Calahorra, where he had stopped, in his flight to the Low Countries, in order to have an interview with his friend De Seso. Subsequently to the 13th of May 1558, when he made his first appearance before the Inquisition, he underwent frequent examinations. The inquisitors having ordered the torture to be administered with the view of extorting from him certain facts which they were anxious to possess, he promised to tell all he knew, provided they would spare him the horrors of the question, which he dreaded more than death. Deluded by the prospect of a merciful sentence which was held out to him, he was induced to make certain professions of sorrow, and to throw out insinuations unfavourable to the cause of archbishop Carranza; but as soon as he was undeceived, he craved an audience of the inquisitors, at which he did ample justice to that prelate, without asking any mitigation of his own punishment. On the night before his execution he refused the services of the priest appointed to wait on him. When the ceremonies of the auto were finished, and the secular judge had pronounced sentence on the prisoners delivered over him, De Roxas, in passing the royal box, made an appeal to the mercy of the king. "Canst thou, Sire, thus witness the torments of thy innocent subjects? Save us from so cruel a death." "No," replied Philip sternly; "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, where he such a wretch as thou." De Roxas was about to say something in defence of himself and his fellow-sufferers, when, the unrelenting despot waving his hand, the officers instantly thrust the gag into the martyr's mouth. It remained, contrary to the usual custom, after he was bound to the stake; so much were his judges irritated at his boldness, or afraid of the liberties he would use. Yet we are told, that when the fire was about to be applied to the pile, his courage failed, he begged a confessor, and having received absolution, was strangled. Such appears to be the account of his last moments inserted in the records of the Inquisition; but private letters, written from Spain at the time, give a different representation: "They carried him from the scaffold accompanied with a number of monks, about a hundred, flocking about him, railing and making exclamations against him, and some of them urging him to recant; but he, notwithstanding, answered them with a bold spirit, that he would never renounce the doctrine of Christ."

Juan Sanchez, at the commencement of the persecution of the protestants in Valladolid, had made his escape to the Low Countries, under the assumed name of Juan de Vibar. Thinking himself safe, he wrote letters, dated from Castrourdiales in the month of May 1558, and addressed to Dona Catalina Hortega, in whose family he had formerly resided. That lady having been seized as a suspected Lutheran, the letters fell into the hands of the inquisitors, who sent information to Philip, then at Brussels. Sanchez was apprehended at Turlingen, conveyed to Valladolid, and delivered over to the secular magistrate as a dogmatising and impenitent heretic. The gag was taken from his mouth at the place of execution, but as he did not ask for a confessor, the pile was kindled. When the fire had consumed the ropes by which he was bound, he darted from the stake, and unconsciously leaped on the scaffold used for receiving the confessinos of those who recanted in their last moments. The friars instantly collected to the spot, and urged him to retract his errors. Recovering from his momentary delirium, and looking around him, he saw on one side some of his fellow-prisoners on their knees doing penance, and on the other Don Carlos de Seso standing unmoved in the midst of the flames, upon which he walked deliberately back to the stake, and calling for more fuel, said, "I will die like De Seso." Incensed at what they considered as a proof of audacious impiety, the archers and executioners strove who should first comply with his request. He died in the thirty-third year of his age.

The case of Dona Marina Guevara, a nun of St. Belen, presents some singular features which are worthy of observation. When first denounced to the Inquisition, she owned that she had given entertainment to certan Lutheran opinions, but with hesitation, and in ignorance of their import and tendency. Her petition to be reconciled to the church was refused, because she would not acknowledge some things which the witnesses had deponed against her, and because she presisted in her assertion, that she had not yielded a cordial and complete assent to the heresies with which her mind had been tainted. When the depositions were communicated to her by order of the inquisitors, she replied, that it seemed as if they wished to instil into her mind errors of which she was ignorant, rather than induce her to abandon those to which she had incautiously given ear; and that the oath she had taken would not permit her to add to her confession, or to acknowledge crimes of which she was not conscious, and facts which she did not recollect. The whole of the proceedings, while they display the honourable feelings of Marina, and the firmness of her character, depict, in strong colours, the sternness with which the Holy Office adhered to its tyrannical principles. She was connected with persons of high rank, including Valdes the grand inquisitor, who used every means for her deliverance. But the ordinary judges lent a deaf ear to the applications made by their superior in her behalf, which they resisted as an interference with their jurisdiction, and a proof of partiality and weakness, unworthy of one whose office required him to be insensible to the calls of nature and friendship. Valdes was obliged to procure an order from the council of the Supreme, authorizing Don Tellez Giron de Montalban, the cousin of the prisoner, to have a final interview with her, in the presence of the leading members of the tribunal, with a view of inducing her to yield to their demands. But the attempt was unsuccessful. Dona Marina resisted all the entreaties of her noble relative, and refused to purchase her life by telling a falsehood. The inquisitors, inflexible to their former purpose, proceeded to pronounce sentence against her; and on the day of the auto she was delivered to the secular arm, and being strangled at the place of execution, her body was given to the flames. This act proclaimed, more decidedly than even the reply made by Philip to the son of the marquis de Poza, that there was no safety in Spain for any one who harboured a thought at variance with the Roman faith, or who was not prepared to yield the most implicit and absolute obedience to the dictates of the Inquisition.

The autos-de-fe celebrated at Seville were still more memorable than those at Valladolid, if not for the rank of the spectators, at least for the number of prisoners exhibited on the scaffold. The first of these was solemnized on the 24th of September 1559, in the square of St. Francis. It was attended by four bishops, the members of the royal court of justice, the chapter of the cathedral, and a great assemblage of nobility and gentry. Twenty-one persons were delivered over to the secular arm, and eighty were condemned to lesser punishments.

The most distinguished individual, in point of rank, who suffered death on the present occasion, was Don Juan Ponce de Leon, son of the count de Baylen, and a near relation of the duchess de Bejar, who was present at the spectacle. None had given more decided proofs of attachment to the reformed cause, and none had more diligently prepared himself for suffering martyrdom for it than this nobleman. For years he had avoided giving countenance to the superstitions of his country, and had made it a practice to visit the spot where the confessors of the truth suffered, with the view of habituating his mind to its horrors, and abating the terror which it was calculated to inspire. But the stoutest heart will sometimes faint in the hour of trial. The rank of Don Juan inspired the inquisitors with a strong desire to triumph over his constancy. After extorting from him, by means of the rack, a confession of some of the articles laid to his charge, they employed their secret emissaries to pursuade him that he would consult his own safety, and that of his brethren, by confessing the whole. He had scarcely given his consent to this when he repented. On the night before his execution he complained bitterly of the deceit which had been practised towards him, and having made an undisguised profession of his faith, rejected the services of the priest appointed to wait upon him. De Montes asserts that he preserved his constancy to the last, and, in support of this statement, appeals to the official account of the auto, and to his sanbenito which was hung up in one of the churches, with the inscription "Juan Ponce de Leon, burnt as an *obstinate* Lutheran heretic." But Llorente says, that this epithet was applied to all who were sentenced to capital punishment, and that Don Juan, after he was bound to the stake and saw the fire about to be kindled, confessed himself to one of the attendant priests, and was strangled. His doom entailed infamy, and the forfeiture of every civil right, on his posterity; but the issue of his elder brother failing, Don Pedro, his son, after great opposition, obtained a decision from the royal chancery of Granada in favour of his claims, and was restored by letters from Philip III., to the earldom of Baylen.

No such doubt hangs over the constancy of the persons to be named. Doctor Juan Gonzalez was descended of Moorish ancestors, and at twelve years of age had been imprisoned on suspicion of Mahometanism. He afterwards became one of the most celebrated preachers in Andalusia, and a protestant. In the midst of the torture, which he bore with unshrinking fortitude, he told the inquisitors, that his sentiments, though opposite to those of the church of Rome, rested on plain and express declarations of the word of God, and that nothing would induce him to inform against his brethren. When brought out on the morning of the auto, he appeared with a cheerful and undaunted air, though he had left his mother and two brothers behind him in prison, and was accompanied by two sisters, who, like himself, were doomed to the flames. At the door of the Triana he began to sing the hundred and ninth psalm; and on the scaffold he addressed a few words of consolation to one of his sisters, who seemed to him to wear a look of dejection; upon which the gag was instantly thrust into his mouth. With unaltered mein he listened to the sentence adjudging him to the flames, and submitted to the humiliating ceremonies by which he was degraded from the priesthood. When they were brought to the place of execution, the friars urged the females, in repeating the creed, to insert the word *Roman* in the clause relating to the catholic church. Wishing to procure liberty to him to bear his dying testimony, they said they would do as their brother did. The gag being removed, Juan Gonzalez exhorted them to add nothing to the good confession which they had already made. Instantly the executioners were ordered to strangle them, and one of the friars, turning to the crowd, exclaimed that they had died in the Roman faith; a falsehood which the inquisitors did not choose to repeat in their narrative of the proceedings.

The same constancy was evinced by four monks of the convent of San Isidro. Among these was the celebrated Garcia de Arias, whose character had undergone a complete revolution. From the moment of his imprisonment he renounced that system of cautiousness and tergiversation on which he had formerly acted. He made an explicit profession of his faith, agreeing, in every point, with the sentiments of the reformers; expressed his sorrow that he had concealed it so long; and offered to prove that the opposite opinions were grossly erroneous and superstitious. On his trial he mocked the inquisitors, as persons who presumed to give judgment on matters of which they were utterly ignorant, and reminded them of instances in which they, as well as the *qualificators* whom they called to their assistance, were forced to confess their incapacity to interpret the scriptures. The priests, as a necessary point of form, visited his cell, but none of them durst enter the lists in argument with him. Being advanced in years, he ascended the scaffold, on the day of the auto, leaning on his staff, but went to the stake with a countenance expressive of joy and readiness to meet the flames.

Christobal d'Arellano, a member of the same convent, was distinguished by his learning, the inquisitors themselves being judges. Among the articles in his process, read in the auto, he was charged with having said, "that the mother of God was no more a virgin than he was." At hearing this, d'Arellano, rising from his seat, exclaimed, "It is a falsehood; I never advanced such a blasphemy; I have always maintained to the contrary, and at this moment am ready to prove, with the gospel in my hand, the virginity of Mary." The inquisitors were so confounded at this public contradiction, and the tone in which it was uttered, that they did not even order him to be gagged. On arriving at the stake, he was thrown into some degree of perturbation at seeing one of the monks of his convent who had come there to insult over his fate; but he soon recovered his former serenity of mind, and expired amidst the flames, encouraging Juan Chrisostomo, who had been his pupil and was now his fellow-sufferer.

The fate of Juan de Leon was peculiarly hard. He had resided for some time as an artisan at Mexico, and on his retrun to Spain was led, under the influence of a superstitious feeling general among his countrymen, to take the vow in the convent of San Isidro, near Seville. This happened about the time that the knowledge of the truth began to be introduced into that monastery. Having imbibed the protestant doctrine, Juan lost his relish for the monastic life, and quitted the convent on the pretext of bad health; but the regret which he felt at losing the religious instructions of the good fathers determined him to rejoin their society. On his return to San Isidro he found it deserted by its principle inhabitants, whom he followed to Geneva. During his residence in this city, intelligence came that Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne of England; and Juan de Leon, with some of his countrymen, resolved to accompany the English exiles who were preparing to return home. The Spanish court, in concert with the Inquisition, had planted spies on the road from Milan to Geneva, and at Frankfort, Cologne, and Antwerp, to waylay such Italians or Spaniards as left their native country for the sake of religion. Aware of this fact, Juan de Leon and another Spaniard took a different road, but at Strasburg they were betrayed to a spy, who pursued their route to a port in Zealand, and having procured a warrant, seized them as they were stepping on board a vessel for England. As soon as the officers presented themselves, Juan, aware of their intentions, turned to his companion, and said, "Let us go; God will be with us." After being severely tortured to make them discover their fellow-exiles, they were sent to Spain. During the voyage and the journey by land, they were not only heavily chained like felons, but each of them had his head and face covered with a species of helmet, made of iron, having a piece of the same metal, shapen like a tongue, which was inserted into his mouth, to prevent him from speaking. While his companion was sent to Valladolid, Juan was delivered to the inquisitors at Seville. The sufferings which he endured from torture and imprisonment, had brought on a consumption; and his appearance, on the day of the auto, was such as would have melted the heart of any humam being but an inquisitor. He was attended at the stake by a monk who had passed his noviciate along with him, and who disturbed his last moments, by reminding him of those things of which he was now ashamed. His mouth being relieved from the gag, he, with much composure and graveness, made a declaration of his faith in few but emphatic words, and then welcomed the flames which were to put an end to his sufferings, and to convey him to the spirits of just men made perfect.

Fernando de San Juan, master of the college of Doctrine, and Doctor Christobal Losada, pastor to the protestant church in Seville, suffered with the same fortitude and constancy. The latter, after he had reached the place of burning, was engaged in a theological dispute by the importunity of the friars, who flattered themselves with being able to convince him of his errors; but perceiving that the people listened eagerly to what was said, they began to speak in Latin, and were followed by Losada, who continued for a considerable time to carry on the conversation with propriety and elegance in a foreign tongue, at the foot of that stake which was about to consume him to ashes.

This auto-de-fe furnished examples of Christian heroism, equally noble, in those of the tender sex, several of whom "were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection." Among these were Dona Isabel de Baena, Maria de Virves, Maria de Cornel, and Maria de Bohorques. The first was a rich matron of Seville, who had permitted the protestants to meet for worship in her house, which on that account was laid under the same sentence of execration as that of Leanor de Vibero at Valladolid. The rest were young ladies, and connected with the most distinguished families in Spain. The story of Maria de Bohorques became celebrated, both from its interesting circumstances, and from its having been made the foundation of an historical novel by a Spanish writer. She was a natural daughter of Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques, a Spanish grandee of the first class, and had not completed her twenty-first year when she fell into the hands of the Inquisition. Great care had been bestowed on her education, and being able to read the Bible, and expositions of it, in the Latin tongue, she acquired a knowledge of the scriptures which was possessed by few men, or even clergymen, in her native country. Egidio, whose pupil she was, used to say he always felt himself wiser from an interview with Maria de Bohorques. When brought before the inquisitors she avowed her faith; defended it as the ancient truth, which Luther and his associates had recovered from the rubbish by which it had been hid for ages; and told her judges, that it was their duty to embrace it, instead of punishing her and others for maintaining it. She was severely tortured, in consequence of her refusal to answer certain questions calculated to implicate her friends. From deference to the intercession of her relations, or from the desire of making a convert of one so accomplished, the inquisitors, contrary to their usual custom, sent first two Jesuits, and afterwards two Dominicans, to her cell, to persuade her to relinquish her heretical opinions. They returned full of chagrin at their ill success, but of admiration at the dexterity with which she repelled their arguments. On the night before the auto at which she was to suffer, they repeated their visit, in company with two other priests. She received them with great politeness, but at the same time told them very plainly, that they might have saved themselves the trouble which they had taken, for she felt more concern about her salvation than they could possibly feel; she would have renounced her sentiments if she had entertained any doubt of their truth, but was more confirmed in them than she was when first thrown into prison, inasmuch as the popish divines, after many attempts, had opposed nothing to them but what she had anticipated, and to which she was able to return an easy and satisfactory answer. On the morning of the auto-de-fe she made her appearance with a cheerful countenance. During the time that the line of the procession was forming, she comforted her female companions, and engaged them to join with her in singing a psalm suitable to the occasion, upon which the gag was put into her mouth. It was taken out after her sentence was read, and she was asked, if she would now confess those errors to which she had hitherto adhered with such obstinacy. She replied with a distinct and audible voice, "I neither can nor will recant." When the prisoners arrived at the place of execution, Don Juan Ponce, who began to waver at the sight of the preparations for the fiery trial, admonished her not to be too confident in the new doctrines, but to weigh the arguments of those who attended to give them advice. Dona Maria upbraided him for his irresolution and cowardice; adding that it was not a time for reasoning, but that all of them ought to employ their few remaining moments in meditating on the death of that Redeemer for whom they were about to suffer. Her constancy was yet put to a further trial. After she was bound to the stake, the attending priests, having prevailed on the presiding magistrate to delay the lighting of the pile, and professing to feel for her youth and talents, requested her merely to repeat the creed. This she did not refuse, but immediately began to explain some of its articles in the Lutheran sense. She was not permitted to finish her commentary; and the executioner having received orders to strangle her, she was consumed in the fire.

The effigy of the licentiate Zafra, whose providential escape has been mentioned, was burnt at this auto-de-fe. Among the penitents who appeared on the present occasion, one deserves to be mentioned as a specimen of the lenity with which the inquisitors punished a crime which, in Spain, ought to have been visited with the most exemplary vengeance. The servant of a gentleman in Puerto de Santa Maria having fastened a rope to a crucifix, concealed it, along with a whip, in the bottom of a chest, and going to the Triana, informed the holy fathers that his master was in the habit of scourging the image every day. The crucifix was found in the place and situation described by the informer, and the gentleman was thrown into the secret prisons. Happily for him, he recollected a quarrel which he had had with his servant, and succeeded in proving that the accusation had its origin in personal revenge. According to the regulations of the Holy Office the servant ought to have suffered death; but he was merely sentenced to receive four hundred strokes with the whip, and to be confined six years in the galleys. The execution appears to have been confined to the first part of the sentence, which, upon a principle of retaliation worthy of the ingenuity of the Inquisition, was considered as expiatory of the supposed indignity done to the crucifix.

The second grand auto-de-fe in Seville took place on the 22d of December 1560, after it had been delayed in the hopes of the arrival of the monarch. It was on this occasion that the effigies of the deceased doctors Egidius and Constantine, together with that of Juan Perez, who had fled, were produced and burnt. Fourteen persons were delivered to the secular arm, and thirty-four were sentenced to inferior punishments.

Julian Hernandez was in the first class, and the closing scene of his life did not disgrace his former daring and fortitude. When brought out to the court of the Triana on the morning of the auto, he said to his fellow-prisoners, "Courage, comrades! This is the hour in which we must show ourselves valiant soldiers of Jesus Christ. Let us now bear faithful testimony to his truth before men, and within a few hours we shall receive the testimony of his approbation before angels, and triumph with him in heaven." He was silenced by the gag, but continued to encourage his companions by his gestures, during the whole of the spectacle. On arriving at the stake he knelt down and kissed the stone on which it was erected; then rising he thrust his naked head once and again among the faggots, in token of his welcoming that death which was so dreadful to others. Being bound to the stake, he composed himself to prayer, when Doctor Fernando Rodriguez, one of the attending priests, interpreting his attitude as a mark of abated courage, prevailed with the judge to remove the gag from his mouth. Having delivered a succinct confession of his belief, Julian began to accuse Rodriguez, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, of hypocrisy in concealing his real sentiments through fear of man. The galled priest exclaimed, "Shall Spain, the conqueror and mistress of nations, have her peace disturbed by a dwarf? Executioner, do your office." The pile was instantly kindled; and the guards, envying the unshaken firmness of the martyr, terminated his sufferings by plunging their lances into his body.

No fewer than eight females, of irreproachable character, and some of them distinguished by their rank and education, suffered the most cruel of deaths at this auto-de-fe. Among these was Maria Gomez, who, having recovered from the mental disorder by which she was overtaken, had been received back into the protestant fellowship, and fell into the hands of the Inquisition. She appeared on the scaffold along with her three daughters and a sister. After the reading of the sentence which doomed them to the flames, one of the young women went up to her aunt, from whom she had imbibed the protestant doctrine, and, on her knees, thanked her for all the religious instructions she had received from her, implored her forgiveness for any offence she might have given her, and begged her dying blessing. Raising her up, and assuring her that she had never given her a moment's uneasiness, the old woman proceeded to encourage her dutiful niece, by reminding her of that support which their divine Redeemer had promised them in the hour of trial, and of those joys which awaited them at the termination of their momentary sufferings. The five friends then took leave of one another with tender embraces and words of mutual comfort. The interview between these devoted females was beheld by the members of the Holy Tribunal with a rigid composure of countenance, undisturbed even by a glance of displeasure; and so completely had superstition and habit subdued the strongest emotions of the human breast, that not a single expression of sympathy escaped from the multitude at witnessing a scene which, in other circumstances, would have harrowed up the feelings of the spectators, and driven them into mutiny.

Three foreigners, two of whom were Englishmen, perished in this auto. Nicolas Burton, a merchant of London, having visited Spain with a vessel laden with goods, fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and refusing to abjure the protestant faith, was burnt alive. The remarks of Llorente on this transaction are extremely just. "Let it be granted, if you will have it so, that Burton was guilty of an imprudence, by posting up his religious sentiments at San Lucar de Barrameda, and at Seville, in contempt of the faith of the Spaniards; it is no less true that both charity and justice required, that in the case of a stranger who had not his fixed abode in Spain, they should have contented themselves with warning him to abstain from all marks of disrespect to the religion and laws of the country, and threatening him with punishment if he repeated the offence. The Holy Office had nothing to do with his private sentiments; having been established, not for strangers, but solely for the people of Spain." That the charge against Burton was a mere pretext, if not a fabrication, is evident from the fact, that William Burke, a mariner of Southampton, and a Frenchman of Bayonne, named Fabianne, who had come to Spain in the course of trade, were burnt at the same stake with him, although not accused of any insult on the religion of the country.

Part of the goods in Burton's ship, which was confiscated by the inquisitors, belonged to a merchant in London, who sent John Frampton of Bristol to Seville, with a power of attorney, to reclaim his property. The holy Office had recourse to every obstacle in opposing his claim, and after fruitless labour during four months he found it necessary to repair to England to obtain ampler powers. Upon his landing the second time in Spain, he was seized by two familiars, and conveyed in chains to Seville, where he was thrown into the secret prisons of the Triana. The only pretext for his apprehension was, that a book of Cato in English was found in his portmanteau. Being unable to substantiate a charge on this ground, the inquisitors interrogated him on his religious opinions, and insisted that he should clear himself of the suspicion of heresy by repeating the *Ave Maria*. In doing this, he omitted the words, "Mother of God, pray for us;" upon which he was put to the torture. After enduring three shocks of the pully, and while he "lay flat on the ground, half-dead and half-alive," he agreed to confess whatever his tormentors chose to dictate. In consequence of this, he was found violently suspected of Lutheranism, and the property which he had come to recover was confiscated. He appeared among the penitents at the auto at which Burton suffered, and after being kept in prison for more than two years was set at liberty.

Among those who appeared as penitents were several ladies of family and monks of different orders. Others were severely punished on the most trivial grounds. Diego de Virves, a member of the municipality of Seville, was fined in a hundred ducats for having said, on occasion of the preparations for Maunday-Thursday, "Would it not be more acceptable to God to expend the money lavished on this ceremony in relieving poor families?" Bartolomé Fuentes having received an injury from a certain priest, exclaimed, "I cannot believe that God will descend from heaven into the hands of such a worthless person;" for which offence he appeared on the scaffold with a gag in his mouth. Two young students were punished for "Lutheran acts," in having copied into their album some anonymous verses, which contained either a eulogium or a satire on Luther, according to the manner in which they were read.

Gasper be Benavides, alcayde, or head jailer, of the inquisition at Seville, was convicted of a course of malversation in his office. There was no species of oppression which this miscreant had not committed in his treatment of the prisoners, before a riot excited by his insufferable cruelties led to a discovery of his guilt. He was merely declared "to have failed in zeal and attention to his charge," and condemned to lose his situation, to appear in the auto with a torch in his hand, and be banished from Seville. Compare this sentence with the punishments inflicted on those who were the means of bringing his knavery to light. For conspiring against him, and inflicting a wound on one of his assistants which proved mortal, Melchior del Salto was burnt alive. A mulatto of fourteen years of age, named Luis, suspected of being an accomplice in the riot, received two hundred lashes, and was condemned to hard labour in the galleys for life; while Maria Gonzalez and Pedro Herrera, servants to the alcayde, were sentenced to the same number of lashes, and confinement in the galleys for ten years, merely because they had treated the prisoners with kindness, and permitted such of them as were relations to see one another occasionally for a few minutes.*

The treatment of one individual, who was pronounced innocent in this auto-de-fe, affords more damning evidence against the inquisitors than that of any whom they devoted quick to the flames. Dona Juana de Bohorques was a daughter of Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques, and the wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, baron of Higuera. She had been apprehended in consequence of a confession extorted by the rack from her sister Maria de Bohorques, who owned that she had conversed with her on the Lutheran tenets, without exciting any marks of disapprobation. Being six months gone in pregnancy, Dona Juana was permitted to occupy one of the public prisons until the time of her delivery; but eight days after that event the child was taken from her, and she was thrust into a secret cell. A young female, who was afterwards brought to the stake as a Lutheran, was confined along with her, and did every thing in her power to promote her recovery. Dona Juana had soon an opportunity of repaying the kind attentions of her fellow-prisoner, who, having been called before the inquisitors, was brought back into her dungeon faint and mangled. Scarcely had the latter acquired sufficient strength to rise from her bed of flags, when Dona Juana was conducted in her turn to the place of torture. Refusing to confess, she was put into the engine *del burro*, which was applied with such violence, that the cords penetrated to the bone of her arms and legs; and some of the internal vessels being burst, the blood flowed in streams from her mouth and nostrils. She was conveyed to her cell in a state of insensibility, and expired in the course of a few days. The inquisitors would fain have concealed the cause of her death, but it was impossible; and they thought to expiate the crime of this execrable murder, in the eyes of men at least, by pronouncing Juana de Bohorques innocent on the day of the auto-de-fe, vindicating her reputation, and restoring her property to her heirs. "Under what an overwhelming responsibility (exclaims one of their countrymen) must these cannibals appear one day before the tribunal of the Deity!" But may we not hesitate in deciding the question, Whose was the greatest responsibility? that of the cannibals or of those who permitted them thus to gorge themselves with human blood? Surely the spirit of chivalry had fled from the breasts of the Spanish nobility, else they never would have suffered their wives and daughters to be abused in this manner by an ignoble junto of priests and friars, supported by a monarch equally base unprincipled.

Having discharged the painful task of describing the four great autos in Valladolid and Seville, it may be proper, before proceeding with the narrative of the extermination of the protestants, to advert to the severe measures adopted against certain dignified ecclesiastics who fell under the suspicion of favouring heresy.

We have had occasion repeatedly to mention the name, and allude to the trial of Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda, archbishop of Toledo. After sitting in the council of Trent, and accompanying Philip II. to England, where he took an active part in the examination of the protestants who were led to the stake, this learned man was rewarded in 1558 with the primacy; but he had not been many months in his diocese when he was denounced to the Inquisition and thrown into prison at Valladolid. Some historians have ascribed his prosecution entirely to the envy and personal hatred of his brethren, particularly Melchior Cano, bishop of the Canaries, and the inquisitor general Valdes. It is unquestionable that the proceedings were exasperated by such base motives; but there were grounds of jealousy, distinct from these, which operated against the primate. Several of the leading persons among the Spanish protestants had received their education under Carranza, who continued to maintain a friendly correspondence with them, and, though he signified his disapprobation of their sentiments in private, did not give information against them to the Holy Office. His theological ideas were more enlarged than those of his brethren, and he appears to have agreed with the reformers on justification and several collateral points of doctrine. In these respects his mode of thinking resembled that of Marco Antonio Flaminio, cardinals Pole and Morone, and other learned Italians. Indeed his intimacy with these distinguished individuals formed part of the evidence adduced against him. His Catechism, which was made the primary article of charge against him, besides its presumed leaning on some points to Lutheranism, was offensive to the Inquisition, because it was published in the vulgar tongue, and inculcated the doctrines of the Bible more than the traditions of the church. At the end of seven years the cause was transferred to Rome, whither the primate was conveyed; and after various intrigues and delays, pope Gregory XIII. pronounced a definitive sentence on the 14th of April 1576, finding Carranza violently suspected of heresy, confirming the prohibition of his Catechism, and ordaining him to abjure sixteen Lutheran propositions, and to be suspended for five years from the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. The sentence had scarcely passed when the primate sickened and died, having been eighteen years under process and in a state of confinement.

The prosecution of the primate gave rise to others. Eight bishops, the most of whom had assisted at the council of Trent, and twenty-five doctors of theology, including the men of greatest learning in Spain, were denounced to the Holy Office; and few of them escaped without making some humiliating acknowledgment or retractation. Mancio de Corpus Christi, professor of theology at Alcala, had given a favourable opinion of the Catechism of Carranza, to which he had procured the subscriptions of the divines of his university; but hearing that a prosecution was commenced against him, he saved himself from being thrown into the secret prisons by transmitting to the inquisitors another opinion, in which he condemned three hundred and thirty-one propositions in the works of that prelate, whom he had a little before pronounced most orthodox. Luis de la Cruz, a favourite disciple of Carranza, was thrown into the secret prisons, in consequence of certain papers of his master being found in his possession, and the intercourse which he had held with Doctor Cazalla and other reformers. Confinement and anxiety produced a tendency of blood to his head, accompanied with fits of delirium, which rendered it necessary, for the preservation of his life, to remove him to the episcopal prison. Notwithstanding this and the failure of the proof brought against him, La Cruz was kept in confinement for five years, in the hopes that he would purchase his liberty by blasting the reputation and betraying the life of his patron. Before Carranza was formally accused, the inquisitors had extracted a number of propositions from his catechism, and without naming the author, submitted them to the judgment of Juan de Pegna, professor at Salamanca, who pronounced them all catholic, or at least susceptible of a good sense. After the primate was laid under arrest, De Pegna became alarmed, and sent an apology to the Holy Office, in which he acknowledged himself guilty of concealing the favourable opinion which Carranza had entertained of Don Carlos de Seso. This did not pacify the holy fathers, who condemned him to undergo different penances for his faults, among which they reckoned the following: that he did not censure the proposition, "that we cannot say that a person falls from a state of grace by committing a mortal sin;" and that he had given it as his private opinion, "that even although the primate was a heretic, the Holy Office should wink at the fact, lest the Lutherans of Germany should canonize him as a martyr, as they had done others who had been punished."

In the mean time the prosecution against the Lutherans in Valladolid and Seville had not relaxed. Every means was used to excite the popular odium against them. The abominable calumnies propagated by the pagans of Rome against the primitive Christians were revived; and it was believed by the credulous vulgar, that the protestants, in their nightly assemblies, extinguished the candles, and abandoned themselves to the grossest vices. On the feast of St. Matthew, in the year 1561, a destructive fire broke out at Valladolid, which consumed upwards of four hundred houses, including some of the richest manufactories and stores in the city. This was ascribed to a conspiracy of the Lutherans; and every year afterwards, on the day of St. Matthew, the inhabitants observed a solemn procession, accompanied with prayers to our Lord, through the intervention of his holy apostle, to preserve them from this plague and calamity. In the course of the same year, the pope sent to Spain a bull, authorizing a jubilee, with plenary indulgences. Among other things, it gave authority to confessors to absolve those who had involved themselves in the Lutheran heresy, upon their professing sorrow for their errors. Though the object of the court of Rome was to amass money, this measure tended to mitigate the persecution which had raged for some years; but the inquisitors, determined that their prey should not escape them, prohibited the bull from being published within the kingdom.

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* Montanus, p. 108–114. Llorente, ii. 289, 291–293. Herrera, at the earnest request of a mother and her daughter, who were confined in separate cells, had humanely permitted them to converse together for half an hour. On their being summoned soon after to the torture-room, he became alarmed lest they should mention this indulgence, and going to the inquisitors confessed what he had done. He was instantly ordered into close confinement, which, together with the grief which he conceived, brought on mental derangement. Having recovered, he appeared in the auto with a rope about his neck. Being led out next day to be publicly whipped, he was seized with a fit of insanity, and throwing himself from the ass on which he was borne, wrested a sword from the attending alguazil, and would have killed him, had not the crowd interposed. For this offence, four years were added to his confinement in the galleys. "The holy fathers (says the historian who relates these facts) will not permit people even to be insane with impunity." (Montanus, p. 111.)

The four autos-de-fe which we have already described, although the most celebrated, were not the only spectacles at which the protestants suffered in Valladolid and Seville. It required many years to empty their prisons, from which adherents to the reformed faith continued, at short intervals, to be brought out to the scaffold and to the stake. On the 10th of July 1563, a public auto was celebrated in Seville, at which six persons were committed to the flames as Lutherans. Domingo de Guzman appeared among the penitents on this occasion. The hope of an archbishopric had been held out to induce him to recant; and his brother, the duke of Medina Sidonia, exerted himself to procure his release, upon undergoing such a slight penance as would not interfere with his future prospects. But the inquisitors were resolved to prevent the advancement of one who had embraced the reformed tenets; and after causing his books, which exceeded a thousand volumes, to be burnt before his eyes, they condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

An occurrence which took place at Seville in 1564, diverted for a little the attention of the public, and even of the inquisitors, from the adherents of the reformed doctrine. In consequence of complaints that the confessional was abused to lewd purposes, edicts were repeatedly procured from Rome to correct the evil. Several scandalous discoveries having been made by private investigation, and the public clamour increasing, the inquisition of Seville came to a resolution, of which they had reason to repent, that an edict of denunciation should be published in all the churches of the province, requiring, under a severe penalty, those who had been solicited by priests in the confessional to criminal intercourse, or who knew of this having been done, to give information to the Holy Office within thirty days. In consequence of this intimation, such numbers flocked to the Triana, that the inquisitors were forced once and again to prolong the period of denunciation, until it extended to a hundred and twenty days. Among the informers were women of illustrious birth and excellent character, who repaired to the inquisitors with their veils, and under disguise, for fear of being met and recognized by their husbands. The priests were thrown into the greatest alarm;[*] the peace of families was broken; and the whole city rang with scandal. At last, the council of the Supreme, perceiving the odium which it brought on the church, and its tendency to prejudice the people against auricular confession, interposed their authority, by quashing the investigation, and prohibiting the edict of denunciation from being repeated.[†]

Valladolid and Seville were not the only cities whose prisons were crowded with the friends to the reformed doctrine. From 1560 to 1570, one public auto-de-fe at least was celebrated annually in all the twelve cities in which provincial tribunals of the Inquisition were then established; and at each of these, adherents to the new faith made their appearance. On the 8th of September 1560, the inquisition of Murcia solemnized an auto, at which five persons were sentenced to different punishments for embracing Lutheranism; and three years after, eleven appeared as penitents in that city on the same charge. It was in the last-mentioned auto, that a son of the emperor of Morocco, who had submitted to baptism in his youth, was brought on the scaffold for relapsing to Mahometanism, and was condemned to confinement for three years, and to banishment from the kingdoms of Valencia, Aragon, Murcia, and Granada. On the 25th February 1560, the inquisition of Toledo prepared a grand auto-de-fe for the entertainment of their young queen, Elizabeth de Valois, the daughter of Henry II. of France. To render it the more solemn, a general assembly of the cortes of the kingdom was held there at the same time, to take the oath of fidelity to Don Carlos, the heir apparent to the throne. Several Lutherans appeared among those who were condemned to the flames and to other punishments. On this occasion the duke of Brunswick delivered up one of his retinue to the flames, to testify his hatred of the reformed cause, and to strike terror into the minds of the Germans, Flemings, and French, who were present and were greatly suspected of heresy. At the same place in the subsequent year, four priests, Spanish and French, were burnt alive for Lutheranism, and nineteen persons of the same persuasion were reconciled. Among the latter was one of the royal pages, whose release was granted by Philip and Valdes, at the intercession of the queen. In 1565, the same inquisition celebrated another auto, at which a number of protestants were condemned to the fire and to penances, under the several designations of Lutherans, faithful, and huguenaos, or hugonots. The metropolitan city of Spain was so eager to signalize its zeal against heresy, that in 1571, not to mention other examples, an auto was held in it, at which two persons were burnt alive, and one in effigy, while no fewer than thirty-one were sentenced to different punishments, as Lutherans. One of the two who perished in the flames was Doctor Sigismond Archel, a native of Cagliari in Sardinia. He had been arrested at Madrid in 1562, and after suffering for many years in the prisons of Toledo, had contrived to make his escape; but his portrait having been sent to the principal passes of the frontier, he was seized before he got out of the kingdom, and delivered again into the hands of his judges. When the depositions of the witnesses were communicated to him, Sigismond acknowledged all that was laid to his charge, but pleaded that so far from being a heretic he was a better catholic than the papists; in proof of which he read, to the great mortification of the court, a long apology which he had composed in prison. He derided the ignorance of the priests who were sent to convert him, in consequence of which he was condemned to wear the gag on the scaffold and at the stake; and the guards, envying him the glory of a protracted martyrdom, pierced his body with their lances, while the executioners were kindling the pile, so that he perished at the same time by fire and sword. Though the greater part of the prisoners exhibited in the autos-de-fe of Granada and Valencia were Jews or Mahometans, yet protestants suffered along with them from time to time; among whom our attention is particularly fixed upon Don Miguel de Vera y Santangel, a Carthusian monk of Portaceli, as belonging to the convent in which the first translation of the Bible into the Spanish language was composed.

None of the provincial tribunals was so much occupied in suppressing the Reformation as those of Logrono, Saragossa, and Barcelona. In the numerous autos celebrated in these cities, a great part of those who appeared on the scaffolds were protestants. But the chief employment of the inquisitors in the eastern provinces consisted in searching for and seizing heretical books, which were introduced from the frontiers of France or by sea. In 1568 the council of the Supreme addressed letters to them, communicating alarming information received from England and France. Don Diego de Guzman, the Spanish ambassador at London, had written that the English were boasting of the converts which their doctrine was making in Spain, and particularly in Navarre. At the same time advertisement was given by the ambassador at Vienne, that the Calvinits of France were felicitating themselves on the signing of the treaty of peace between the French and Spanish monarchs, and entertained hopes that their religion would make as great progress in Spain as it had done in Flanders, England and other countries, because the Spaniards, who had already embraced it secretly, would now have an easy communication through Aragon with the protestants of Bearn. From Castres and from Paris the inquisitor general had received certain information that large quantities of books, in the Castilian tongue, were destined for Spain. These were in some instances put into casks of Champagne and Burgundy wine, with such address that they passed through the hands of the custom-house officers without detection. In this way many copies of the Spanish Bible, published by Cassiodoro de Reyna at Basle in 1569, made their way into Spain, notwithstanding the severest denunciations of the Holy Office, and the utmost vigilance of the familiars.

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[*] "On the other side it was a joly sport to see the monkes and friers and priestes go up and downe hanging downe theyr heads, all in dumpe and a melancholy, by meanes of theyr guilty consciences, quaking and trembling, and looking every hower when some of the familiars should take them by the sleve, and call them *coram* for these matters. In so much that a number feared lest as great a plague were come among them as the persecution that was so hote about that time against the Lutherans." (Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. R. iij.)

[†] Montanus, p. 104–188. Llorente does not deny the facts stated by the protestant historian, but contents himself with saying that he has mistaken the year 1563 for 1564, and that "the denunciations were much fewer than he pretends." (Tom. iii. p. 29.) The documents which enabled the ex-secretary of the Inquisition to correct the exaggeration, must have put it in his power to state the exact number. There is reason in what he says on this subject, that while in some instances the priests were guilty, in others they might be falsely accused from malice or from mistake on the part of the penitents; but did it not occur to him, that, on either supposition, auricular confession and the celibacy of the clergy are calculated to have the most pernicious influence on public morals?

But the Inquisition was not satisfied with preventing heretical men and books from coming into Spain; it exerted itself with equal zeal in preventing orthodox horses from being exported out of the kingdom. Incredible or ludicrous as this may appear to the reader, nothing can be more unquestionable than the fact, and nothing demonstrates more decidedly the unprincipled character of the inquisitors, as well as of those who had recourse to its agency to promote their political schemes. As early as the fourteenth century it had been declared illegal to transport horses from Spain to France. This prohibition originated entirely in views of political economy, and it was the business of the officers of the customs to prevent the contraband trade. But on occasion of the wars which arose between the papists and hugonots of France, and the increase of the latter on the Spanish borders, it occurred to Philip, as an excellent expedient for putting down the prohibited commerce, to commit the task to the inquisition, whose services would be more effective than those of a hundred thousand frontier guards. With this view he procured a bull from the pope, which, with a special reference to the hugonots of France, and the inhabitants of Bearn in particular, declared all to be suspected of heresy who should furnish arms, munitions, or other instruments of war to heretics. In consequence of this, the council of the Supreme in 1596 added to the annual edict of denunciation a clause obliging all, under the pain of excommunication, to inform against any who had bought or transported horses for the use of the French protestants; which was afterwards extended to all who sent them across the Pyrenees. For this offence numbers were fined, whipped, and condemned to the galleys, by the inquisitorial tribunals on the frontiers. Always bent on extending their jurisdiction, the inquisitors sought to bring under their cognizance all questions respecting the contraband trade in saltpetre, sulphur, and powder. Philip, however, diverted their attention from this encroachment on the civil administration, by engaging them in the pursuit of royal game. Ferdinand the catholic, availing himself of favourable circumstances, had added the greater part of the kingdom of Navarre to his dominions; and Charles V., in a fit of devotion, had, by his testament, enjoined his son to examine the claim which the Spanish monarchy had to these territories, and, if it should be found invalid, to restore them to the original proprietor. So far from doing this act of justice, Philip intended to annex the whole of that kingdom to his crown. At his instigation pope Pius IV. in 1563 issued a bull, excommunicating Jeanne d'Albret, the hereditary queen of Navarre, and offering her dominions to the first catholic prince who should undertake to clear them of heresy. With characteristic duplicity Philip professed to the French court his disapprobation of the step taken by his holiness, while, in concert with the inquisitor general Espinosa and the house of Guise, he was concerting measures to seize the person of the queen of Navarre, and of her son, afterwards Henry IV. of France, with the view of carrying them by force into Spain, and delivering them to the Inquisition. This disgraceful conspiracy, formed in 1565, was defeated only by the sudden illness of the officer to whom its execution had been intrusted.

The public is not unacquainted with the cruelties perpetrated by the inquisition of Goa, within the settlements of the Portuguese in the East Indies. Similar atrocities were committed by the Spaniards in the New World, in which the tribunal of the Inquisition was erected at Mexico, Lima, and Carthagena. At Mexico, in the year 1574, an Englishman and a Frenchman were burnt alive as impenitent Lutherans, while others were subjected to penances for embracing the opinions of Luther and Calvin. In the close of the seventeenth century, Louis Rame, a French protestant, was detained as a prisoner for four years by the inquisitors of Mexico; and several natives of England and its colonies were forced to abjure their religion, and submit to rebaptization. A splendid auto-de-fe was celebrated at the same place in 1659, at which William Lamport, an Irishman, was condemned to the flames, "for being infected with the errors of Luther, Calvin, Pelagius, Wicliff, and John Huss; in a word, because he was guilty of all imaginable heresies." He was the author of two writings, in one of which, to use the language of his indictment, "things were said against the Holy Office, its erection, style, mode of process, &c. in such a manner, that in the whole of it not a word was to be found that was not deserving of reprehension, not only as being injurious, but also insulting to our holy catholic faith." Of the other writing the procurator fiscal says, "that it contained detestable bitterness of language, and contumelies so filled with poison, as to manifest the heretical spirit of the author, and his bitter hatred against the Holy Office." On the day of execution, being desirous of testifying the readiness with which he met death, he was no sooner seated at the foot of the stake, and his neck placed in the ring, than he let himself fall and broke his neck. According to the official report of the auto-de-fe, Lamport trusted "that the devil, his familiar, would relieve him," and as he walked through the streets to the place of execution, continued looking up to the clouds to see if the superior power he expected was coming; but finding all his hopes vain, he strangled himself.

The year 1570 may be fixed upon as the period of the suppression of the reformed religion in Spain. After that date, protestants were still discovered at intervals by the Inquisition, and brought out in the autos-de-fe; but they were "as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done." Several of these were foreigners, and especially Englishmen. The punishment of Burton and others produced remonstrances from foreign powers, which were long disregarded by the Spanish government. All that Mann, the English ambassador at the court of Madrid, could obtain, was a personal protection on the head of religion, while those of his retinue were compelled to go to mass; and having caused the English service to be performed in his house, he was for some time excluded from the court, and obliged to quit Madrid. The circumstances in which Elizabeth was then placed, obliged her to act cautiously; but she wrote to Mann, desiring him to remonstrate with his catholic majesty against treatment so dishonourable to her crown, and so opposite to that which the Spanish ambassador received at London; and intimating that she would recall him, unless the privilege of private worship, according to the rites of their country, were granted to his servants.

At a subsequent period, the injury done to commerce by persecution obliged the government to issue orders, that strangers visiting Spain for the purpose of trade should not be molested on account of their religion. The inquisitors, however, made no scruple of transgressing the ordinances of the court on this point, by proceeding from time to time against foreigners, under the pretext that they propagated heresy by books or conversation. Among many others, William Lithgow, the well-known traveller, was in 1620 imprisoned and put to the torture at Malaga; and in 1714 Isaac Martin was subjected to the same treatment at Granada.

Of fifty-seven persons, whose sentences were read at an auto held in Cuenca in 1654, one only was charged with Lutheranism. In 1680, an auto-de-fe was celebrated at Madrid, in honour of the marriage of the Spanish monarch, Don Carlos II., to Maria Louise de Bourbon, the niece of Louis XIV. of France; and as a proof of the taste of the nation, a minute account of the whole procedure on that occasion was published to the world, with the approbation of all the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical. Among a hundred and eighteen victims produced on the scaffold, we meet with the name of only one protestant, whose effigy and bones were given to the flames. This was Marcos de Segura, a native of Villa de Ubrique, in Granada, whose sentence bears, that he had formerly been 'reconciled' by the inquisition of Llerena, as a heretic who denied purgatory, but who, having relapsed into this and other errors, was again thrown into prison, where he died in a state of impenitence and contumacy.

Although upwards of sixteen hundred victims were burnt alive in the course of the eighteenth century, we do not perceive that any of them were protestants.* But the reformed faith can number among its confessors a Spaniard who suffered in the nineteenth century. Don Miguel Juan Antonio Solano, a native of Verdun in Aragon, was vicar of Esco in the diocese of Jaca. He was educated according to the Aristotelian system of philosophy and scholastic divinity; but the natural strength of his mind enabled him to throw off his early prejudices, and he made great proficiency in mathematics and mechanics. His benevolence led him to employ his inventive powers for the benefit of his parishioners, by improving their implements of husbandry, and fertilizing their soil. A long and severe illness, which made him a cripple for life, withdrew the good vicar of Esco from active pursuits, and induced him to apply himself to theological studies more closely than he had hitherto done. His small library happened to contain a Bible; and by perusing this with impartiality and attention, he gradually formed for himself a system of doctrine, which agreed in the main with the leading doctrines of the protestant churches. The candid and honourable mind of Solano would not permit him either to conceal his sentiments, or to disseminate them covertly among his people. Having drawn up a statement of his new views, he laid it before the bishop of the diocese for his judgment, and receiving no answer from him, submitted it to the theological faculty in the university of Saragossa. The consequence was, that he was seized and thrown into the prison of the holy tribunal at Saragossa, which, in the infirm state of his health, was the same as sending him to the grave. He contrived, however, by the assistance of some kind friends, to make his escape, and to reach Oleron, the nearest French town; but after seriously deliberating on the course which he should pursue, he came to the resolution of asserting the truth in the very face of death, and actually returned of his own accord to the inquisitorial prison. On appearing before the tribunal, he acknowledged the opinions laid to his charge, but pleaded in his defence, that after long meditation, with the most sincere desire to discover the truth, and without any other help than the Bible, he had come to these conclusions. He avowed his conviction, that all saving truth was contained in the holy scriptures; that whatever the church of Rome had decreed to the contrary, by departing from the proper and literal sense of the sacred text, was false; that the idea of a purgatory and *limbus patrum* was a mere human invention; that it was a sin to receive money for saying mass; that tithes were fraudulently introduced into the Christian church by the priests; that the exaction of them was as dishonourable on their part, as it was impolitic and injurious to the cultivators of the soil; and that the ministers of religion should be paid by the state for their labours, in the same manner as the judges were. The tribunal, after going through the ordinary forms, decided that Solano should be delivered over to the secular arm. The inquisitor general at that time was Arce, archbishop of Saragossa, the intimate friend of the Prince of Peace, and suspected of secret infidelity. Averse to the idea of an execution by fire during his administration, he prevailed on the council of the Supreme to order a fresh examination of the witnesses. This was carried into execution, and the inquisitors renewed their former sentence. Arce next ordered an inquiry into the mental sanity of the prisoner. A physician was found to give an opinion favourable to the known wishes of the grand inquisitor; but the sole ground on which it rested was, that the prisoner had vented opinions different from those of his brethren. The only thing that remained was, to endeavour to persuade Solano to retract those opinions which had been condemned by so many popes and general councils. But this attempt was altogether fruitless. To all the arguments drawn from such topics, he replied, that money was the god worshipped at Rome, and that, in all the councils which had been held of late, the papal influence had decided theological questions, and rendered useless the good intentions of some respectable men. In the mean time, his confinement brought on a fever, during which the inquisitors redoubled their efforts for his conversion. He expressed himself thankful for their attention, but told them, that he could not retract his sentiments without offending God and betraying the truth. On the twentieth day of his sickness, the physician informed him of his danger, and exhorted him to avail himself of the few moments which remained. "I am in the hands of God," said Solano, "and have nothing more to do." Thus died, in 1805, the vicar of Esco. He was refused ecclesiastical sepulture, and his body was privately interred within the enclosure of the Inquisition, near the back gate, towards the Ebro. His death was reported to the council of the Supreme, who stopped further proceedings, to avoid the necessity of burning him in effigy.

Such are the details of the unsuccessful, but interesting, attempt to reform religion in Spain during the sixteenth century. Melancholy as the results were, they present nothing which reflects discredit on the cause, or on those by whom it was espoused. It did not miscarry through the imprudence or the infidelity of its leading friends. On the contrary, we have met with examples of the power of religion, of enlightened and pure love to truth, and of invincible fortitude, combined with meekness, scarcely inferior to any which are to be found in the annals of Christianity. To fall by such weapons as we have described, can be disgraceful to no cause. The fate of the Reformation in Spain, as well as in Italy, teaches us not to form hasty and rash conclusions respecting a course of proceedings on which Providence, for inscrutable reasons, may sometimes be pleased to frown.* The common maxim, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," was remarkably verified in the primitive ages of Christianity; but we must distinguish what is effected by the special interposition and extraordinary blessing of heaven, from what will happen according to the ordinary course of events. In the nature of things, it cannot but operate as a great, and with multitudes as an insuperable, obstacle to the reception of the truth, that, in following the dictates of their conscience, they must expose themselves to every species of worldly evil; and persecution may be carried to such a pitch as will, without a miracle, crush the best of causes; for, though it cannot eradicate the truth from the minds of those by whom it has been cordially embraced, it may cut off all the ordinary means of communication by which it is propagated. Accordingly history shows that true religion has been not only excluded, but banished, for ages from extensive regions of the globe, by oppressive laws and a tyrannical administration.

But we are not on this account to conclude that the Spanish martyrs threw away their lives, and spilt their blood in vain. They offered to God a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. Their blood is precious in his sight; he has avenged it, and may yet more signally avenge it. They left their testimony for truth in a country where it had been eminently opposed and outraged. That testimony has not altogether perished. Who knows what effects the record of what they dared and suffered may yet, through the divine blessing, produce upon that unhappy nation, which counted them as the filth and offscouring of all things, but was not worthy of them? Though hitherto lost on Spain, it has not been without all fruit elsewhere. The knowledge of the exertions made by Spaniards, and of the barbarous measures adopted to put them down, provoked many in other countries to throw off the Roman yoke, and to secure themselves against similar cruelties. In particular, it inspired their fellow-subjects in the Low Countries with a determination not to permit their soil to be polluted by the odious tribunal of the Inquisition, and consolidated that resistance which terminated in the establishment of civil liberty, in connexion with the reformed religion, in the United Provinces. While we bow with reverence to those providential arrangements which permitted the standard of truth to fall in one part of the world, we cannot but reflect with gratitude on the signal success vouchsafed to it in others. It was during the years 1559 and 1560 that the death-blow was given to the reformed religion in Spain; and during the same period the religious liberties of the protestants of Germany were finally secured, the reformed church was regularly organized in the kingdom of France, England was freed from popery by the accession of Elizabeth, and the cause of the Reformation, after struggling long for existence, attained to a happy and permanent establishment in Scotland.

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* The last person who was committed to the flames, was a *beata*, burnt alive at Seville, on the 7th of November 1781. (Llorente, iv. 270.) "I myself (says Mr. Blanco White) saw the pile on which the last victim was sacrificed to human infallibility. It was an unhappy woman, whom the inquisition of Seville committed to the flames, under the charge of heresy, about forty years ago. She perished on a spot where thousands had met the same fate. I lament from my heart, that the structure which supported their melting limbs was destroyed during the late convulsions. It should have been preserved, with the *infallible* and *immutable* canon of the Council of Trent over it, for the detestation of future ages." (Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, p. 122—3.)

* The following words of a writer, whose knowledge of facts was not equal to his strong natural sense, express an opinion which is now not uncommon: "I believe it will be found, that when Christians have resorted to the sword, in order to resist persecution for the gospel's sake, as did the Albigenses, the Bohemians, the French Protestants, and some others, within the last 600 years, the issue has commonly been, that they have perished by it, that is, they have been overcome by their enemies, and exterminated; whereas, in cases where their only weapons have been 'the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, loving not their lives unto death,' they have overcome." (Christian Patriotism, by Andrew Fuller.) The facts which have been laid before the reader will enable him to judge of the truth of the last part of this assertion. Nor is the first part less incorrect and objectionable. The truth is, that the Albigenses, &c. who resisted, were not exterminated; while the Italian and Spanish protestants, who did not resist, met with that fate. If the defensive wars of the Albigenses, &c. were unsuccessful, it ought to be remembered that those of the protestants in Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, and the Low Countries, were crowned with success. The French protestants were suppressed, not when they had arms in their hands, but when they were living peaceably under the protection of the public faith, pledged to them in edicts which had been repeatedly and solemnly ratified. It is to be hoped that the public mind in Britain, much as has been done to mislead it, is not yet prepared for adopting principles which lead to a condemnation of the famous Waldenses and Bohemians, for standing to the defence of their lives, when proscribed and violently attacked on account of their religion. They lived during the period of Antichrist's power, and, according to the adorable plan of providence, were allowed to fall a sacrifice to his rage; but while the scriptures foretell this, they mention it to their honour, and not in the way of fixing blame on them. "It was given unto the beast to make war with the saints, and to overcome them." Instead of being ranked with those who perished in consequence of their having taken the sword without a just reason, these Christian patriots deserve rather to be numbered with those who "through faith waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens, and others were slain with the sword," all of whom, "having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promises, God having provided some better thing for us."

CHAPTER VIII.

Protestant Exiles from Spain.

Those who have taken an interest in the preceding narrative, will feel a desire to know something of the fate of those Spaniards who escaped the horrors of the dungeon and the stake by abandoning their native country.

From the time that violent measures were first adopted to put down the new opinions, individuals who had incurred the suspicions of the clergy, or whose attachment to country yielded to their fears or to their passion for religious liberty, began to quit the Peninsula. As the persecution grew hotter, the emigration increased; nor had it altogether ceased at the close of the sixteenth century. Some of the emigrants crossed the Pyrenees, after which they sought out abodes in France and Switzerland; others, escaping by sea, took refuge in the Low Countries and in England.

Antwerp was the first place in which the refugees were formed into a church. The reformed opinions had been early introduced into this great mart of Europe, in consequence of the multitude of strangers who continually resorted to it, and the superior freedom which is enjoyed wherever commerce flourishes. It was to the merchants of Antwerp that the Spaniards were first indebted for the means of their illumination; and they continued long to promote the good work which they had begun, by encouraging translations of the scriptures and other books into the Spanish language. Antonio de Corran, or Corranus, a learned native of Seville, was pastor of the Spanish church in Antwerp before the year 1568, when that city fell into the hands of the duke of Alva, of sanguinary memory. After it recovered its liberty, the exiles returned to their former asylum, and enjoyed the pastoral labours of another native of Seville, Cassiodoro de Reyna, the translator of the Bible, who appears to have continued with them until 1585, when the city was again brought under the Spanish yoke, after a memorable siege by the duke of Parma. During his residence there, he drew up, for the use of his hearers, the Antwerp Catechism, which he published both in Spanish and French.

Previously to his settlement at Antwerp, De Reyna had resided at Strasburg, Frankfort, and other imperial cities, where he found a number of his countrymen, whom he would willingly have served as a preacher. But the German divines received him coldly, on account of his leaning to the sentiments of Calvin and the Swiss churches, on the subject of the eucharist. On this account he retired to Basle, and meeting with a kind reception in that seat of literature, he finished his translation of the Bible, which had been his chief employment for several years.

The Palatinate, and the dominions of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, opened a more hospitable retreat to the refugees than any other part of Germany. It was in Heidelberg that De Montes published that work which first laid open to the eyes of Europe the mysteries of the Spanish inquisition, and the sufferings which his protestant countrymen had endured from that inhuman tribunal; while a confession of faith in the name of the exiles from Spain, along with an account of their persecution, came from the press of Cassel.

France was happily in such a state as to offer a refuge to the Spanish protestants, when driven from their native country. Many of them repaired to the city of Lyons, where means of religious instruction had been provided for them, as well as for their brethren who had fled from Italy. The French protestants showed themselves uniformly disposed to sympathize with the Spanish refugees, contributed to their support, shared with them that degree of religious liberty which they happened at the time to enjoy, and admitted several of them to be pastors of their churches. It is gratifying to find the French synods also receiving into their communion Moors, who had escaped, along with the protestants, from the inquisition of Spain, and now abjured Mahometanism under circumstances which rendered their change of religion less obnoxious to suspicion.

But it was in Geneva and England that the greater part of Spanish refugees found a safe harbour and permanent abode. As they were intimately connected with the Italian refugees who settled in these places, we shall, according to a former promise, combine the affairs of both in the following narrative.

As early as 1542, there was formed at Geneva a congregation of Italian refugees, which had the chapel of the cardinal d'Ostie assigned to it by the council, and was under the pastoral inspection of Bernardino de Sesvaz. Its meetings were, however, discontinued after a short time, probably by the removal of some of its principal members; and they were not resumed until the year 1551.

The person to whom its revival was chiefly owing was Galeazzo Caraccioli, whose life presents incidents which would excite deep interest in a romance. He was the eldest son of Nicol-Antonio Caraccioli, marquis of Vico, one of the grandees of Naples. His mother was of the noble family of the Caraffi, and sister to the cardinal of that name who was raised to the pontifical chair. At the age of twenty, he married Vittoria, daughter to the duke of Nuceria, who brought him a large fortune, and bore him six children. The emperor Charles V., who was under obligations to the marquis, conferred on his son the office of gentleman-sewer; and the personal accomplishments of Galeazzo, the uniform correctness of his manners, his affability, and the talents which he discovered for public business, led all who knew him to anticipate his gradual and certain advancement in worldly honours. Serious impressions, accompanied with a conviction of the errors of the church of Rome, were made on his mind by Valdes and Martyr, at the time that the protestant tenets were secretly embraced by many individuals in Naples; and his religious dispositions were cherished by the advices of that pious and elegant scholar, Marc-Antonio Flaminio. Having accompanied the emperor to Germany, his acquaintance with the reformed doctrine was enlarged by conversation with some of the leading protestants, and the perusal of their writings; and his attachment to it was confirmed by an interview which, on his way home, he had at Strasburg with Martyr, who had lately forsaken his native country for the sake of religion. After his return to Naples he endeavoured to prevail on such of his countrymen as held the same views with himself to meet together in private for their mutual edification; but he found that the severe measures lately resorted to had struck terror into their minds, and that they were resolved, not only to conceal their sentiments, but also to practise occasional conformation to the rites of the popish worship. He now entered into serious deliberation with himself on one of the most delicate and painful questions which can be forced on a person in his circumstances. What was he to do? Was he to spend his whole life in the midst of idolatry, in the way of concealing that faith which was dearer to his heart than life, and incurring the threatening, "Him that confessed me not before men, I will not confess before my Father and his angels?" Or, was it his duty to leave farther, and wife, and children, and houses, and lands, for Christ's sake and the gospel's? The sacrifice of his secular dignities and possessions did not cost him a sigh; but as often as he reflected on the distress which his departure would inflict on his aged father, who, with parental pride, regarded him as the heir of his titles, and the stay of his family,—on his wife whom he loved and by whom he was loved tenderly,—and on the dear pledges of their union, he was thrown into a state of unutterable anguish, and started back with horror from the resolution to which conscience had brought him. At length, by an heroic effort of zeal, which few can imitate, and many will condemn, he came to the determination of bursting the tenderest ties which perhaps ever bound man to country and kindred. His nearest relations, so far from being reconcilable to the idea of his abandoning the church of Rome, had signified their displeasure at the pious life which he had led for some years, and at his evident disrelish for the gaieties of the court. Having no hope of procuring their consent, he concealed his design from them, and, avaling himself of the pretext of business which he had to transact with the emperor, set out for Augsburg, whence he speedily repaired to Geneva. The intelligence of his arrival at that place, and his abjuration of the Roman religion, while it filled the imperial court with astonishment, plunged his family into the deepest distress. One of his cousins, who had been his intimate friend, was despatched from Naples to represent the grief which his conduct had caused, and urge him to return. As soon as his refusal was known, sentence was passed against him, and he was deprived of all the property which he inherited from his mother. At the risk of his life, he went to Italy and met his father at Verona, where he remained until the marquis went to the emperor, and obtained, as a special favour, that the sentence pronounced against his son should not extend to his grandson. During his father's absence, Galeazzo was waited upon by the celebrated Fracastoro, who used his great eloquence to persuade him to comply with the wishes of his friends. In the following year he met his father a second time at Mantua, when an offer was made to him, in the name of his uncle, now pope Paul IV., that he should have a protection against the Inquisition, provided he would take up his residence within the Venetian states; a proposal to which neither his safety nor the dictates of his conscience would permit him to accede. All this time he had been refused the privilege of seeing his family; and it was not until the end of the year 1557 that he received a letter from his wife Vittoria, earnestly requesting an interview with him, and fixing the place of meeting. Having obtained a safe-conduct from the government of the Grisons, he immediately set out for Lesina, an island on the coast of Dalmatia, over against his paternal castle of Vico; but, on his arrival at the appointed place, Vittoria, instead of making her appearance, sent two of her sons to meet their father. He had scarcely returned to Geneva from this fatiguing and dangerous journey, when he received another packet from his wife, apologizing for her breach of engagement, and begging him to come without delay to the same place, where she would not fail to meet him, along with his father and children. On his reaching Lesina the second time, none of the family had arrived; and unable to brook further delay, he crossed the Gulf of Venice, and presented himself at his father's gate. He was received with every demonstration of joy, and for some days the castle was thronged with friends who came to welcome him. But it behoved the parties to come at last to an explanation. Taking Vittoria aside, Galeazzo apologized for not having imparted to her the secret of his departure, gave a full account of the reasons of his conduct, and begged her to accompany him to Geneva; promising that no constraint should be laid on her conscience, and that she should be at liberty to practise her religion under his roof. After many protestations of affection, she finally replied, that she could not reside out of Italy, nor in a place where any other religion than that of the church of Rome was professed; and further, that she could not live with him as her husband, so long as he was infected with heresy. Her confessor had inculcated upon her that it was a damnable sin te cohabit with a heretic, and dreading the influence which her husband might exert over her mind, had prevented her from keeping her first appointment. The day fixed for his departure being come, Galeazzo went to take leave of his father, who, laying aside the affection with which he had hitherto treated him, and giving way to his passion, loaded him with reproaches and curses. On quitting his father's apartment, he had to undergo a still severer trial of his sensibility. He found his wife and children, with a number of his friends, waiting for him in the hall. Bursting into tears, and embracing her husband, Vittoria besought him not to leave her a widow, and her babes fatherless. The children joined in the entreaties of their mother; and the eldest daughter, a fine girl of thirteen, grasping his knees, refused to part with him. How he disengaged himself, he knew not; for the first thing which brought him to recollection was the noise made by the sailors on reaching the opposite shore of the Gulf. He used often to relate to his intimate friends, that the parting scene continued long to haunt his mind; and that, not only in dreams, but also in reveries into which he fell during the day, he thought he heard the angry voice of his father, saw Vittoria in tears, and felt his daughter dragging at his heels. His return gave great joy to his friends at Geneva, who, in proportion to the confidence which they reposed in his constancy, were alarmed for the safety of his person.

Painful as this visit had been to his feelings, it contributed to restore his peace of mind, by convincing him that he could entertain no hope of enjoying the society of his family except on the condition of renouncing his religion. After he had remained nine years in exile, he consulted Calvin on the propriety of contracting a second marriage. That reformer, who took a deep interest in the character of his noble friend, felt great scruples as to the expediency of this step, but ultimately gave his approbation to it, after he had consulted the divines of Switzerland and the Grisons. Accordingly, the courts of Geneva having legally pronounced a sentence of divorce against Vittoria, on the ground of her obstinate refusal to live with her husband, he married Anne Fremejere, the widow of a French refugee from Rouen, with whom he continued to live happily in a state of dignified frugality. On being informed of this part of his conduct, we feel as if it detracted from the high unsullied virtue which Galeazzo had hitherto displayed. His second nuptials, though contracted according to the rules of the canon law, gave occasion of reproach to the keen adversaries of the Reformation; but they did not lower him in the estimation of his acquaintance of either religious persuasion. By the citizens of Geneva he was all along held in the highest respect; the freedom of the city had been conferred on him soon after his arrival among them; a house was allotted to him by the public; and he was admitted a member both of the great and small council. Princes, ambassadors, and learned men, popish as well as protestant, who visited the city, regularly paid their respects to the marquis; a title which was always given him, though he refused to assume it even after the death of his father. Nothing gave greater offence to the papal court, and the government of Naples, than his chosing the *see of heresy* for his residence. It was probably with the view of removing this prejudice, and thereby procuring remittances from his patrimonial estate, that he consented, in the spring of 1572, to a proposal made by Admiral Coligni to take up his abode with him; but providentially he was prevented from removing to France so soon as he had intended, and thus escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which took place in August that year. After residing five years at Nion and Lausanne for the sake of economy in his living, he returned to Geneva, which he did not again leave until his death, which happened in 1586, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

The first thing which engaged the attention of Caraccioli, after his settlement in Geneva, was the re-organizing of the Italian congregation. Lattantio Ragnoni, a gentleman of Sienna, whom he had known at Naples, having arrived a few days after him, and given proofs of his orthodoxy and qualifications for public teaching, was persuaded by him to undertake the office of pastor to his countrymen. They accordingly recommenced their public exercises in the Magdalene church, which was assigned to them by the council. Caraccioli himself became one of their elders, and by the respectability of his character, and the wisdom of his counsels, contributed more than any other individual to the permanent prosperity of that church. In the close of the year 1553, they obtained a preacher of greater abilities in Celso Massimiliano, usually called Martinengo, because he was the son of a count of that name in the territories of Brescia. He had entered into the order of canons regular, and having imbibed the reformed doctrine from Peter Martyr, preached it for some time with great boldness and eloquence; but understanding that snares were laid for his life, he fled to the Valteline, whence he came to Basle, with the intention of proceeding to England. By the importunities of Caraccioli he was induced to abandon his intended journey, and to undertake the pastoral charge of the Italian church at Geneva. On his death in 1557, Calvin exerted himself to procure for them the services of Martyr and Zanchi, who excused themselves on account of their engagements; and the church appears to have remained under the sole inspection of Ragnoni until 1559, when they procured Nicola Balbani, who continued to serve them with much approbation nearly to the close of the sixteenth century. It would seem that this situation was also held by Jean Baptiste Rotan, a learned man, who, on removing to France, incurred the suspicion of seeking to betray the reformed church by reconciling it to Rome.

The peace of the Italian church was for some time disturbed by the antitrinitarian controversy. Alciati, a military officer from Milan, and blandrata, a phisician from Piedmont, in the visits which they made to Geneva, privately disseminated their sentiments, which were adopted by Valentinus Gentilis, a native of Cosenza in Calabria, who had joined the Italian congregation. The celebrated lawyer Gribaldo, after differing with Calvin, had taken up his residence at Fargias, a villa which he purchased in the neighbouring district of Gex, within the jurisdiction of Bern, from which he kept up an intercourse with the secret agitators in Geneva. They had caused great uneasiness to Martinengo, who, in recommending his church to the care of Calvin, when he was on his deathbed, adjured that reformer to guard them against the arts of these restless spirits. In concert with Ragnoni, their surviving pastor, Calvin exerted himself in allaying these dissensions, and, in 1558, drew up a confession of faith for the use of the Italian congregation. This was subscribed by Gentilis, under the pain of perjury if he should afterwards contradict it; but, encouraged by Gribaldo, he began again to spread the opinions which he had renounced, upon which a process was commenced against him, which issued in his expulsion from the city.

The internal peace of the Italian church being restored, it continued to flourish, and gained fresh accessions every year by the arrival of persons from the different parts of Italy. All classes in Geneva, the magistrates, the ministers, and the citizens, vied with each other in their kind attention to the exiles from Italy, who were admitted to privileges, and advanced to offices, in common with the native inhabitants of the city. Nor had the republic any reason to repent of this liberal policy. The adopted strangers transferred their loyalty and affections to Geneva; and among those who have served her most honourably in the senate, the academy, and the field, from that time to the present, we recognize with pleasure Italian refugees and their descendants. It is sufficient here to mention the names of Diodati, Turretini, Calandrini, Burlamaqui, Micheli, Minutoli, Butini, and Offredi.

Individual Spaniards, who found it necessary to fly from the Inquisition, had taken refuge in Geneva from the time that Egidio was thrown into prison at Seville. In 1557, additions were made to their number; and the persecution increasing during the two subsequent years, emigrants poured in from all parts of the Peninsula. The council extended to them the privileges which had been already granted to the emigrants from Italy. It was Juan Perez, to whom his countrymen were otherwise so much indebted, who first formed a Spanish church in Geneva. After his departure to France, they enjoyed the pastoral labours of De Reyna and others of their learned countrymen; but, as many of their members removed to England and other places, and as the most of them understood Italian, they adjoined themselves, before the close of the century, to the church which was placed under the charge of Balbani. One of the most distinguished of their number, both in point of learning and piety, was Pedro Gales. While he taught Greek and jurisprudence in Italy, he had fallen under the suspicion of heresy, and being put to the torture at Rome, lost one of his eyes. Escaping from prison, he came to Geneva about the year 1580, and was appointed joint professor of philosophy with Julio Paci, an Italian lawyer. During an interruption of the academical exercises caused by the attempts of the duke of Savoy on Geneva, Gales was persuaded to accept the rectorship of the college of Guienne at Bordeaux. But finding his situation unpleasant, in consequence of the civil wars which then raged in France, and the envy of one of his colleagues, he left it, with the intention of repairing to the Netherlands. On his journey he was seized by some of the partisans of the League, and delivered first to his countrymen, and afterwards to the Spanish Inquisition, by whose sentence he was committed to the flames, after making an undaunted profession of his faith. He had made a large collection of ancient manuscripts with annotations of his own, part of which was preserved, and has been highly prized by the learned.

England had the honour of opening a harbour to protestants of every country who fled from persecution at the beginning of the Reformation. The first congregation of strangers formed in London was the Dutch or German, which met in the church of Austin Friars, under the superintendence of the learned Polish nobleman John a Lasco. It was followed by the erection of French and Italian congregations. As early as 1551 there was an Italian church in London, of which Michael Angelo Florio was pastor. On its restoration after the death of queen Mary, Florio returned; but, owing to some irregularity of conduct, he was not admitted to his former place, which was conferred on Jeronimo Jerlito. The most distinguished of its members were Jacomo Contio, better known as an author by the name of Acontius, who was suspended for some time from communion, on suspicion of his being infected with Arian and Pelagian tenets; his friend Battista Castiglioni, who had a place at court, and taught Italian to queen Elizabeth; Julio Borgarusci, physician to the earl of Leicester; Camillo Cardoini, a Neapolitan nobleman, whose son was afterwards made governor of Calabria, as a reward for abjuring the protestant religion, and Albericus Gentilis, who became professor of civil law at Oxford. The foreign Italian congregation appears to have been united to the French in the course of the sixteenth century; but in 1618 the noted Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro, preached in Italian at London, and had one of the family of Calandrini appointed as his colleague.

There had been Spaniards in England from the time of Henry the VIII., whose first queen belonged to that nation. Her daughter Mary entertained them about her person, and their number greatly increased after her marriage to Philip II. of Spain. As several of them were converted to protestantism, some writers are of opinion that they must have heard the gospel preached in their native tongue during the reign of Edward VI. But it does not appear that the Spanish protestants were formed into a congregation until the accession of Elizabeth. During the year 1559 they met for worship in a private house in London, and had one Cassiodo for their preacher. In the course of the following year they presented a petition to secretary Cecil and Grindal bishop of London, for liberty to meet in public. They had hitherto refrained, they said, from taking this step, by the advice of persons whom they greatly respected, and from fear of giving offence; but they were convinced that their continuing to do so was no less discreditable to the religion which they professed, than it was incommodious to themselves. Their adversaries took occasion to say, that they must surely harbour some monstrous tenets, detested even by Lutherans, when they were not permitted, or did not venture, to assemble publicly in a city where protestants from every country were allowed this privilege. Some of their countrymen had withdrawn from their assembly, and others had declined to join it, lest they should suffer in the trade which they carried on with Spain, from their attendance on a private and unauthorized conventicle. They added, that if the king of Spain complained of the liberty granted to them, they would desist from the exercise of it, and quit the kingdom rather than involve it in a quarrel with foreign states. The government was favourable to their application, and it would seem that they met soon after in one of the city churches, whose ministers, as stated in their petition, were willing to accommodate them. London was not the only place which furnished them with an asylum; but in other towns both they and the Italians generally assembled for worship along with the French emigrants. With the view of counteracting the invidious and unfounded reports circulated against their orthodoxy, the Spanish protestants in England drew up and published a confession of their faith, which was adopted by their brethren scattered in other countries. This document proves that the Spanish exiles, while they held the doctrines common to all protestants, were favourable to the views which the reformed churches maintained in their controversy with the Lutherans respecting the eucharist.

The countenance granted by the government of England to protestant exiles, and particularly to Spaniards, gave great offence to the pope and to the king of Spain. It was specified as one of the charges against Elizabeth, in the bull of Pius V. excommunicating that princess. This drew from bishop Jewel the following triumphant reply. Having mentioned that they had either lost or left behind them their all, goods, lands, and houses, he goes on to say: "Not for adultery, or theft, or treason, but for the profession of the gospel. It pleased God here to cast them on land. The queen, of her gracious pity, granted them harbour. Is it become a heinous thing to show mercy? God willed the children of Israel to love the stranger, because they were strangers in the land of Egypt. He that showeth mercy shall find mercy. But what was the number of such who came in unto us? Three or four thousand. Thanks be to God, this realm is able to receive them, if the number be greater. And why may not queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ, which are compelled to carry his cross? Whom, when he thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven them back again, or drowned them, or hanged them, or starved them? Would the vicar of Christ give this counsel? Or, if a king receive such, and give them succour, must he therefore be deprived? They are our brethren; they live not idly. If they take houses of us, they pay rent for them; they hold not our grounds, but by making due recompence. They beg not in our streets, nor crave any thing at our hands, but to breathe our air, and to see our sun. They labour truly, they live sparefully; they are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy, for God doth follow them with his blessings." Referring to the Spaniards who came to England in the reign of queen Mary, the bishop thus contrasts them with their protestant countrymen. "These are few, those were many; these are poor and miserable, those were lofty and proud; these are naked, those were armed; these are spoiled by others, those came to spoil us; these are driven from their country, those came to drive us from our country; these came to save their lives, those came to have our lives. If we were content to bear those then, let us not grieve now to bear these."

The Spanish monarch was not less indignant than his Holiness at the asylum granted to his protestant subjects. Not contented with persecuting them at home, he hunted them in every country to which they were driven. Large sums of money were appropriated to the maintaining of spies, and defraying other expenses incurred by that disgraceful traffic. In France and Germany, individuals were from time to time carried off, and delivered over to the Inquisition. Not daring to make such attempts on the free soil of England, the emissaries of Spain had recourse to methods equally infamous. They required the English government to deliver up the refugees as traitors and criminals who had fled from justice. Francisco Farias and Nicolas Molino, two respectable members of the Spanish congregation, who had resided eight years in this country, were denounced by one of their countrymen who acted as a spy in London. In consequence of this, the Spanish ambassador received instructions from his court to demand of Elizabeth, that they should be sent home to be tried for crimes which were laid to their charge; and to induce her to comply with the request, their names were coupled with that of a notorious malefactor who had lately escaped from Flanders. If these innocent men had not had friends at court who knew from experience to sympathize with the exile, they might have been delivered up to a cruel death. To enable it to meet any future demand of this kind, the English government adopted measures to obtain an exact account of all the members of the foreign congregations who had come from any part of the king of Spain's dominions.

In the year 1568, Corranus came from Antwerp, and undertook the pastoral charge of the Spanish congregation in London. Having been involved in a quarrel with Jerlito and Cousin, the ministers of the Italian and French congregations, who accused him of error and defamation, the parties appealed to Beza, who referred the controversy to bishop Grindal. The commissioners named by the bishop to try the cause suspended Corranus from preaching. He appears to have been a man of a hot temper; but his learning recommended him to secretary Cecil, by whose influence the suspension was taken off, and he was made reader of divinity in the Temple. When he went to Oxford at a subsequent period, some of the heads of colleges scrupled to receive him, on account of the suspicions formerly entertained as to his orthodoxy; but their objections were overcome, and he was admitted to read lectures on theology in the university, as well as to hold a living in the church of England. Though there is no evidence that Cypriano de Valera ever acted as a preacher in England, yet he took an active part in the affairs of the foreign churches. But his labours were chiefly by means of the press, in which respect he was more extensively beneficial to his countrymen than any of the exiles. He arrived in England soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life chiefly in this country. After studying for some time at both universities, he devoted himself to the writing of original works in Spanish, and the translating of others into that language. The most of these were published in England, where also his translation of the Bible, though printed abroad, was prepared for the press. It would seem that the circulation of the last-mentioned work in Spain was much more extensive than we could have expected.

The influx of Spanish refugees into England ceased with the sixteenth century, though a solitary individual, who had found the means of illumination in his native country, flying from the awakened suspicions of the inquisitors, occasionally reached its hospitable shore after that period.

CHAPTER IX.

Effects which the Suppression of the Reformation produced on Spain.

Tyranny, while it subjects those against whom it is immediately directed to great sufferings, entails still greater misery on the willing instruments of its vengeance. Spain boasts of having extirpated the reformed opinions from her territory; but she has little reason to congratulate herself on the consequences of her blind and infatuated policy. She has paid, and is still paying, the forfeit of her folly and crimes, by the loss of civil and religious liberty, and by the degradation into which she has sunk among the nations.

Other causes, no doubt, contributed to produce this melancholy issue; but that it is to be traced chiefly to a corrupt religion, will appear from a general comparison of the condition of Spain with other European nations, and from an examination of her internal state.

It is a fact now admitted on all hands, that the Reformation has ameliorated the state of government and society in all the countries into which it was received. By exciting inquiry, and diffusing knowledge, it led to the discovery and correction of abuses; imposed a check, by public opinion, if not by statute, on the arbitrary will of princes; generated a spirit of liberty among the people; gave a higher tone to morals; and imparted a strong impulse to the human mind in the career of invention and improvement. These benefits have been felt to a certain degree in countries into which the reformed religion was only partially introduced, or whose inhabitants, from local situation and other causes, were brought into close contact with protestants. But while these nations were advancing with different degrees of rapidity in improvement,—acquiring free governments, cultivating literature and science, or extending their commerce and increasing their resources,—Spain, though possessed of equal or greater advantages, became stationary, and soon began to retrograde. It is impossible to account for this phenomenon from any peculiarity in her political condition at the middle of the sixteenth century. Italy was in very different circumstances in this respect, and yet we find the two countries nearly in the same condition, owing to their having pursued the same measures in regard to religion. On the other hand, the political state of France, at the era referred to, was very similar to that of Spain. The nobles had been stripped of their feudal power in both countries; the French parliaments had become as passive instruments in the hands of the sovereign as the Spanish cortes; and both kingdoms were equally exhausted by the wars which for more than half a century they had waged against one another. But the bulls of the Vatican had not the same free course in France as in the Peninsula. The Reformation deposited a seed in that country which all the violence and craft of Louis XIV., a despot as powerful as Philip II., could not eradicate; and though persecution drove from its soil thousands of its most industrious citizens, yet, as there was no Inquisition there, literature and the arts survived the shock. The consequence has been, that, after coming out of the storms of a revolution which long raged with most destructive fury, and being subjected to a military government of unparalleled strength, France still holds a place among the great powers of Europe, nor has she been entirely stripped of her liberties, though she has received back that family which formerly reigned over her with unlimited authority; while Spain, after being long subject to a branch of the same family, and participating of all the effects of the revolutionary period, is now lying prostrate and in chains at the feet of a despot and his ghostly ministers.

But the evils which Spain has brought upon herself, by her bigoted and intolerant zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, will appear in a more striking light from an examination of her internal state.

The unsuccessful attempt to reform religion in Spain led to the perpetuation of the tribunal of the Inquisition, not only by affording a pretext for arming it with new powers, but by increasing the influence which it already exerted over the public mind. It became the boast of that tribunal that it had extirpated the northern heresy, and henceforth all true Spaniards were taught to regard it as the palladium of their religion. This, if it did not entail the miseries of tyranny and ignorance in Spain, at least sealed the entail. To the superficial and egotistical philosophy, which is too often to be met with in the present day, we owe the discovery, that the Inquisition was no cause of the decline of the Spanish nation, inasmuch as it was merely the organ of the government. That the Spanish monarchs employed it as an engine of state, we have seen, and that it could not have tortured the bodies, or invaded the property of the subjects, without power conveyed to it by the state, is self-evident; but it is equally true that it was in itself a moral power, and exerted its authority over the minds of both princes and subjects. When Macanaz persuaded Philip V. to lay restraints on the transmission of money to Rome, his Holiness, by means of the Inquisition, not only drove the minister into exile, but forced his master to retract the law which he had passed, and, in a letter addressed to the council of the Supreme, to confess, that, led astray by evil counsel, he had rashly put his hand into the sanctuary. And to complete its triumph, the enlightened Macanaz, while in France, was induced to write a defence of the Holy Office, which is appealed to by its apologists in Spain to this day. When at a recent period the cortes wished to abolish that tribunal, they were made to feel that it had an existence independently of their authority, and a foundation deeper than that which mere laws had given it.

But civil and religious despotism are natural allies. Though the Inquisition exalted the power of the pope above that of the king, and its advocates have sometimes had recourse to the principles of civil liberty to vindicate the restraint and dethronement of princes who proved refractory to the church,[*] yet it all along yielded the most effective support to the arbitrary measures of the government, and exerted its influence in crushing every proposal to correct abuses in the state, and stifling the voice of complaint. Under other forms of despotism, actions, or the external manifestation of liberal opinions, have been visited with punishment; but in Spain every reflection on politics was denounced by the monks as damnable heresy, and proscribed in the sanctuary of conscience.

Ever since the suppression of the Reformation, it has been the great object of the inquisitors and ruling clergy to arrest the progress of knowledge. With this view they have exercised the most rigid and vigilant inspection of the press and the seminaries of education. Lists of prohibited books have been published from time to time, including vernacular translations of the Bible,[†] and the writings not only of the reformers, but also of Roman catholics, who discovered the slightest degree of liberality in their sentiments, or who treated their subjects in such a way as to encourage a spirit of inquiry. A commentary on the Pentateuch by Oleaster, a member of the council of Trent, and a Portuguese inquisitor, which had been several years in circulation, was ordered to be called in and corrected, because the author had ventured to depart from the Vulgate and the interpretations of the fathers. The commentaries of Jean Ferus, a French monk, who had availed himself of the learning of the protestants, were censured as containing "the heretical sentiments of Luther;" and for reprinting them in Spain, Michael de Medina, guardian of the Franciscans at Toledo, was thrown into the secret prisons of the Inquisition, and was saved from the disgrace of making a public recantation, only by a premature death. Arias Montanus was under the necessity of defending himself against the charges which the inquisitorial censors brought against his polyglot Bible, published under the patronage of Philip II. Luis de Leon, professor of divinity at Salamanca, having written a translation of the Song of Solomon in Spanish, to which he added short explanatory notes, was confined for five years in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and his poetical paraphrases of the book of Job and other parts of scripture, distinguished for their elegance and purity, were long suppressed.

The taste for theological studies, which had been produced by the revival of letters in Spain, survived for some time the suppression of the Reformation. It was cherished in secret by individuals, who, convinced that the protestants excelled in the interpretation of scripture, appropriated their writings in whole or in part, and published them as their own. The Latin Bible, with notes, by Leo Juda, and other Swiss divines, after undergoing certain corrections, was printed at Salamanca with the approbation of the censors of the press; but the real authors being discovered, it was subsequently put into the index of prohibited books. Hyperius, a reformed divine, was the author of an excellent book on the method of interpreting the scriptures. Having removed from it every thing which appeared to contradict the tenets of the church of Rome, Lorenzo de Villavicencio, an Augustinian monk of Xeres in Andalusia, published that work as his own, not even excepting the preface; and in consequence of the little intercourse which subsisted between Spain and the north of Europe, nearly half a century elapsed before the plagiarism was detected. Martini Martinez was less fortunate; for publishing a similar work, in which he exalted the originals above the Vulgate, he was subjected to penance, and prohibited from writing for the future. Precluded from every field of inquiry or discussion, the divines of Spain addicted themselves exclusively to the study of scholastic and casuistic theology.

The same tyranny was extended to other branches of science, even those which are most remotely connected with religion. All books on general subjects composed by protestants, or translated by them, or containing notes written by them, were strictly interdicted. A papal bull, dated 17 August 1627, took from metropolitans, patriarchs, and all but the inquisitor general, the privilege of reading prohibited books. Nicolas Antonio, the literary historian of Spain, was obliged to remain five years in Rome before he obtained this privilege, with the view of finding materials for his national work. The Pontifical History of Illescas was repeatedly suppressed, and the author constrained at last to put his name to a work containing statements and opinions dictated to him by others, and diametrically opposite to those which he had formerly given to the world. While the native historians of Spain were prevented from speaking the truth, histories written by foreigners were forbidden under the severest pains, as satires on the policy and religion of the Peninsula. The consequence has been, that the Spaniards entertain the most erroneous conceptions of their own history, and are profoundly ignorant of the affairs of other countries.

Not satisfied with exerting a rigid censorship over the press, the inquisitors intruded intro private houses, ransacked the libraries of the learned and curious, and carried off and retained at their pleasure such books as they, in their ignorance, suspected to be of a dangerous character. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find Manuel Martini, dean of Alicant, and one of the most enlightened of his countrymen in that age, complained bitterly, in his confidential correspondence, of what he suffered from such proceedings.

Universities and other seminaries of education were watched with the most scrupulous jealousy. The professors in the university of Salamanca, who appear to have shown a stronger predilection for liberal science than their brethren, were forbidden to deliver lectures to their students; and similar orders were issued by Philip II. to those of the Escurial, who were instructed to confine themselves to reading from a printed book. Moral philosophy is too intimately allied both to religion and politics not to have excited the dread of the defenders of superstition and despotism; and, in fact, the feeble attempts made in Spain to throw off the degrading yoke have chiefly proceeded from the teachers of that science. This accordingly gave occasion to repeated interdicts, besides processes carried on against individuals. During the reign of Don Carlos IV., the prime minister, Caballero, sent a circular to all the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy, "because what his majesty wanted was, not philosophers, but loyal subjects." Even natural philosophy, in its various branches, was placed under the same trammels, and the Copernican system is still taught in that country as an hypothesis. Medical science is neglected; and surgeons, before entering on practice, are obliged to swear, not that they will exercise the healing art with fidelity, but that they will defend the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.

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[*] The treatise of the Jesuit Mariana, *De Rege, et Regis Institutione*, which was burnt at Paris by the hands of the common hangman, is well known to the learned. In the library of Lambeth, there is a copy of the Works of Charles I. with the corrections made on it by order of the inquisition of Lisbon. Furious dashes of the pen appear across those passages in the prayers which refer to the protestant religion. Describing a "right monarchy," the British monarch had said, "where counsel may be in many, as the senses, but the supreme power can be but in one, as the head." The inquisitors have allowed this passage to stand; but over against it on the margin, they have written, "If king, false; if pope, true." (Catal. of Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, No. cccxxii.)

[†] The prohibition of Bibles in the Spanish language was erased from the index by an edict dated 20 Dec. 1782; and yet the inquisition of Seville, by a general edict, promulgated 1 Feb. 1790, commanded all such Bibles to be denounced. This might be an oversight; but it is certain that the index still contains a prohibition of two books, upon this ground, that they point out the advantages of reading the scriptures. Nor was it the intention of the Inquisition to give the Bible to the common people; and accordingly it is printed in such a form as to confine it to the wealthy.

The great events which distinguished the reign of the emperor Charles V., by awakening the enthusiasm, contributed to develope the genius of the Spanish nation; and the impulse thus given to intellect continued to operate long after the cause which had produced it was removed. But the character of the degenerate age in which they lived was impressed even on the towering talents of Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon, and can be easily traced in the false ideas, childest prejudices, and gross ignorance of facts which disfigure their writings. With these master spirits of literature the genius of Spain sunk; and when it began to recover from the lethargy by which it was long oppressed, it assumed the most unnatural form. Imagination being the only field left open to them, Spanish writers, as if they wished to compensate for the restraints under which they were laid, set aside the rules of good taste, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagancies of fancy, which they embodied in the most inflated and pedantic language. Although the natural talents of the inhabitants are excellent, there is at present no taste for literature in Spain. The lectures on experimental philosophy which Solano began to deliver gratis in the capital towards the close of the last century, though distinguished by their simplicity and elegance, were discontinued for want of an audience. Reading is unknown except among a very limited class. Every attempt to establish a literary magazine has failed, through the listlessness of the public mind and the control of the censorship. And the spies of the police and the Inquisition have long ago banished every thing like rational conversation from those places in which the people assemble to spend their leisure hours.

In Italy the same causes produced the same effects. Genius, taste and learning were crushed under the iron hand of inquisitorial despotism. The imprisonment of Galileo in the seventeenth, and the burning of the works of Giannone in the eighteenth century, are sufficient indications of the deplorable state of the Italians, during a period in which knowledge was advancing with such rapidity in countries long regarded by them as barbarous. When their intellectual energies began to recover, they were directed to a species of composition in which sentiment and poetry are mere accessories to sensual harmony, and the national love of pleasure could be gratified without endangering the authority of the rulers. To ennoble pleasure and render it in some degree sacred; to screen the prince from the shame of his own indolence and effeminacy; to blind the people to every consideration but that of the passing moment; and to give the author an opportunity to exert his talents without incurring the vengeance of the Inquisition—is the scope and spirit of the Italian opera. Later writers in Italy, whose productions breathe a fiery spirit of liberty, were of the French, or rather revolutionary school, and afford no criterion for judging of the national feelings and taste.

In Spain the increase of superstition, and of the numbers and opulence of the clergy, has kept pace with the growth of ignorance. The country is overrun with clergy, secular and regular. Towards the close of last century it contained nearly nine thousand convents; and the number of persons who had taken the vow of celibacy approached to two hundred thousand. The wealth of the church was equally disproportionate to that of the nation, as the numbers of the clergy were to its population. The cathedral of Toledo, for example, besides other valuable ornaments, contained four large silver images, standing on globes of the same metal; a grand massive throne of silver, on which was placed an image of the Virgin, wearing a crown valued at upwards of a thousand pounds; and a statue of the infant Jesus, adorned with eight hundred precious stones. Six hundred priests, richly endowed, were attached to it; and the revenues of the archbishop were estimated at nearly a hundred thousand pounds. The sums which are extorted by the mendicant friars, and which are paid for masses and indulgences, cannot be calculated; but the bulls of crusade alone yield a neat yearly income of two hundred thousand pounds to his Catholic Majesty, who purchases them from the pope, and retails them to his loving subjects.[*] Equally great are the encroachments which superstition has made on the time of the inhabitants. Benedict XIV. reduced the number of holydays in the states of the church, and recommended a similar reduction in other kingdoms. But in Spain there are still ninety-three general festivals, besides those of particular provinces, parishes and convents; to which we must add the bull-feasts, and the Mondays claimed by apprentices and journeymen.

Commerce and all the sources of national wealth are obstructed by persecution and intolerance. But the evil is unspeakably aggravated, when the greater part of the property of a nation is locked up, and a large proportion of its inhabitants, and of their time, is withdrawn from useful labour. Holland, with no soil but what she recovered from the ocean, waxed rich and independent, while Spain, with a third part of the world in her possession, has become poor. The city of Toledo is reduced to an eighth part of its former population; the monks remain, but the citizens have fled. Every street in Salamanca swarms with sturdy beggars and vagabonds able to work; and this is the case wherever the clergy, convents and hospicios are numerous. With a soil which, by its extent and fertility, is capable of supporting an equal number of inhabitants, the population of Spain is not half that of France.

The effects produced on the national character and morals are still more deplorable. Possessing naturally some of the finest qualities by which a people can be distinguished—generous, feeling, devoted, constant—the Spaniards became cruel, proud, reserved and jealous. The revolting spectacles of the auto-de-fe, continued for so long a period, could not fail to have the most hardening influence on their feelings. In Spain, as in Italy, religion is associated with crime, and protected by its sanctions. Thieves and prostitutes have their images of the Virgin, their prayers, their holy water, and their confessors. Murderers find a sanctuary in the churches and convents. Crimes of the blackest character are left unpunished in consequence of the immunities granted to the clergy. Adultery is common, and those who live habitually in this vice, find no difficulty in obtaining absolution. The *cortejos*, or male paramours, like the *cicisbei* in Italy, appear regularly in the family circle. In great cities the canons of cathedrals act in this character, and the monks in villages. The parish priests live almost universally in concubinage, and all that the more correct bishops require of them is, that they do not keep their children in their own houses. Until they begin to look towards a mitre, few of the clergy think of preserving decorum in this matter.

The dramatical pieces composed by their most celebrated writers, and acted on the stage with the greatest applause, demonstrate the extent to which the principles of morality have been injured by fanaticism and bigotry. In one of them, after the hero has plotted the death of his wife, and accomplished that of his parents, Jesus Christ is represented as descending from heaven to effect his salvation by means of a miracle. In another, an incestuous brigand and professed assassin preserves, in the midst of his crimes, his devotion for the cross, at the foot of which he was born, and the impress of which he bears on his breast. He erects a cross over each of his victims; and being at last slain, God restores him to life in order that a saint might receive his confession, and thus secure his admission into heaven. In another piece, Alfonzo VI. receives the capitulation of the Moors of Toledo, and, in the midst of his court and knights, swears to maintain their religious liberties, and to leave for their worship the largest mosque in the city. During his absence, Constance his queen violates the treaty, and places the miraculous image of the Virgin in the mosque. Alfonso is highly indignant at this breach of faith, but the Virgin surrounds Constance with a crown of glory, and convinces the king, to the great delight of the spectators, that it is an unpardonable sin to keep faith with heretics. To give one instance more; in another piece, the hero, while leading the most abandoned life, is represented as adhering to the true faith, and thus meriting the protection of St. Patrick, who follows him as his good genius to inspire him with repentance. When about to commit a murder, in addition to numbers which he had already perpetrated, he is converted by an apparition of himself, and exclaims, "What atonement can be made for a life spent in crime?" to which a voice of celestial music replies, "Purgatory." He is then directed into St. Patrick's Purgatory, and at the end of a few days comes out pardoned and purified. Still more precious specimens of religious absurdity and fanaticism might have been given from the *autos sacramentales*, a species of composition which continued to be popular till a late period, and has employed the pens of the most celebrated writers in Spain.

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[*] For this bull the nobles pay about six shillings and four pence, the common people about two shillings and four pence, in Aragon. In Castile it is somewhat cheaper. No confessor will grant absolution to any one who does not possess it. (Townsend, ii. 171-2. Doblado's Letters, p. 214.) Dr. Colbach has given an account of this traffic. In 1709 a privateer belonging to Bristol took a galleon, in which they found five hundred bales of these precious goods, containing each sixteen reams, and amounting in all to 584,000 bulls. Captain Dampier says he careened his ship with them.

The Italians are bound to religion chiefly by the ties of interest and pleasure. The Spaniards are naturally a grave people; their devotional feelings are strong; and had they lived under a free government, they would have welcomed a purer worship, when, after a long period of ignorance, it was unveiled to their eyes, and might have proved its most enthusiastic and constant admirers. But their minds have been subjugated and their feelings perverted by a long course of debasing slavery. As to religion, the inhabitants of Spain are now divided into two classes, bigots and dissemblers. There is no intermediate class. Under such an encroaching system of faith as that of the church of Rome, which claims a right of interference with almost every operation of the human mind, the prohibition of all dissent from the established religion is a restraint sufficiently painful. But this is the least evil. Every Spaniard who disbelieves the public creed is constrained to profess himself to be what he is not, under the pain of losing all that he holds dear on earth. What with masses, and confessions, and festivals, and processions, and bowing to crosses and images, and purchasing pardons, and contributing to deliver souls from purgatory, he is every day, and every hour of the day, under the necessity of giving his countenance to what he detests as a Christian, or loathes as the cause of his country's degradation. It is not enough that he contrives to avoid going to church or chapel: the idol presents itself to him abroad and at home, in the tavern and in the theatre. He cannot turn a corner without being in danger of hearing the sound of the hand-bell which summons him to kneel in the mud, till a priest, who is carrying the consecrated host to some dying person, has moved slowly in his sedan chair from one end of the street to the other. If he dine with a friend, the passing bell is no sooner heard than the whole party rise from table and worship. If he go to the theatre, the military guard at the door, by a well-known sound of his drum, announces the approach of a procession, upon which "Su Magestad! Dios, Dios!" resounds through the house; the play is instantly suspended, and the whole assembly, actors and spectators, fall on their knees, in which attitude they remain until the sound of the bell has died away, when the amusement is resumed with fresh spirit. He has scarcely returned to his inn, when a friar enters, bearing a large lanthorn with painted glass, representing two persons enveloped with flames, and addresses him, "The holy souls, brother! Remember the holy souls."

Religion in its purity is calculated to soothe and support the mind under the unavoidable calamities of life; but when perverted by superstition, it aggravates every evil to which men are exposed, by fostering delusive confidence, and leading to the neglect of those natural means which tend to avert danger or alleviate distress. In Spain every city, every profession, and every company of artisans, has its tutelary saint, on whose miraculous interposition the utmost reliance is placed. The merchant, when he embarks his goods for a foreign country, instead of insuring them against the dangers of the sea in the ordinary way, seeks for security by paying his devotions at the shrine of the saint under whose protection the vessel sails. There is scarcely a disease affecting the human body which is not submitted to the healing power of some member of the calendar. So late as 1801, when the yellow fever prevailed in Seville, the civil authorities, instead of adopting precautionary measures for abating the violence of that pestilential malady, applied to the archbishop for the solemn prayers called *Rogativas;* and not trusting to these, they resolved to carry in procession a fragment of the true cross, preserved in the cathedral of Seville, which had formerly chased away an army of locusts, together with a large wooden crucifix, which, in 1649, had arrested the progress of the plague. The inhabitants flocked to the church; and the consequence was, that the heat, fatigue, and anxiety of a whole day spent in this ridiculous ceremony, increased the disease in a tenfold proportion.

Popery, by the false light and repulsive form in which it represents Christianity, tends naturally to produce deism and irreligion. In France, where a certain degree of liberty was enjoyed, it led at first to the covert dissemination and afterwards to the bold avowal of infidel opinions, by those who had the greatest influence over the public mind. In countries where a rigid system of police, civil and ecclesiastical, has been kept up, its operation has been different, but not less destructive to national character and the real interests of religion. The great body of the unbelievers, anxious only for present enjoyment, and regarding religion in no other light than as an engine of state, have made no scruple of fostering the popular credulity, that they might share its fruits; while those of more generous and independent spirit, writhing under the degrading yoke, have given way to irritation of feeling, and, confounding Christianity with an intolerant superstition, cherish the desperate hope that religion, in all its forms, will one day be swept from the earth, as the support of tyranny and the bane of human happiness. It is well known that the Italian clergy have for a long time given the most unequivocal proofs that they disbelieve those doctrines, and feel indifferent to those rights, from which they derive their maintenance and wealth.* We were formerly aware that the principles of irreligion were widely diffused among the reading classes in Spain; but more ample information, furnished by recent events, has disclosed the fact, that this evil is not confined to the laity, and that infidelity is as common among the educated Spanish clergy as vice is among the vulgar crowd of priests. There is a lightness attached to the character of the Italians, which, together with the recollection that they have been the chief instrument of enslaving the Christian world, disposes us to turn away from the manifestations of their irreligion with feelings of contempt. But such is the native dignity of the Spanish character, and its depth of feeling, that we dwell with a mixed emotion of pity and awe on the ravages which infidelity is making on so noble a structure. Who can read the following description by a Spaniard without the strongest sympathy for such of his countrymen as are still in that "gall of bitterness and bond iniquity" from which he was so happily rescued! "Where there is no liberty, there can be no discrimination. The ravenous appetite, raised by a forced abstinence, makes the mind gorge itself with all sorts of food. I suspect I have thus imbibed some false and many crude notions from my French masters. But my circumstances preclude the calm and dispassionate examination which the subject deserves. Exasperated by the daily necessity of external submission to doctrines and persons I detest and despise, my soul overflows with bitterness. Though I acknowledge the advantages of moderation, none being used towards me, I practise none, and in spite of my better judgment learn to be a fanatic on my own side. Pretending studious retirement, I have fitted up a small room to which none but confidential friends find admission. There lie my prohibited books in perfect concealment, in a well-contrived nook under a staircase. The Breviary alone, in its back binding, clasps, and gilt leaves, is kept upon the table, to check the doubts of any chance intruder." The same person writes at a subsequent period: "The confession is painful indeed, yet due to religion itself—I was bordering on atheism. If my case were singular, if my knowledge of the most enlightened classes of Spain did not furnish me with a multitude of sudden transitions from sincere faith and piety to the most outrageous infidelity, I would submit to the humbling conviction that either weakness of judgment or fickleness of character had been the only source of my errors. But though I am not at liberty to mention individual cases, I do attest, from the most certain knowledge, that the history of my own mind is, with little variation, that of a great portion of the Spanish clergy. The fact is certain; I make no individual charge; every one who comes within the description may still wear the mask, which no Spaniard can throw off without bidding an eternal farewell to his country."

It is evident from this slight sketch that there are many and powerful obstacles to the regeneration of Spain. Superstition is interwoven with her national habits and feelings; and civil and spiritual despotism are bound together by an indissoluble league, while they find a powerful auxiliary in the depraved morals of the people; for liberty has not a greater enemy than licentiousness, and an immoral people can neither preserve their freedom when they have it, nor regain it after it has been lost. But what augurs worse than perhaps any thing else for Spain is, that it does not possess a class of persons animated by the spirit of that reformation to which the free states of Europe chiefly owe their political privileges. Infidelity and scepticism, besides weakening the moral energies of the human mind, have a tendency to break up the natural alliance which subsists between civil and religious liberty. Those who are inimical or indifferent to religion cannot be expected to prove the firm and uncompromising friends of that liberty which has religion for its object. They love it not for itself, and cannot be prepared to make all sacrifices for its sake. Thus, when tyranny takes the field, brandishing its two swords, the right arm of liberty is found to be palsied. The irreligious or sceptical principles of those who have been called liberals must always excite a strong and well-grounded prejudice against their schemes. If they demand a reform in the state, the defenders of abuse have only to raise against them the cry of impiety. Bigots and hypocrites are furnished with a plausible pretext for putting them down. And good men, who may be convinced of the corruptions which adhere to both church and state, and might be willing to co-operate in removing them, are deterred from joining in the attempt, by the apprehension that it may lead to the overthrow of all religion. It is not difficult to trace the operation of all these causes in defeating the struggles for liberty which have been made within these few years in Italy and the Peninsula.

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* An English gentleman who had resided long in Italy, and obtained lodgings in a convent, was frequently engaged in friendly discussions with the most intelligent individuals of the house on the points of difference between the churches of Rome and England. On the termination of one of these disputes, after the greater part of the company had retired, a young monk, who had supported the tenets of his church with great ability, turning to his English guest, asked him, if he really believed what he had been defending. On his answering seriously in the affirmative, the monk exclaimed, Allor lei crede più che tutto il convento. Then, Sir, you believe more than all the convent. (Doblado's Letters, p. 476.)

But may we not cherish better hopes, as the result of those events which have recently induced the more enlightened portion of the Spanish nation to turn their eyes to Britian instead of France, from which they formerly looked for instruction and relief? Let us hope that those individuals who have taken refuge in this country, and whose conduct has shown that they are not unworthy of the reception they have met with, will profit by their residence among us; that any of them who, from the unpropitious circumstances in which they were placed, may have formed an unfavourable opinion of Christianity, will find their prejudices dissipated in the free air which they now breathe; that what is excellent in our religion, as well as our policy, will recommend itself to their esteem; and that, when providence shall open an honourable way for their returning to their native country, they will assist in securing to it a constitution, founded on the basis of rational liberty, in connexion with a religion purified from those errors and corruptions which have wrought so much woe to Spain—which have dried up its resources, cramped and debased its genius, lowered its native dignity of character, and poisoned the fountains of its domestic and social happiness.

FANATICISM.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

NATURAL HISTORY OF ENTHUSIASM.

—— *αἱ μετὰ πάθους διαστροφαὶ*
τῆς ψυχῆς χαγεπώτεραι.

PREFACE.

Strict propriety seldom allows an author to obtrude upon the public the circumstances that may have attended and controlled his literary labours. Yet the rule may give way to special reasons; and in the present instance the reader is requested courteously to admit an exception.

More than twelve years ago the Author projected a work which should at one view exhibit the several principal forms of spurious or corrupted religion. But discouraged by the magnitude and difficulty of such a task, he after a while, yet not without much reluctance, abandoned the undertaking. Nevertheless the subject continually pressed upon his mind. At length he selected a single portion of the general theme, and adventured—Natural History of Enthusiasm.

Emboldened to proceed, the Author almost immediately entered upon the nearly connected and sequent subject which fills the present volume. Yet fearing lest, by an unskilful or unadvised treatment of certain arduous matters which it involves, he might create embarrassment where most he desired to do good, he laid aside his materials.

But in the interval, by extending his researches concerning the rise and progress of the fatal errors that have obscured our holy religion, the Author greatly enhanced his wish to achieve his first purpose. He therefore resumed Fanaticism; which is now offered to the candour of the Reader. He next proposes, in advancing towards the completion of his original design, to take in hand Superstition, and its attendant, Credulity.

A natural transition leads from Superstition and Credulity to Spiritual Despotism. The principal perversions of Religion having thus been reviewed, it would be proper to describe that Corruption of Morals which, in different modes, has resulted from the overthrow of genuine piety. There would then only remain to be considered Scepticism, or Philosophic Irreligion; and the series will embrace all that the Author deems indispensable to the undertaking he has so long meditated.

SECTION I.

MOTIVES OF THE WORK.

The maladies of the mind are not to be healed any more than those of the body, unless by a friendly hand. But through a singular infelicity it too often happens that these evils, deep as they are, and difficult of cure, fall under a treatment that is hostile and malign, or, what is worse, frivolous. Especially does this disadvantage attach to that peculiar class of mental disorders which, as they are more profound in their origin than any other, and more liable to extreme aggravation, demand in whoever would relieve them, not only the requisite skill, but the very purest intentions.

Vitiated religious sentiments have too much connexion with the principles of our physical constitution to be in every case effectively amended by methods that are merely theological; and yet, drawing their strength as they do from great truths with which the physiologist has ordinarily little or no personal acquaintance, and which perhaps he holds in contempt, he is likely to err, as well in theory as in practice, when he takes them in hand. How profound soever or exact may be his knowledge of human nature, whether as matter of science or as matter of observation, the subject, in these instances, lies beyond his range!—himself neither religious nor even superstitious, he has no sympathy with the deep movements of the soul in its relation to the Infinite and Invisible Being;—he has no clue therefore to the secret he is in search of. The misapprehensions of the frigid philosopher are vastly increased if it should happen that, in reference to religion, his feelings are petulant and acrimonious. Poor preparation truly for a task of such peculiar difficulty to be at once ignorant in the chief article of the case, and hurried on by the motives that attend a caustic levity of temper!

It would indeed be difficult to furnish a satisfactory reason either for the asperity or for the levity with which persons of a certain class allow themselves to speak of grave perversions of the religious sentiment; for if such vices of the spirit be regarded as corruptions of the most momentous of all truths, then surely a due affection for our fellow-men, on the one hand, and a proper reverence towards Heaven on the other, alike demand from reasonable persons as well tenderness as awe, in approaching a subject so fraught with fatal mischiefs. Or even if religion be deemed by these sarcastic reprovers altogether an illusion, or an inveterate prejudice, infesting our luckless nature, not the more, even in that case, can rancour or levity become a wise and benevolent mind, seeing that these same powerful sentiments, whether true or false, do so deeply affect the welfare of the human family.

Or, to look at the subject on another side, it may fairly be asked why the religious passions might not claim from supercilious wits a measure of that lenity (if not indulgence) which is readily afforded to vices of another sort. If Pride, abhorrent as it is, and if Ambition, with both hands dyed in blood, and if the lust of wealth making the weak its prey, and if sensual desires, devoid of pity, are all to be gently handled, and all in turn find patrons among Sages—why might not also Fanaticism? why might not Enthusiasm? why not Superstition? It would be hard to prove that the deluded religionist, even when virulent in an extreme degree, or when most absurd, is practically a more mischievous person than for instance, the adulterous despoiler of domestic peace, or than the rapacious dealer in human souls and bodies. Let it be true that the Hypocrite is an odious being?—yes, but is not the Oppressor also detestable? And what has become of the philosophic impartiality of the Sage (self-styed) who will spend his jovial hours at the table of the Cruel or the Debauched, while all he can bestow upon the victims of religious extravagance, is the bitterness of his contempt? There is a manifest inconsistency here of which surely those should be able to give a good account who, themselves, are far too wise than to be religious.

We leave this difficulty in the hands of the parties it may concern, and proceed to say that emotions altogether strange to frigid and sardonic tempers, must have come within the experience of whoever would truly comprehend the malady of the fanatic or the enthusiast; and much more so, if he is attempting to restore the disordered spirit to soundness of health. Mere intellectualists, as well as men of pleasure, know just so much of human nature as their own frivolous sentiments may serve to give them a sense of: all that lies deeper than these slender feelings, or that stretches beyond this limited range, is to them a riddle and a mockery. But it may happen that a mind natively sound, and one now governed by the firmest principles, has in an early stage, or in some short era of its course, so far yielded to the influence of irregular or vehement sentiments as to give it ever after a sympathy, even with the most extreme cases of the same order; so that, by the combined aid of personal experience and observation, the profound abyss wherein exorbitant religious ideas take their course may successfully be explored; nor merely explored, but its fearful contents brought forth and described, and this too in the spirit of *humanity*, or with the feeling of one who, far from affecting to look down as from a pinnacle upon the follies of his fellow-men, speaks in kindness of their errors, as being himself liable to every infirmity that besets the human heart and understanding.

Never, in fact, have we more urgent need of a settled principle of philanthropy than when we set foot upon the ground of religious delusion. Nowhere, so much as there, is it necessary to be resolute in our good-will to man, and fixed in our respect for him too, even while the strictness of important principles is not at all relaxed. Far more easy is it to be contemptuously bland, than kind and firm on occasions of this sort. We have only to abandon our concern for serious truths, and then may be indulgent to the worst enormities. But this were a cruel charity, and a farce too; and we must seek a much surer foundation for that love which is to be the consort of knowledge.

A personal consciousness of the readiness with which even the most egregious or dangerous perversions of feeling at first recommend themselves to the human mind, and soon gain sovereign control over it, is needed to place us in the position we ought to occupy whenever such evils are to be made the subject of animadversion. And if, with the light of Christianity full around us, and with the advantages of general intelligence on our side, we yet cannot boast of having enjoyed an entire exemption from false or culpable religious emotions, what sentiment but pity should be harboured when we come to think of those who, born beneath a malignant star, have walked by no other light than the lurid glare of portentous superstitions? A check must even be put to those strong and involuntary emotions of indignation with which we contemplate the hateful course of the spiritual despot and persecutor. Outlaw of humanity, and offspring, as he seems, of infernals, he may command also a measure of indulgence as the child of some false system which, by a slow accumulation of noxious qualities, has grown to be far more malign than its authors would have made it. Besides, there may revolve within the abyss of the human heart (as history compels us to admit) a world of wondrous inconsistencies; and especially so when religious infatuations come in to trouble it. How often has there been seen upon the stage of human affairs beings—must we call them men? who, with hands sodden in blood—blood of their brethren, have challenged to themselves, and on no slender grounds, the praise of a species of virtue and greatness of soul!

The very same spirit of kindness which should rule us in the performance of a task such as the one now in hand, must also furnish the necessary motive for the arduous undertaking. Is it a matter of curious description only, or of entertainment, or even with the more worthy, though secondary purpose of philosophical inquiry, that we are to pass over the ground of religious extravagance? Any such intention would be found to lack impulse enough for the labour. There are however at hand motives of an incomparably higher order, and of far greater force, and these (or some of them at least) have a peculiar urgency in reference to the present moment. To these motives too much importance cannot be attributed; and it will be well that we should here distinctly bring them to view.

All devout minds are now intent upon the hope of the overthrow of old superstitions, and of the universal spread of the Gospel. But the spread of the Gospel, as we are warranted to believe, implies and demands its clear separation from all those false sentiments and exaggerated or mischievous modes of feeling which heretofore, and so often, have embarrassed its course. In a word, Christianity must free itself from all entanglement with malignant or exorbitant passions, if it would break over its present boundaries. Is the world to be converted—are the nations to be brought home to God? Yes; but this supposes that the Christian body should awake from every illusion, and rid itself of every disgrace.

True indeed it is, and lamentable, that the families of man have remained age after age the victims of error: yet this has not happened because there has not been extant in every age, somewhere, a repository of truth, and an INSTRUMENT, or means of instruction. If even now superstition and impiety share between them the empire of almost all the world, it is not because nothing better comes within the reach of the human mind, or because nothing more benign is presented to its choice. No—for absolute Truth, Truth from heaven, has long sojourned on earth, and is to be conversed with. Why then do the people still sit in darkness? The question may painfully perplex us, yet should never be dismissed. Rather a genuine and intelligent compassion for our fellow-men will lead us to prosecute with intense zeal any inquiry which may issue in the purification of the means of salvation confided to our care. If the Gospel does not (as we might have expected, and must always desire) prevail and run from land to land—the anxious question recurs—what arrests its progress?

Besides employing ourselves then in all eligible modes for propagating the faith, every one competent to the task, should institute a scrutiny, at home and abroad, in quest as well of open hinderances to the progress of the Gospel, as of the more latent or obscure causes of obstruction. The great work in an age of Missions, should it be any thing else than the re-inauguration of Christianity among ourselves? If religion—religion we mean, not as found on parchments or in creeds, but in the bosoms of men, were indeed what once it was, it would doubtless spread, as once it did, from heart to heart, and from city to city, and from shore to shore. The special reason therefore—or the URGENT REASON, why we should now dismiss from our own bosoms every taint of superstition, and every residue of unbelief, as well as whatever is fanatical, factious, or uncharitable, is this—that the world—even the deluded millions of our brethren, may at length receive the blessings of the Gospel.

Although we were looking no further than to the personal welfare of individuals, it would always seem in the highest degree desirable that whoever believes the Gospel should cast off infirmities of judgment—preposterous suppositions—idle and debilitating fears, and especially should come free from the taint of malign sentiments. But after we have so thought of the *individual*, must we not give a renewed attention to the influence he may exert over others? No one "liveth to himself."—An efficacy, vital or mortal, emanates from the person of every professor of the Gospel.—Every man calling himself (in a special sense) a Christian, either saves or destroys those around him:—Such is the rule of the dispensation under which we have to act. It pleases not the Divine Power (very rare cases excepted) to operate independently of that living and rational agency to which even the scheme of human redemption was made to conform itself.

The Saviour of men "became flesh, and dwelt among us," because no violence could be done, even on the most urgent and singular of all occasions, to the established principles of the moral system.—The harmony of the intellectual world, in the constitution of which the Divine Wisdom is so signally displayed, must not be disturbed, notwithstanding that the Eternal Majesty himself was coming to the rescue of the lost; and in this illustrious instance we have a proof, applicable to every imaginable case, and always sufficient to convince us—That the saving mercy of God to man moves only along the line of rational and moral agency;—that if a sinner is to be "converted from the error of his way," it must be by the word or personal influence of one like himself. Was it not (other purposes being granted) to give sanction to this very mode of procedure, that he who "was rich" in the fulness of divine perfections, "became poor," that we, through the poverty of his human nature, "might be made rich?" Vain supposition then that God, who would not at first save the world at the cost, or to the damage of the settled maxims of his government, shall in after instances wave them; or put contempt in private cases upon that to which he attributed the highest importance on the most notable of all occasions!

Christianity, such as it actually exists in the bosoms of those who entertain it, is the Instrument of God's mercy to the world:—and the Effect in every age will be as is the Instrument. In these times we have not quite lost sight of this great principle; much less do we deny it:—and yet every day we give more attention to other truths, than to this. We honour the capital doctrine of the agency of the Spirit of Grace in the conversion of men; and then we turn to proximate and visible means, and pay due regard to all the ordinary instruments of instruction. And thus having rendered homage in just proportion, to the Divine Power and sovereignty on the one hand, and to human industry on the other, we think too little of that Middle Truth which, nevertheless, *to ourselves* is the most significant of the three, namely—That the moral and intelligent instrumentality from the which the Sovereign Grace refuses to sever itself, is nothing else than the vital force which animates each single believer.

Does not the Omnipresent Spirit, rich in power to renovate human hearts, even now brood over the populous plains and crowded cities of India and of China, as well as over the cities and plains of England? Is not God—even *our* God, locally present among the dense myriads that tread the precincts of idol worship?—Is He not ever, and in all places at hand; and wherever at hand, able also to save? Yes, but alas! the moral and rational instrumentality is not present in those dark places; and the immutable law of the spiritual world forbids that, apart from this system of means, the souls of men should be rescued.

Nor is the bare presence of the moral and rational instrument of conversion enough; for its POWER resides in its QUALITY. The very same law—awful and inviolable, which demands its *presence*, demands also its *quality*, as the condition of its efficiency. Yes, indeed, awful and inviolable law;—awful because inviolable; and awful to the Church, because it makes the salvation to mankind, in each successive generation, to lean with undivided stress, upon the purity and vigor of faith and charity, as found in the hearts of the Christians of each age, severally and collectively!

There might, we grant, seem more urgent need to make inquiry concerning the intrinsic condition of the Christian body in those times when its diffusive influence had sunk to the lowest point, or seemed quite to have failed, than when this influence was growing. And yet, inasmuch as hope is a motive incomparably more efficacious than despondency, we should be prompt to avail ourselves of its aid whenever it makes its auspicious appearance. But the present hour is an hour of hope;—let us then seize the fair occasion, and turn it to the utmost advantage. This age of expectation is the time when vigilance and scrutiny, of every sort, should be put in movement, and should be directed inward upon the Church itself: for in the bosom of the Church rests the hope of the conversion of the world?

How culpable, then, and how ignoble too, must we deem that spirit of jealousy or reluctance which would divert such a scrutiny, as if the honour of the Gospel were better secured by cloaking the faults of its adherents, than by labouring to dispel them! Shall we, as Christians, wish to creep under the shelter of a corrupt lenity? Shall we secretly wish that the time may never come—or at least, not come while we live, when the inveterate and deep-seated errors of the religious body shall be fairly dealt with, and honestly spread to the light? It may indeed be true that when we have to denounce the flagrant evils that abound in the world, and when open impiety and unbelief are to be reproved, we should use a serious severity; but then, when we turn homeward, shall we at once moderate our tones, and drop our voice, and plead for a sort of indulgence, as the favourites of heaven, which we are by no means forward to grant to the uninstructed and irreligious portion of mankind! Shall our thunders always have a distant aim? Alas! how many generations of men have already lived and died untaught, while the Church has delicately smothered her failings, and has asked for an inobservant reverence from the profane world! True it is that the vices of heathens and infidels are grievous; but it is also true that the vices of the Church, if much less flagrant, and less mischievous in their immediate operation, are loaded with a peculiar aggravation, inasmuch as they destroy or impair the ONLY EXISTING MEANS for the repression and extermination of all error and all vice!

If then the alleged dependence of the religious welfare of mankind upon the vigor and purity of the Christian body be real, we find a full apology for whatever methods (even the most rigorous) that may conduce to its cleansing. All we need take care of is the *spirit* and *intention* of our reproofs. Should there be any, calling himself a disciple of Christ, who would protest against such impartial proceedings, he might properly be told that the inquiry in hand is too momentous, and is far too extensive in its consequences, than that it should be either diverted or relinquished in deference to the feelings or interests of the parties immediately concerned.—'Be it so,' we might say to the reluctant and faulty Christian, be it so, that your spiritual delinquencies are not of so fatal a kind as to put in danger your personal salvation (an assumption, by the way, always hazardous) and let it be granted that you are chargeable only with certain infirmities of judgment, or with mere exuberances in temper or conduct;—yes, but these faults in *you*, as a Christian, and especially at the present critical moment, exert a negative power, the circle of which none can measure. Can you then desire that we should exercise a scrupulous tenderness toward you, while we forget pity towards the millions of mankind? Nay, rather, let every instrument of correction, and the most severe, be put in play, which may seem needful for restoring its proper force to the Gospel—the only means as it is of mercy to the world.' No, we must not flinch, although the sensitiveness and the vanity of thousands among us were to be intensely hurt. Let all—all be humbled, if such humiliation is indeed a necessary process that shall facilitate the conversion of the world.

Such then is the prime motive which should animate the difficult labour we have in hand. But there are other reasons, nor those very remote, that may properly be kept in view when it is attempted, as now, to lay bare the pernicious sentiments that have so often and so severely afflicted mankind.—If, just at the present moment, there seems little or no probability that sanguinary and malignant superstitions should regain their lost ascendancy, can we say it is certain that no such evils, congruous as they are with the universal passions of man, shall henceforth be generated, and burst abroad? Manifest as it is that the human mind has a leaning toward gloomy and cruel excesses in matters of religion, whence can we derive a firm persuasion that this tendency shall, in all future ages, be held as much in check as now it is?—Not surely from broad and comprehensive calculations, such as a sound philosophy authenticates. The supposition that human nature has forever discarded certain powerful emotions which awhile ago raged within its circle, must be deemed frivolous and absurd. How soon may we be taught to estimate more wisely the forces we have to guard against in our political and religious speculations! The frigid indifference and levity we see around us is but the fashion of a day; and a day may see it exchanged for the utmost extravagance, and for the highest frenzy of fanatical zeal. Human nature, let us be assured, is a more profound and boisterous element than we are apt to imagine, when it has happened to us for a length of time to stand upon the brink of the abyss in a summer season, idly gazing upon the rippled surface—gay in froth and sunbeams. What shall be the movements of the deep, and what the thunder of its rage, at night-fall, and when the winds are up!

Nothing less than the ample testimony of history can support general conclusions as to what is probable or not, in the course of events. And yet even the events of the last few years might be enough to prove that mankind, whatever may be the boasted advance of civilization, has by no means outgrown its propensity to indulge vindictive passions. Or can we have looked around during our own era, and believe that the fascinations of impudent imposture and egregious delusion are quite spent and gone? Rather let it be assumed as probable, at least as not impossible, that whatever intemperance, whatever atrocity, whatever folly, history lays to the charge of man, shall be repeated, perhaps in our own age, perhaps in the next.

The security which some may presume upon, against the reappearance of religious excesses, if founded on the present diffusion of intellectual and Biblical light, is likely to prove fallacious in two capital respects. In the first place, the inference is faulty because this spread of knowledge (in both kinds) though indeed wide and remarkable—or remarkable *by comparison*, is still in fact very limited, and its range bears an inconsiderable proportion to the broad surface of society, even in the most enlightened communities. If a certain number has reached that degree of intelligence which may be reckoned to exclude altogether the probability of violent movements, the dense masses of society, on all sides, have hitherto scarcely been blessed by a ray of genuine illumination; moreover, there is in our own country, and in every country of Europe, a numerous middle class, whose progress in knowledge is of that sort which, while it fails to insure moderation or control of the passions, renders the mind only so much the more susceptible of imaginative excitements. Torpor, it is true, has to a great extent been dispelled from the European social system; but who shall say in what manner, or to what purposes, the returning powers of life shall be employed? In now looking upon the populace of the civilized world, such as the revolutionary excitements of the last fifty years have made it, one might fancy to see a creature of gigantic proportions just rousing itself, after a long trance, and preparing to move and act among the living. But, what shall be its deeds, and what its temper?—The most opposite expectations might be made to appear reasonable. Every thing favourable may be hoped for;—whatever is appalling may be feared. At least we may affirm that the belief entertained by some, that great agitations may not again produce great excesses; or that egregious delusions may not once more, even on the illuminated field of European affairs, draw after them, as in other ages, myriads of votaries, rests upon no solid grounds of experience or philosophy, and will be adopted only by those who judge of human nature from partial or transient aspects, or who think that the frivolous incidents of yesterday and to-day afford a sufficient sample of all Time.

But a persuasion of this sort, founded on the spread of intelligence, whether secular or religious, seems faulty in another manner—namely, in attributing to knowledge, of either kind, more influence than it is actually found to exert over the passions and the imagination of the bulk of mankind. Education does indeed produce, in full, its proper effect to moderate the emotions, and as a preservative against delusion, in cold, arid, and calculating spirits; and it exerts also, in a good degree, the same sort of salutary influence over even the most turbulent or susceptible minds, up to that critical moment when the ordinary counterpoise of reason is overborne, and when some paramount motive gains ascendancy. This sudden overthrow of restraining principles—an overthrow to which sanguine and imaginative temperaments are always liable, is not often duly allowed for when it is attempted to forecast the course of human affairs. We form our estimate of moral causes according to that rate of power at which we observe them *now* to be moving; but fail to anticipate what they shall become, perhaps the next instant, that is to say, when existing restraints of usage or feeling have been burst asunder.

The rush of the passions, on such occasions, is impetuous, just in proportion to the force that may have been overthrown; and whatever has given way before the torrent, goes forward to swell the tide. There are those who, from their personal history, might confirm the truth that, when they have fallen, their fall was aggravated, not softened, by whatever advantages they possessed of intelligence or sensibility. And it is especially to be observed that, when the balance of the mind has once been lost, the power of intelligence or of knowledge to enhance the vehemence of malignant emotions, or to exaggerate preposterous conceits, is immeasurably greater on occasions of general excitement, or of public delusion, than in the instance of private and individual errors. Whence in fact does knowledge draw the chief part of its controlling force over the mind, but from the susceptibility it engenders to the opinions of those around us? In entering the commonwealth of intelligence, do we not come under an influence that will probably out-measure the accession we may make of personal power? It is only on particular occasions that we regulate our conduct, or repress the violence of passion by self-derived inferences from what we know; while ordinarily and almost unconsciously, we apply to our modes of action and to our sentiments, those general maxims that float in the society of which we are members. If every man's personal intelligence absolutely governed his behaviour, the empire of knowledge would indeed be much more firm than it is, because truth would take effect at all points of the surface of society, instead of touching only a few. But this not being the fact, whatever blind impulse awakens the passions of mankind affects all, individually, in a degree that bears little relation to the individual intelligence of each. The movements of a community when once excited, are far more passionate and less rational, than an estimate of its average intelligence might lead us to expect.

If it be so, it must happen that when once a turn is made in the general tendency of men's feelings—when once a certain order of sentiment, or a certain course of conduct has come to be authenticated;—if, for example, some dark, cruel, or profligate rule of policy is assented to as necessary or just, all men in particular, in yielding themselves to the stream of affairs, will plunge into it with an impetuosity proportioned to their personal intelligence and energy of mind. Every man in assenting to the general conclusion, because assented to by others, would strengthen himself and others, in the common purpose, by all those means of knowledge and powers of argument which he possessed. If the error or extravagance had been his own, exclusively, his faculty and furniture of mind would have been employed in defending himself from the assaults of other men's good sense; and human nature does not, under such circumstances, often accumulate such force. But the same faculties moving forward with the multitude, on a broad triumphant road, swell and expand and possess themselves of the full dominion of the soul.

At this present moment of general indifference the breaking forth of *any* species of fanaticism may seem highly improbable. We ought however to look beyond to-day and yesterday;—we should survey the general face of history, and should inspect too the depths of the human heart, and calculate the power of its stronger passions. Disbelief is the ephemeron of our times; but disbelief, far from being natural to man, can never be more than a reaction that comes on, as a faintness, after a season of credulity and superstition. And how soon may a revulsion take place! How soon, after the hour of exhaustion has gone by, may the pleasurable excitements of high belief and of unbounded confidence be eagerly courted!—courted by the vulgar in compliance with its relish of whatever is pungent and intense;—courted by the noble as a means, or as a pretext of power;—courted by the frivolous as a relief from lassitude; and by the profound and thoughtful, as the proper element of minds of that order!

Whenever the turn of BELIEF shall come round (we are not here speaking of a genuine religious faith), empassioned sentiments, of all kinds, will follow without delay: nor can any thing less than a revival of Christianity in its fullest force then avail to ward off those excesses of fanaticism and intolerance, and spiritual arrogance, which heretofore have raged in the world. The connexion of CREDULITY with VIRULENCE is deep seated in the principles of human nature, and it should not be deemed impertinent or unseasonable at any time to attempt to trace to its origin this order of sentiments, or to lay bare the fibres of its strength:—unless, indeed, we will profess to think that man is no more what once he was.

SECTION II.

THE MEANING OF TERMS—RISE OF THE MALIGN EMOTIONS.

Every term, whether popular or scientific, which may be employed to designate the affections or the individual dispositions of the human mind, is more or less indeterminate, and is liable to many loose and improper extensions of the sense which a strict definition might assign to it. This disadvantage—the irremediable grievance of intellectual philosophy, has its origin in the obscurity and intricacy of the subject; and is besides much aggravated by the changing fashions of speech, which neither observe scientific precision, nor are watched over with any care. Men speak not entirely as they think; but as they think and hear; and in what relates to things impalpable few either think or hear attentively. All ethical and religious phrases, and those psychological terms which derive their specific sense from the principles of religion, besides partaking fully of the above-named disparagements, common to intellectual subjects, labour under a peculiar inconvenience, not shared by any others of that class. For if the mass of men are inaccurate and capricious in their mode of employing the abstruse portion of language, they entertain too often, in what relates to religion, certain capital errors—errors which ordinarily possess the force and activity of virulent prejudices, and which impart to their modes of speaking, not indistinctness indeed, but the vivid and positive colours of a strong delusion.

It is not the small minority of persons soundly informed in matters of religion, that gives law to the language of a country;—or even if it did, this class is not generally qualified, by habits or education, to fix and authenticate a philosophical nomenclature. From these peculiar disadvantages it inevitably follows that when, by giving attention to facts, we have obtained precise notions on subjects of this sort, or at least have approximated to truth, it will be found impracticable to adjust the result of our inquiries to the popular and established sense of any of the terms which may offer themselves to our option. The mass of mankind, besides their backwardness always to exchange a loose and vague, for a definite and restricted notion, do not fail to descry, in any definition that is at once philosophical and *religious*, some cause of offence.—The new-sharpened phrase is felt to have an edge that wounds inveterate prejudice, and rankles in the heart; and the writer who is seen to be thus whetting afresh his words, is deemed to entertain a hostile purpose, and is met with a correspondent hostility. Nor is much more favour to be looked for from the religious classes who, always alarmed at the slightest change in venerable modes of speech, will scent a heresy in every such definition.

If then new terms are not to be created (a procedure always undesirable), and if the intolerable inconvenience of a ponderous periphrasis is also to be avoided, the best that can be done, amid so many difficulties, is to select a phrase which, more nearly than any other (of those commonly in use) conveys the notion we have obtained; and then to append a caution, explicit or implied, against the misunderstandings to which the writer, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, is exposed.

In the instance of every term connected with religious principles or modes of feeling, there must of course be admitted a far wider departure from the etymological or *ancient*, than from the modern and popular sense they bear. If the recent and vulgar meaning of such phrases be incorrect, or delusive, how much more so must be the remote and original meaning!—Whither does the *etymon* carry us, but to altogether a foreign region of thought? In matters of religion a revolution has taken place, upon all lettered nations, which, while it leaves human nature the same, has imparted a new substance, a new form, and a new relative position, to every notion that respects Invisible Power, and human conduct.

Preposterous therefore would be the pedantry of a writer who, in discoursing, for example, of Superstition, or Enthusiasm, should confine himself to such a definition of those terms as might comport with the sense they bore, centuries ago, in the minds of Lucian, Plutarch, Epictetus, or Aristotle! Even many of the less fluctuating ethical abstractions have dropped almost the whole of their primeval significance in the course of ages. Is *Justice*, in the sense of an Athenian populace, or in the sense of the "Senate and People of Rome," the justice either of English law, or of English opinion? Has the *Virtue* of Sparta much analogy with the virtue of Christian ethics? Where, in modern times (except indeed among the slaveholders of Republican America) where shall we find a meaning of the word *Liberty* which has even a remote resemblance to the sense attached to it by the ferocious lords of miserable Lacedæmonian helots?

The passions of man are permanent; but the difference between polytheism and true theology—how much soever true theology may in any instance be encumbered or obscured, is so vast, as to leave nothing that belongs to the circle of religious emotion unchanged.

Thus it is that the FANATIC of the Grecian and Roman writers is hardly, if at all, to be recognized as predecessor of the Fanatic of Christendom; and although, for purposes of illustration, or of mere curiosity, we may hereafter glance (once and again) at some of the ancient and long-obsolete forms of religious extravagance, it is with the modern species (practical inferences being our prime object) that we shall, in the following pages, chiefly be conversant.

In a former instance (Natural History of Enthusiasm) the author was not insensible of the disadvantage he laboured under in adopting a phrase which perhaps more than any other (the one he has now to do with excepted) is employed in every imaginable diversity of meaning, and to which, in truth, every man, as he utters it, assigns a sense that reflects his personal rate of feeling in matters of religion. One man's Enthusiasm being only another man's Sobriety. Before such diversities can be harmonized not only must mankind be taught to think with precision, but must come also to an agreement on the great principles of piety.

Discordances, still more extreme, belong to the popular senses of the word FANATICISM; for inasmuch as it takes up a more pungent element than the term *Enthusiasm*, it commonly draws some special emphasis from the virulence or prejudices of the mouth whence it issues:—the word is the favourite missile of that opprobrious contempt wherewith Irreligion defends itself in its difficult position; and it is hurled often with the indiscriminate vehemence that belongs to infuriate fear. The sense attached to a term when *so* employed must of course differ immensely from that which it bears in the mind of the dispassionate observer of mankind, and especially of one who takes up the truths of Christianity as the best and most certain clew to the philosophy of human nature.

Once for all, then, the author requests the reader to remember that he is not professing to be either lexicographer or scholastic disputant; nor does he assume it as any part of his business to adjust the nice proprieties of language; but aims rather, on a very important subject, to make himself understood, while he describes a certain class of pernicious sentiments, which too often have been combined with religious belief. In another volume spurious and imaginative religious emotions were spoken off: our present task is to describe the various combinations of THE SAME SPURIOUS PIETISM with the MALIGN PASSIONS.

After quite rejecting from our account that opprobrious sense of the word Fanaticism which the virulent calumniator of religion and of the religious assigns to it, it will be found, as we believe, that the elementary idea attaching to the term in its manifold applications, is that of *fictitious fervour* in religion, rendered turbulent, morose or rancorous, by junction with some one or more of the unsocial emotions. Or, if a definition as brief as possible were demanded, we should say, that FANATICISM IS ENTHUSIASM INFLAMED BY HATRED.

A glance at the rise and reason of the irascible emotions will facilitate our future progress. Our subject being an instance of the combination of these emotions with other principles, we ought distinctly to have in view the elements; and to note also some of their coalescent forms.

The difficulty that attends analysis in the science of mind (science so called) belongs in a peculiar manner to those instances in which we endeavour to trace the original construction of passions or impulses that scarcely ever present themselves otherwise than in an exaggerated and corrupted condition. It is usual, if an object of philosophic curiosity be obscure or evanescent, to single out for examination the most marked examples of the class. But to take this course in an analysis of the passions is to seek for primitive elements where most they have lost their original form, and have suffered the most injury.

What the contour and symmetry of the moral form was, as it came from the hand of the Creator, may be more readily determined in the dry method of ethical definition, than vividly conceived of; and this is especially true of those emotions which imply the presence of evil. How delicate is the task —if indeed it be a practicable one, to trace the line between nature (in the best sense) and deformity—between the true and false, in these instances! And yet, not the most rancorous or foul of the malign sentiments can be thought any thing else than a disordered state of some power indispensable to the constitution of a rational and independent agent. We need then take care lest, in our haste to condemn what is evil, we should denounce as such that of which God himself is author, and which, if we think closely, cannot even be conceived of as altogether wanting in a being placed where man is placed.

Within a certain line there can however be no difficulty in deciding between good and evil. It is quite obvious that a passion or appetite, subservient to some specific purpose, is in an irregular state when it overpasses or fails to secure that purpose;—the end must give law to the means; and where the end may clearly be defined, the limit which the means should reach is not hard to ascertain. Either by Excess and too great intensity—or by Perversion, or misdirection from their proper object—or by Prolongation from momentary impulses to habits and permanent qualities, as well the animal appetites as the irascible passions assume a pernicious form, and derange the harmony of nature.

Which of the emotions or desires is it that may justly claim to be not subservient, but paramount, and may therefore safely be prolonged, and impart themselves as qualities to the mind. Nature distinctly informs us, by rendering them always agreeable; while some uneasiness, or, even positive pain, is attached to the continuance of every one of those feelings which, in her intention, are only to measure out a momentary occasion, and which ought to rise and disappear in the same hour.

It is thus, we need hardly say, with the bodily appetites, which disturb the system (as well corporeal as mental) whenever they do more than accomplish their definite purpose. Indispensable as these impulses are to the machiery of life, they take a noxious quality when they are detained: their property should be to evaporate without residuum. Each, moreover, has its specific object, and throws every other function into disorder if it become fastidious; and each too must observe its due amount of force.

The same is true of all forms of the irascible emotions, and which never go beyond their purpose, and especially can never pass into dispositions, without vitiating the character. Each single instance of excessive excitement contributes, shall we say, the whole amount of its excess to the formation of a habit of the same class; and then these habits—emotions parted from their occasions, soon run into some sort of perversion, or become misdirected. Unoccupied desire strays from its path, and attaches itself perniciously to whatever objects it may meet. It is thus that human nature subsides into the most corrupted states. A certain mode of feeling is generated, of the utter unreasonableness of which the mind is dimly conscious, and to rid itself of the uneasy sense of being absurd, rushes on towards sentiments still more preposterous, that by their aid it may quite surround itself with false impressions, and lose all recollection of calm truths. As there is an intoxication of the animal appetites, so is there an intoxication of the malign passions; and perhaps if we could completely analyse some extreme instance of dark and atrocious hatred—hatred when it constitues the fixed condition of the soul, we should find that the miserable being has become what he is by the impulse of a perpetual endeavour to drown self-reproach and inward contempt in deeper and deeper draughts of the cup of poison.

Up to that point where the subordinate principles of our nature become transmuted into permanent qualities, imparting a character to the mind, it is easy to discern their reason and propriety as constituents of the physical and moral life: nor can we fail to perceive that each is attended with a provision for restraining it within due limits. Thus it is, as we have said, that while the machinery of animal life is impelled by the sense of pleasure which is attached to the brief activity of the appetites, an admonitory uneasiness attends the excessive indulgence or protracted excitement of them. Consistently with this same regard to ulterior purposes, the irascible emotions in their *native state*, are denied any attendant pleasurable sense; or at most so small an element of pleasure belongs to them, that the pain consequent upon their excess or their continuance is always paramount. The dash of gratification, if there be any, does but give momentary life to the rising energy, and then passes off.

The irascible passions can be allowed to have respect to nothing beyond the preservation of life, or of its enjoyments, in those unforeseen occasions when no other means but an instantaneous exertion of more than the ordinary force, both of body and mind, and especially of the latter, could avail for the purpose of defence:—anger is the safeguard of beings not housed, like the tortoise, within an impenetrable crust; and if man had been born cased in iron, or were an ethereal substance, he would probably have been furnished with no passionate resentments. Nevertheless every good purpose of such emotions has been answered when the faculties have received that degree and kind of stimulus which the exigency of the moment demanded; and their continuance must be always (if it were nothing worse) a waste and a perversion of power; since the conservative ends they may seem to have in view are far more certainly secured by other means when the sudden peril is gone by. Malign *dispositions* and vindictive *habits* are, shall we say, miserable incumbrances of the mind; as if a man would sustain the load of bulky armour, night and day, and carry shield and lance, though probably he will not encounter a foe once in the year. The checks of opinion, the motives of mutual interest; and at last the provisions of law, and the arm of the body politic, are in readiness to defend us from every aggression, those only excepted which must be repelled at the instant they are made, or not at all.

That brisk excitement of the faculties which a sudden perception of danger occasions, not merely bears proportion to the nearness and extent of the peril, but has a relation to its *quality* and its supposed origin. This excitement, to answer its end, must possess an affinity with the aggressive cause. The repellant power must be such as is the assailant power. A quick sympathy with the hostile purpose of an antagonist belongs to the emotion at the impulse of which we are to withstand his attack. Simple ear, and its attendant courage, are enough if the danger we have to meet arises from material causes only; or if a mechanical injury is all that is thought of. But anger, and the courage peculiar to anger, is called up when MIND contends with MIND, that is to say, when an injury is to be warded off which (whether truly so or not) we believe to spring from the inimical intention of a being like ourselves. In this case matter and its properties are forgotten, or are thought of as the mere instruments of the threatened harm, while we rouse ourselves to grapple, soul against soul with our foe.

For the very same reason that some knowledge, more or less accurate, of the laws of matter (whether acquired by the methods of science, or by common experience) is indispensable as our guide in avoiding or repelling physical evils, so is an intuition of *motives* necessary to our safety when it is a hostile purpose that originates the danger we are exposed to. Successfully to resist an impending harm, we must rightly conceive of its occult cause.

There may be those who would ask—"Why should we suppose these irascible emotions, liable as they are to abuse, and destructive as they often become, to be original ingredients of our nature; or why needs man be furnished with any impulses more potent or complex than those given him as a defence against physical injuries?" The answer is not difficult.—An additional motive and a more vigorous spring is needed in the one case which is not requisite in the other, because the danger in the one is of a far more recondite quality than in the other, and demands a commensurate provision. If, for our safety, we must know to what extent, at what distances, and under what conditions, fire may destroy or torment us; we must, for a like reason, know the nature, extent, and conditions of the harm that may arise from the rage of a furious man. Now it does not appear that the extreme exigency of the moment could be met in any way so efficaciously—if at all, as by this sudden sympathy with the ill intention of our enemy—a sympathy which, as by a flash of consciousness, puts us into possession of his evil purpose. The rage or the malice of the aggressor, thus reflected (if dimly yet truly) upon the imagination of whoever is its object, informs him with the rapidity of lightning, of all he should prepare himself to meet. May we not properly admire the simplicity and the fitness of this machinery?

It is quite another question, and one which does not now press upon us—Whence comes that first malignant purpose or hostile intention against which the irascible emotions are provided? Evil existing as it does, we are here concerned only with the arrangement made for repelling it. Let it then be remembered, that inasmuch as the hostile powers of MIND are far more pernicious, because more various, insidious and pertinacious than those of matter (which can move only in a single direction) there is required more motive and more energy to resist them. Now this necessary accession of power is, might we say, borrowed for the moment when it is wanted, by sympathy from the aggressor. He who rises in fatal rage upon his fellow, does, by the contrivance of nature, and at the very instant of his violent act, put into the hand of his victim a weapon that may actually avert the stroke. The vicious and exaggerated condition in which these passions usually present themselves (a condition accidental, not necessary) should not prevent our assigning to the wisdom and benignity of the Creator what conspicuously exhibits both. And surely it is becoming to us to rescue (if so we may speak) the praise of the Supreme in those instances where most it is obscured by the evils that have supervened upon his work.

Yet all we see around us of the wisdom and benevolence of the Author of Nature, especially as displayed in the constitution of the sentient orders, would stand contradicted if it appeared that passionate resentments were otherwise than painful.[*] In fact we do not find them to be entertained as modes of gratification until after they have gone into the unnatural condition of permanent qualities; and even then the gratification, if such it can be called, is wrung out from the very torments of the heart. When indeed these dark emotions have formed alliance with imaginative sentiments, they at once lose a portion of their virulence, and borrow a sense of pleasure, which may become very vivid. Some remarkable cases of this sort our proper subject will lead us to consider.

There is, however, an instance that may seem to be at variance with our assumptions; and it is one which should be fairly looked at. Of what sort then is the pleasure of consummated revenge; and whence does it spring?—or must we trace it to the original constitution of the mind? To answer such a question we should go back to the elements of the moral sense. Let it then be remembered that this sense, indispensable as it is to rational agency and to responsibility, implies, not only a consciousness of pleasure in the view of what is good, benign, and generous; but an equal and correspondent feeling (necessarily painful) towards the opposite qualities, whether of single actions or of character. We cannot so much as form a conception of a moral sense that should possess one of these faculties apart from the other:—as well suppose the eye to be percipient of light, but unconscious of darkness. The power of approval is a nullity, if it do not involve a power of disapproval and disgust. What sort of languid and vague instinct were it, which, though capable of high delight in the comtemplation of virtue and beneficence, should look listlessly and without emotion upon the infliction of wanton torture, or upon acts of injustice, fraud, or impurity? We may indeed imagine a world into which no evils and no discords or deformities should gain admission; but it is impossible to conceive of sentient beings endowed with faculties of pleasure, such as should involve no power of suffering. Whoever would be capable of exalted happiness must undergo the possibility of misery, equally intense; or if the power of enjoyment be greater than the power of suffering, the whole amount of the difference is just so much torpor, or so much relaxation. A sense or faculty may indeed be numbed or paralyzed; but although such damage should secure an exemption from pain, no one would boast of it as a natural perfection.

The sense of fitness, whence arises our acquiescence in retributive proceedings, as well penal as remunerative, implies an uneasiness not to be dismissed, or even an intense consciousness of pain, so long as merited punishment is diverted, or delayed, or its ultimate arrival is held in doubt. Few emotions, perhaps none, are more racking than that which attends the indeterminate delay of righteous retribution. And then, as every faculty of pleasure involves a liability to pain, so does a sudden release from pain, mental or bodily, bring with it a sensation which, if we must hesitate to call it pleasure, it will be hard to designate at all.—Thus the extreme uneasiness that attends the delay of retribution, is, when at length relieved by the infliction of due punishment, followed by an emotion (very transient in benignant minds) which, if it may not be called pleasurable, must remain undescribed. We have only to add that, as the exaggerations of self-love render the common desire of retribution intense—shall we say intolerable, if *self* be the sufferer, so, and in the same degree, will the pleasurable sense of relief be enhanced when, after a doubtful delay, ample retribution alights on its victim.—The continuance, or the brief duration of this malign gratification might well be taken as a guage of the nobility or baseness of the mind that entertains it. If a generous spirit admits at all any such emotion, it will refuse to give it lodgment longer than a moment, and will gladly return to sentiments of compassion and forgiveness. On the contrary, a mind, by disposition and habit rancorous, derives from an achieved revenge a sweetness not soon spent, and which is resorted to year after year as a cordial.

So jealous is Nature of her constitutions, that she rigorously visits every infringement of them. To revolve or entertain any desire at a distance from its due occasion, and in the absence of its fit object, is always to undergo some degree of corruption of the faculties—a corruption which, if not checked, spreads as a canker even through the powers of animal life. All kinds of introverted mental action, even of the most innocent sort, are more or less debilitating to both mind and body, and trebly so when attended by powerful emotions. Might it not be said, that health—both animal and intellectual, is Emanative movement, or a progression from the centre, outwards: and is not disease a movement in the reverse direction? Assuredly those vices are the most destructive, the most rancorous, and the most inveterate, which are peculiarly meditative, or the characteristic of which is *rumination.*

By extending themselves beyond their immediate occasion, the irascible passions are quickly converted from acts into habits. Thus anger becomes petulance or hatred:—wrath slides into cruelty; disgust into moroseness; dislike into envy; and at last the whole course of nature is "set on fire;" or worse, undergoes the tortures of a slow and smothered combustion.

The transition of the passions from momentary energies to settled dispositions, does not advance far (much less does it reach its completion) without the aid of what may be termed a *reverberative process*, not very difficult to be traced. That quick sympathy which vivifies the impressions of anger, by attributing an ill intention to him who assails us, accompanies, and even in a higher degree, the same class of feelings in their transmuted form of permanent sentiments. A malign temper imputes to an adversary, not a momentary hostility; but *an evil nature* and a settled animosity like its own. The supposition takes its measure and its quality from the sentiment whence it springs; and as the irascible emotion has now become a constant mood of the mind, so is *malignant character* made over and assigned to whoever is its object. Evil passions at this stage, are fast attaining their maturity, and fail not soon to gain absolute mastery over the soul. The meditation of evil abroad, inflames evil at home: the infatuated being in idea challenges its adversary to take a lodgement even within the palpitating ramparts of the heart, so that the conflict may go on as an intestine war at all hours, and in all seasons: night does not part the combatants; nay rather is it then that, like other savage natures which stalk forth from their lairs in the dark, envenomed hatreds (while children of peace are sleeping) wake up, and rend their prey.

If anger be simply painful, hatred involves the very substance of misery. How should it then, we may ask, subsist in the human mind, the first instinct of which is the desire of happiness? Strong as is this instinct, it takes effect only under certain conditions. There are circumstances which impel us to hold even our love of enjoyment in abeyance, or which make us refuse to taste the least gratification until the disturbance of feeling that has happened is adjusted. Do not minds of a sensitive order repel every solicitation of pleasure so long as one beloved suffers; and this, even when the object of fondness is far distant, and quite beyond the reach of any active service? The happiness of those we love, if indeed we be capable of love, is an indispensable condition of our own. And there are other necessary conditions of personal peace, and some so inseparable from human nature that they can never be evaded. Of these we have already mentioned that which belongs to the Retributive sentiment, and which forbids us to rest while the author of a wrong enjoys impunity.

A sort of fascination leads on the tortured soul that is the victim of these feelings in a double line; on the one hand it eagerly pursues its desire of revenge; and on the other, labours with indefatigable zeal to establish its own conviction of the malignant nature of its adversary. In its efforts to obtain this double satisfaction, it revolves hourly all evidences, real or imaginary, of the innate atrocity of its foe; for if *this* point were but fully settled, SELF would be cleared of the imputation of wrong, and the arrival of retribution would seem so much the more probable. But far from reaching a definite conclusion of this sort, with which it might rest satisfied, and so return to the common enjoyment of life, the racked spirit feels from day to day that the very cogitation of its doubt only enhances the motives that give it force. Inflamed and insatiate, the distracted being returns ever and again to the salt stream that, at every draught, aggravates its thirst! In this fever of the heart the assuagement of the inward torment by the destruction of its adversary, is the only happiness it can think of.

And yet even the most extreme and deplorable instances that could be adduced of the predominance of the malignant passions, would serve to attest, at once, the excellence of the original constitution of human nature, and the indestructible property of its moral instincts. Not the most furious or irascible of men can indulge his passion until after he has attributed an ill intention to the object of his wrath. To be angry with that which is seen and confessed to be innoxious or devoid of hostile feeling, is a reach of malignity that lies beyond the range of *human* passions, even when most corrupted or most inflamed. How else can we account for the absurd use which the angry man makes of the *prosopopœia* when he happens to be hurt, torn or opposed by an inanimate object: the stone, the steel, the timber, which has given him a fall, or has obstructed his impatience, he curses on the *hypothesis* that it is conscious and inimical: nay, he would fain breathe a soul into the senseless mass, that he might the more reasonably revile and crush it.

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[*] ——ὁ δὲ ὀργῆ ποιῶν πᾶς, ποιεῖ λυπούμενος.

And so, when hatred has become the settled temper of the mind, there attends it a bad ingenuity, which puts the worst possible construction upon the words, actions, looks of the abhorred object. Yet why is this but because the laws of the moral system forbid that any thing should be hated but what actually deserves, or is at the moment thought to deserve abhorrence? The most pernicious and virulent heart has no power of ejecting its venom upon a fair surface; it must slur whatever it means to poison. To hate that which is seen and confessed to be not *wicked*, is as impossible as to be angry with that which is not assumed to be *hostile*. And the most depraved souls, whose only element is revenge, feel the stress of this necessity not a whit less than the most benign and virtuous. Whether the universe any where contains spirits so malignant as to be capable of hating without assignment of demerit, or attributing of ill purpose to their adversary, we know not; but certainly *man* never reaches any such frightful enormity.*

What is the constant style of the misanthrope? What the burden of the dull echoes that shake the damps from the roof of his cavern? Is not his theme ever and again, the malignity, the cruelty, the falseness of the human race? To hate mankind is indeed his rule; but yet he must calumniate before he can detest it. Nature is here stronger than corruption, and a tribute is borne to the unalterable principles of virtue, even by those unnatural lips that breathe universal imprecations! How does the solitary wretch, prisoner as he is of his own malignity, toil from day to day in the work of ingenious detraction! how does he recapitulate and refute, untired the thousandth time, every alleged extenuation of human frailty or folly! How does he strive to *justify* the bad passion that rules him; how eagerly does he listen to any new proof of his poisonous dogma—That man is altogether abominable, and *ought* to be hated! Inwardly he feels the sheer absurdity of perpetual malice, and is always defending himself against the accusation of doing immense wrong to his species. But this very labour and this painful ingenuity refutes itself; for if human nature were, as he affirms it to be, simply and purely evil, his own bosom would not be thus tortured by the endeavour to prove mankind abominable, as a necessary condition of his malice. Most evident it is that if man were not formed to love what is good and follow virtue, he would find himself able to hate his fellows without first imputing to them wickedness and crimes.

There might be adduced a still more frightful case of malignancy, which, horrid as it is, furnishes the very same testimony in favour of the original benign structure of the human mind. If there are indeed miserable beings that harbour deliberate animosity against Him who is worthy of supreme affection, as well as reverence, yet this hatred must always be preceded by *blasphemy*. In word or in thought, there must be charged upon the Sovereign Ruler injustice, rigour, malevolence, before impiety can advance a step toward its bold and dread climax. Thus does the Supreme Benevolence secure and receive an implicit homage, even from the most envenomed lips; for why should the divine character be impeached, if it were not that the fixed laws of the moral world—those very laws of which God is author, forbid hatred to exist at all (at least in human nature) *except on a pretext which is itself drawn from the maxims of goodness?* What proof can be more convincing than this is, that these same maxims, these rules of virtue and benevolence, were actually the guiding principles of the creation, and must therefore belong as essential attributes to the Creator? If man, by the necessity of his nature, must calumniate and blacken whomsoever he would call his enemy, is it not because he is so constituted as to detest only what he thinks to be evil? The fact indeed is appalling, that rational agents should any where exist who can set themselves in array against the source and centre of all perfection. But how much more appalling, nay, how horrible a thing were it, to find any beings whose nature allowed them to hate the Sovereign Goodness without first defaming it!

The lower we descend into the depths of the malignant passions, the more striking are the proofs we meet with of the vigour of the prime principles of the moral life. There are, alas! scarcely any bounds to the degree of corruption or depravity which man may reach, but corruption or decay is something far less than *destruction of elements;* and no facts come within our sphere of observation which would imply that the original principles of the rational economy are in any case annulled. We have already spoken of the instinct of Retribution, or the vehement desire to see wrong visited with punishment; and we discern, in even the darkest purpose of revenge nothing more than a particular instance of this same instinct, inflamed and misdirected by preposterous self-love. No case can be more conclusive in proof of this position than the revenge of jealousy. When the firmest, and the most religious of the social ties has been torn asunder by the hand of ruthless lust, and an affection, more sensitive than any other, is left to bleed and ulcerate in open air, the inner structure of the vindictive passion may be said to be laid open, and it is seen in what way an emotion so violent as to lead to fatal acts, yet connects itself with virtuous sentiments, and in fact springs from them. The revenge of jealousy seems to the injured man to be justified at once by the best impulses of our nature, by the express sanction of God, by the opinion of mankind, and by the formal institutes of society. These authorities, or some of them, lend a palliation (deemed almost valid by the common feeling of men) even to deeds of a murderous kind; and they actually avail to put out of view the exaggerations which self-love has added to the sense of wrong. Thus it is that some, who, in no other case would for a moment harbour so hateful and torturing a passion, yield to its sway when thus injured, and feel as if uncondemned by even the strictest rules of virtue. It is true that principles of conduct of a higher kind are applicable, as well to this, as to all other instances of injury, and are fully adequate to assuage even so extreme a vindictive impulse. But whether they are actually brought to bear upon it or not, it is certain that the revenge of jealousy affords evidence that the elements of the moral system are the foundation of even the most fatal of the malignant passions, and in their most aggravated forms.

Let leave here be taken to draw an inference which suggests itself, bearing perhaps upon the future destinies of man. Does not then the history of human nature declare that all other emotions of the soul, as well as every inducement of interest or pride, may give way, and be borne down by the sovereign desire of retribution? Has not this feeling more than once impelled a father to consign his sons to the sword of public justice? Has it not strengthened the arm of a man, not murderous in disposition, to drive an assassin's sword into the heart of his friend? Has it not brought together an armed nation around the walls of a devoted city, the site of which, after being soaked with the blood of men, women, and babes, was to be covered with perpetual ruin? Does not this same robust instinct every day sustain the most humane minds in discharging the sad duty of conducting a fellow-man to death? We see, too, to what a degree of phrenzy the common desire of retribution may be inflamed by the suggestions of self-love. Now may it not be conceived of that an equal intensity of this emotion might be obtained by the means of some other sentiment than self-love, and by one more firm because more sound than the selfish principle? If so, then we have under our actual inspection powers which, in a future life, may be found vigorous enough to carry human nature through scenes or through services too appalling even to think or speak of. If, for example, it were asked—"Is it credible that man, his sensibilities being such as they are, should take his part, even as spectator, in the final procedures of the Divine Government?" We might fairly reply by referring to certain signal instances of the force of the vindictive passions, and on the ground of such facts assume it as *possible* that, whoever could go so far, might go further still. And this hypothetic inference would not be invalidated merely because revenge is malign and evil: for although it be so, the fulcrum of its power is nothing else than the unalterable laws of the moral world; we only want therefore a *righteous* motive to supplant the *selfish* one, and then an equal, or perhaps a much greater force, would be displayed by these same principles.

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* The mere supposition may seem to be a contradiction in terms; that what is not hateful should be hated. But the analysis of emotions of this sort, if carried on a little further, brings us to some such notion as that of malignity separable from an object confessed to be odious.

If it be allowable to advance to this point, we then shall need only one more idea to give distinctness to our conception of the retributive processes of the future world;—and it is this—that the infatuations of self-love, which, in the present state, defend every mind from the application to itself of the desire of retribution—in the same manner as the principle of animal life defends the vital organs of a body from the chemical action of its own caustic secretions—that these infatuations, we say, being then quite dispersed, the Instinct of Justice—perhaps the most potent of all the elements of the spiritual life, shall turn inward upon each consciously guilty heart, so that every such heart shall become the prey of a reflected rage, intense and corrosive as the most virulent revenge! Whoever is now hurrying on without thought of consequences through a course of crimes, would do well to imagine the condition of a being left without relief to breathe upon itself the flames of insatiable hatred!

SECTION III.

ALLIANCE OF THE MALIGN EMOTIONS WITH THE IMAGINATION.*

If nature denies to the irascible passions any attendant sense of pleasure, she absolutely refuses them also, at least in their simple state, the power of awakening the sympathy, or of exciting the admiration of those who witness their ebullition. These harsh elements of the moral system must be taken into combination with the sentiments of a different, and a happier order, and must almost be concealed within such sentiments, before they can assume any sort of beauty, or appear in splendour. That such combinations do actually take place, and in conformity too with the intentions of nature, is true; but it is true also, that by the very means of the mixture, the worse or rancorous element is vastly moderated and refined. Let it be granted, for example, that wars have often originated in the military ambition and false thirst of glory to which certain gorgeous sentiments give an appearance of virtue. This may be true, but can we easily estimate the degree in which war universally has been softened and relieved in its attendant horrors, by the corrective influence of these very mixed emotions, extravagant and false as they are? And is it certain that there would have been altogether less bloodshed on earth, if mere sanguinary rage, and if the cupidity of empire, had been left to work their ends alone? For every thousand victims immolated at the altar of martial pride, have not ten thousand been rescued by the noble and generous usages that have belonged to the system of warfare among all civilized nations? Surely it may be said that, unless the imaginative sentiments had thus blended themselves with the destructive passions, the ambition of men would have been like that of fiends, and the human family must long ago have suffered extermination.

Ideas of chivalrous virtue and of royal magnanimity (ideas directly springing from the imagination) much more than any genuine sentiments of humanity, have softened the ferocious pride of mighty warriors. For though it may be true that some sparks or rare flashes of mere compassion have, once and again, gleamed from the bosoms of such men; yet assuredly if good will to their fellows had been more than a transient emotion, the sword would never have been their toy. But the imaginative sentiments are a middle power, in the hands of nature, which, because they may be combined more readily than some higher principles with the gross and dark ingredients of the human mind, serve so much the better to chasten or ameliorate what cannot be quite expelled. Except for emotions of this order, Alexander would have been as Tamerlane, and Tamerlane as the Angel of Death.

The beneficial provisions of Nature are especially to be observed in one remarkable fact—namely—that the alliance of the malign passions with the Imagination—an alliance from which the former draw both their mitigation, and an extension of their field, is not permitted to take place upon the narrow ground of self-love. This fact, for such we deem it, deserves to be distinctly noticed.

Nothing appears too great, sometimes, to be grasped by the conceits of self-importance; nothing too big for the stomach of vanity: and yet it is found that the Imagination refuses to yield itself, except for a moment, or in a very limited degree, to those excitements that are drawn from the solitary bosom of the individual. Man, much as he may boast himself, is by far too poor *at home* to maintain the expense of his own splendid conceptions of personal greatness. Not even when he revolves the vast idea of his immortality, is he able to accumulate the materials of sublimity, without looking abroad and beyond himself, in search of objects fitted to quicken the emotions of greatness and dignity. And yet surely if any idea, purely selfish, had power to call up and sustain such emotions, the idea and the hope of endless existence might do so. But whenever we meditate upon eternity, and think of our own part in it, we dwell much more upon the scenes, the personages, and the events it shall connect us with, than conceive of ourselves, simply, as destined to live for ever. It is no wonder then if this same rule holds good, when nothing beyond the present scene of things is contemplated. We can hardly err in assigning the reason of a mechanism so remarkable. If human nature had been so constituted as that the imaginative emotions could have found sufficient range within the lone precincts of the soul, and if there had been opened to every one (or at least to heroic spirits) a world of splendid illusions—such that he should have had no need to look abroad, man must have become, in a frightful sense, an insulated being; nor perhaps would any other impulse, drawn either from his wants, his fears, or his affections, have availed to connect him firmly and permanently with his fellows. No conception much more appalling can be entertained than that of a proud demigod, who, finding an expanse of greatness within his own bosom—an expanse wherein he could take ample sweep, and incessantly delight himself, should start off from the populous universe, and dwell content in the centre of an eternal solitude!

It may well be assumed as probable that the Creator has granted to none of his rational family the prerogative of so fatal a sort of self-sufficiency. Assuredly no such power is granted to man. Even those instances that may seem the most nearly to approach the idea just now mentioned, do in fact, when accurately looked at, support the general principle. The man of the wilderness, for example, is still a social being, though in a very perverted manner; and we should find convincing proof of the fact if we could only listen to those often rehearsed and monotonous soliloquies of which the great world—its noise, its vanity, and its corruptions are the theme. Yes, he congratulates himself anew every day that mankind is far remote from his cell. But why can he not drop this reference altogether? Why not cease to think of what he does not see—does not feel? It is because the gloomy and vexed imagination of the solitary—spite of itself, can find none but the faintest excitements within its own circle, and so is driven to roam abroad in search of stimulants. The world, we may be assured, is as indispensable a material to the enthusiasm of the anchoret as it is to that of the busiest and most ambitious votary of fame. Only let some breathless messenger—like those that brought tidings of dismay to the Arabian patriarch, reach the cavern of the hermit and announce to him that his love of solitude was at length effectively and for ever sealed by the utter extinction of the human race;—solitude, from that instant, would not merely lose all its fancied charms, but would become terrible and insufferable; and this man of seclusion, starting like a maniac from his wilderness, would run round the world, in search, if happily it might be, of some straggling survivors!

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* The copiousness of our subject must exclude whatever does not directly conduce to its illustration. Otherwise it would be proper here to mention those complex dispositions which spring from the union of the malignant passions with the elements of individual character. The irascible sentiment, for example, takes a specific form from the peculiarities of the animal structure. Combined with conscious muscular vigour, and a sanguineous temperament, it becomes a stormy rage, and constitutes either the bully, or the dread devastator of kingdoms, as circumstances may determine. The same irascibility, joined with a feeble constitution, begets petulance, in those various forms which depend upon the particular *seat* of debility; namely, whether it be the nervous system—the arterial system—the mesenteric glands—the liver, or the stomach; each of which imparts a peculiarity to the temper. An attentive observer of the early development of character will also leave room, in any theory of the passions he may construct, for a hitherto unexplored and undefined influence of *conformation*—ought we to say of the *brain*, or of the *mind?* How much sover (from various motives) any might wish to simplify their philosophy of human nature, and especially to exclude from it certain facts which give rise to painful perplexities, they can do so only (as we think) by refusing to turn the eye toward the real world.

After receiving their first characteristic from the physical temperament, the malign emotions next ally themselves with the instinct of self-love, and generate either a sullen and obdurate pride, which makes every other being an enemy, as a supposed impugner of rights and honours that are its due; or else (and especially as combined with derangement of the hepatic functions) begets a rabid jealousy or reptile envy—passions of the most wretched natures! Our modern intellectual science yet wants a term to serve in the place of that theologico-metaphysic one—THE WILL. Analysis must be pushed a little further than it has gone before the deficiency can be well supplied. Meanwhile let us say that the malign passions have a characteristic alliance with "the will"—an alliance if not clearly to be distinguished from those it forms with self-love, yet distinct enough to arrest attention. As a single example we might name that undefined, and not easily analysed, cruelty or wanton and tranquil delight in torments, bloodshed, and destruction, which has given a dread notoriety to some few names in history. In such cases it has seemed as if the spontaneous principle would prove its force and its independence in the mode that should, more effectively than any other, make all men confess it to be free. Instances of malignity meet us which are at once too placid to be charged entire upon the irascible emotions, and too vague to be accounted for by the inducements of either selfishness or pride, and which, if they do not declare the presence of a *determining cause* that has no immediate dependence upon assignable motives, must remain quite unexplained.

Nor is it a few foreign materials that are enough to give effect to the alliance of the imagination with the selfish principle. A vigorous enthusiasm must embrace a broad field. Thus patrician pride, and the arrogance of illustrious blood must not only go very far back, but stretch itself very widely too, before it can acquire the alacrity or the force that distinguishes imaginative sentiments. The pride of ancestry is a sullen grace, and has always about it an air akin to melancholy or depression. The enthusiasm of the very meanest member of a warrior-clan is tenfold more *animate* than that of the head of a house laden with the decorations of heraldry. In the former instance the imagination grasps the compass of the community of which the individual is a part: in the latter, one slender line, terminating in *self*, is all that engages the fancy; and it is in vain, with so attenuated an object only in view, that pride chides itself for its dull and sluggish movements. The chief must think of his *people* more than of his *ancestry*, if he would, on any special occasion, gain a powerful spring of action. In truth it is more as a chief than as the offspring and representative of an illustrious stock, that the energetic patrician exults in his distinctions, and achieves deeds worthy of the name he bears.

Martial enthusiasm especially demands the social elements as its ground:—and here we reach that very compound sentiment which, as to its construction, stands immediately parallel with religious rancour and Fanaticism. The one species of ardent emotion differs from the other more in adjuncts and objects, than in innate quality or character. The battle-fury of the CLAN is only self-love, inflamed by hatred, and expanded, by aid of the imagination, over the width of the community with which the individual consorts. It is this envenomed enthusiasm that renders the CHIEF of the horde (as visible centre of all emotions) the object of a more zealous and efficient idolatry than is offered to the GOD of the horde: and it is this that lends a measure of nobility and importance to even the most abject son of the tribe. It is this feeling which knits the phalanx, shoulder to shoulder, when the marshalled family advances to meet its ancient rival in the field. It is this passion—the enthusiasm of gregarious rage, that puts contempt upon death, gives a brazen firmness to the nerves when torture is to be endured, seals the lips in impenetrable secresy when a trust has to be preserved; and, in a word, imparts to human nature a terrible greatness, which we are compelled at once to abhor and to admire.

What is the clangorous music of barbarous armies—what the rhapsodies of their poetry, but the modulated expressions of a ferocity which the imagination has already inflamed, ennobled, purified, and softened? Shall the frigid philosopher affirm that music and poetry are *incentives* to the destructive battle passions? It is true that they are; yet take away such incentives, and man is thrown back upon his mere malignity, and becomes more dreadful to his species than a tiger.

But the imagination has a limit beyond which it does not vigorously act. If it is not, as we have said, to be stimulated by ideas merely selfish, it becomes, on the other hand, languid, or ceases to exert an efficient influence over the passions, when the field of its exercise is very much extended. The men of a mighty empire that embraces many and various tribes, know little of the intense patriotism or of the unconquerable courage that distinguishes the heroes of a petty clan, or small community. Self, in this case, cannot retain its hold of an aggregate so vast; and although the object be immensely greater, the motive is incomparably less than in the other instance. If it were not that general intelligence and a better knowledge of the science of government, and more skill in war, ordinarily come in with extended empire to supply the place of personal enthusiasm, the history of nations would present (in a perpetual series) what in fact it has often presented—the destruction or subjugation of larger social bodies by the smaller. But thus is the great polity of mankind balanced:—men possess vastly more individual motive, and more spontaneous power, as members of a small than of a large community. Meanwhile the greater bodies have at command, not only a larger sum of physical force, but more knowledge, and principle, and order, than often exists in petty states. So it is that the small and the great coexist upon the same surface; and that the course of conquest has been alternate—in one age a fraction has broken up the mass—in another the mass has absorbed the fractions.

It may subserve our purpose to compare still more distinctly the steady martial temper that ordinarily belongs to the armies of a great empire, with the ferocious or desperate valour that distinguishes the warriors of a horde, a canton, or a petty republic. The first (extraordinary occasions excepted) is a calm perfunctory courage, drawing much more of its motive from usage, opinion, and reasons of interest or honour, than from the impulse of the malignant passions. An accomplished general of such an army excludes from his calculation of what may be effected by the tremendous engine which he wields, the rage or the rancour of the individual combatants. But, on the contrary, this very *malus animus* constitutes the principal ingredient in the bravery of the clan; and it does so because the human mind readily admits, under these circumstances, of an exaltation, which, in the other case, nothing can produce short of the most unusual excitements. The irascible passions are not to be raised to a height unless self-love, in some form, is immediately engaged in a quarrel; but the vast interests of an empire, and the immensity of an army that covers a province, and that is never seen as a whole, are quite disproportioned to the share each individual may have in the public weal. And then, as every one of the sentiments that infuse generosity into the practice of war, draws much of its force from the imagination, they will of course exist in the greatest vigour where the imagination is the most wrought upon. There are however very few minds, or they are minds only of the largest capacity and of the finest conformation, that can derive the stimulants of a vigorous enthusiasm from the idea of an extensive empire. On the other hand, few minds are so insensitive as not to entertain a degree of such enthusiasm when the various emotions of patriotism and civil affection spring up from a space that may all be seen at once from the summit of a hill.

And it is on the very same principle, as we shall find, that Fanaticism must attach itself always to a limited order of things, and is necessarily *factious*. What is fanaticism but rancorous Enthusiasm? And inasmuch as enthusiasm springs from the imagination, it must embrace a circle just wide enough to give it powerful impulse, and yet not too wide to exhaust its forces.

The valour of the clan not only stands *parallel* with religious fanaticism; that is to say, has one and the same Natural History; but is most often found in combination with it. The two classes of passion are so nearly allied that the one readily follows upon the other. The vehement patriotism of the horde or little free state puts the minds of men into a ferment that will not long fail to introduce the stirring conceptions of Invisible Power: and when so brought in, the two ingredients become intimately blended:—the civil and the religious frenzy form a compact sentiment of such vivacity as to carry human nature—if the solecism might be admitted, above and beyond the range of human agency. While the gods have been hovering over a field of carnage, the intrepidity of men has risen to the audacity of immortals; and their ferocity has resembled the rage of fiends!

Although it may be true, and we confidently assume it to be so, that a beneficial mitigation and refinement of the grosser elements of our nature accrues from their alliance with imaginative sentiments, yet it does by no means follow that such sentiments ought to supplant the genuine principles of morals, wherever these may take effect. No one would maintain such a doctrine in the abstract; nevertheless, when we turn to the real world, we find that true virtue and piety have always had to contend (and often with little success) against those splendid forms of excellence which are but vice in disguise, and which owe all their specious graces and fair colours to the admixture we are speaking of.

The unalterable maxims of rectitude, purity and mercy, such as we find them in the Scriptures, being well understood and firmly instated in their just authority, then indeed we may allow the imagination to take the part that belongs to it as the general cement—or as the common medium of the various ingredients of animal, social, and intellectual life. There meets us however a special difficulty in assigning its proper office to this faculty when it comes to mingle itself, as it readily does, with the malign emotions; and this embarrassment is much enhanced by those modes of feeling which are found to have got possession of every lettered people. How large a portion of the pleasurable excitement that attends the reading of history springs directly from the recommendations which vindictive or inexorable passions borrow from imaginative emotions! Then in the world of fiction—dramatic or poetic, perhaps half of the power which such creations possess over the mind is attributable to the same cause. The moralist and the preacher (especially when he has to do with the educated classes) and if he would discharge his office without showing favour to inveterate prejudices, finds that he has to loosen many of the most cherished associations of sentiment, and must denounce as purely evil very much that is passionately admired, and will be eagerly emulated.

To affirm in absolute and exclusive terms that the irascible passions ought in no case to be allowed to blend with the imagination, so as may fit them to enkindle emotions of pleasure or admiration, would be going very far, and might bring an argument into serious embarrassments. We stop short then of so stern a conclusion, and shall urge only this more general rule, that the pinciples of benevolence, and of forbearance, and meekness, and gentleness, and humility, as taught in the discourses of Christ, and as enforced by his apostles, should in all instances to which they are clearly applicable, be carried fully home, notwithstanding the repugnance of certain modes of feeling commonly honoured as generous and noble; and moreover that every one professing obedience to the Gospel should exercise an especial vigilance toward that entire class of sentiments over which profane history, romance, poetry, and the drama, have shed a glory.

The time perhaps shall come—nay we devoutly expect it, when by the universal diffusion of a sound and pure Ethics—the ethics of the Bible, no room shall be left, no need shall be felt for the chastening influence which hitherto the imagination has exerted over the ferocious dispositions of mankind. Yes, an age shall come, when the gods and heroes of history shall hasten to those shades of everlasting forgetfulness which have closed upon their patrons—the gods and heroes of mythology. In the same day the charm of fiction shall be dissolved, and the gaudiness of *false sentiment*, in all kinds, shall be looked at with the cold contempt which now we bestow upon the follies of *false worship*. Then, too, the romance (as well practical as literary) of this nineteenth century shall be bound in the bundle that contains the decayed and childish fables of olden times, and both together shall be consigned, without heed or regret, to sheer oblivion.

The slow but sure progress of society brings with it many *substitutions* of this sort, in which a less rational principle of action gives way to one that is more so. At the present moment we occupy just that mid-way position which, while it allows us to gaze with idle curiosity upon the blood-stained stage of chivalry, and upon the deluged field of lawless ambition, quite forbids that any such modes of conduct should find a place among us as living realities. We are too wise and virtuous to give indulgence to that to which we largely give our admiration! May not yet another step or two be taken on the path of reason, and then we shall cease even to admire that which we have long ceased to tolerate?

So already it has actually happened in relation to those malign and sanguinary religious excitements which a few centuries ago kindled entire communities, and inflamed kings and mendicants, nobles and serfs, priests and wantons, abstracted monks and the dissolute rabble, with one purpose of sacred ambition. Though we now peruse with wonder and curiosity the story (for example) of the Crusades, there are very few readers in the present day—perhaps hardly one, who can rouse up a sympathy with that vehement feeling which was the paramount motive of the enterprise. Only let us strip the history of the crusades of all its elements of martial and secular glory, and the simple *religious residue*—the proper fanaticism of the drama, would scarcely touch any modern imagination. How much more is this true of those horrid crusades of which the internal enemies of the Church of Rome have, at different times, been the victims! All feeling of alliance with the illusions that gave impulse to such abhorrent intestine wars has (do we assume too much?) utterly passed away, nor could by any means be rekindled; and the two emotions of pity for the sufferers, and of detestation of the actors in the scenes of fratricide, are the only sentiments which the narrative can call up. Yet there was a time when men—born of women, and fashioned like ourselves—yes, and men softened by education, and not uninformed by Christianity—saints and doctors, delicate recluses, and unearthly contemplatists—men who slept only three hours in the twenty-four, and prayed six or ten—when such men gave all the passion of their souls, and all the eloquence of their lips, to the work of hunting thousands of their fellows, innocent and helpless, into the greedy fires of the Church!

Thus it appears that the very order of sentiment which once was allowed and lauded as magnanimous, and even divine, we have learned to regard as either purely ridiculous, or as abominable. A like reprobation inevitably awaits (if mankind is really advancing on the road of virtue) every mode of feeling which, being essentially malevolent, draws specious colours from the imagination. That which is true and just, in conduct and character, must at lenght supplant whatever, if stripped of its decorations, is loathsome or absurd. So certainly as the calm reason of Christianity spreads itself through the world, will the ground fall in beneath the gorgeous but tottering edifice of spurious imaginative virtue. Let but the irresistible process go on a little further, and it will become as impracticable to uphold in credit the still extant opinion which admits of honour without justice or purity, and of magnanimity without benevolence, and of that thirst of glory which is sheer selfishness, as it would be now, after the mechanic arts have reached an unthought-of perfection, to keep in use the cumbrous hand-machines of the last century.

Much of the conventional law, and many of the usages of private life, and especially the unwritten code of international policy, have yet to undergo a revolution as great perhaps as that which makes the difference between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries. All the vices, and all the talents, and all the institutions interested in the preservation of corrupt practices may oppose the advance of this renovation; but nothing short of the overthrow of Christianity and of civilization can arrest its progress. Nature (we use the word in a religious sense) NATURE is here at work with her noiseless mighty hand; whatever is spurious is marked already for oblivion, and moves on to its home.

SECTION IV.

FANATICISM THE OFFSPRING OF ENTHUSIASM; OR COMBINATION OF THE MALIGN EMOTIONS WITH SPURIOUS RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS.

The Imagination, when inflamed by anger, or envenomed by hatred, exerts a much more decisive influence over the active principles and the character of men than otherwise ever belongs to it. Or we might rather say, that by the aid of those strenuous elements of our nature, imaginative sentiments extend their empire, and bring under their sway minds of a robust order which would never have yielded to any softer impulses. A thousand fanatics have run their course of mischief who would have spurned religious motives altogether in the simple form of enthusiasm. Rancour has been the true reason of their religion, and its rule and end.

And as the empire of spurious religious sentiments is greatly extended by their alliance with the malignant passions, so do they acquire, from the same quarter, far more energy than they could boast in their simple state. A malign Enthusiasm carries human nature to the very extreme boundaries of emotion possible to man; nothing which the heart may know lies beyond the circle occupied by fanatical extravagance; and this circle of vehement sentiments includes many enormities of feeling or of conduct of which scarcely a sample is to be found in a country and in an age like our own.

In truth, little more than the trite surface of human nature meets the eye among a people like ourselves. Our theories and system of morals hardly take account of upper and lower instances, while they are busied with what may be found in the mid region of mixed and moderate passions. Living as we do under the meridian of caution and mediocrity, history, when most faithful, often sounds like romance; or even if we give credit to its narrations, we regard its lessons as of little practical significance now, inasmuch as whatever is virulent or terrible has fallen, we think, from the usage of mankind.

It has become somewhat difficult even to place ourselves so far in sympathy with extreme emotions as is necessary for understanding them. In all things what is profound has given way to what is familiar; or what once was fact is now thought of only as fit subject for fiction. Men of the present age are care-worn much oftener than melancholy; merry or jovial, rather than joyous; sagacious or ingenious, more than meditative; and so keenly attached to the passing moment, as to throw up their interest as well in the past as in the future. Order, custom, and utility, set bounds—and very narrow bounds to all modes of conduct: the spirit of raillery quenches, or imposes a disguise upon whatever emotions are not trivial. It is not indeed to be regretted that the firm constitutions of society, in modern times, and its established notions, repress or confine so much as they do the profounder and more virulent impulses of the soul. But the fact of this change and improvement should always be kept in mind when the power of such emotions is to be calculated, or when conjecture is employed upon the possible events of another age. A free and equal government (and this is its praise) supersedes, nay almost extinguishes the stronger passions. Private life, happily is too secure, and public affairs are too well settled, to afford those sudden and extraordinary excitements which awaken the latent energies of men. It is despotism, plunging a ruthless hand into the bosom of domestic peace—it is ambition, immolating a thousand victims in an hour—it is popular fury, led on or repulsed by a single arm, that display the expansive force of the human mind when urged to the utmost excess of feeling.

Even those visible and natural excitements of the imagination, whence the deeper passions are wont to draw much of their vigour, are denied to us. England has all the beauties of picture; but they are beauties in miniature. What we look upon around us is the scenery of poetry, rather than of tragedy. And it is a fact, if not constant, yet ordinary, that those portentous corruscations of the passions which ally themselves readily with the imagination, have burst out from the thick gloom of a frowning nature. Such excesses have chiefly appeared where awful scenery, or extreme violences of climate have seemed well to comport with egregious sentiments and frenzied actions. Man (that is to say when once effectively roused to action) acts quite another part than we think of, if his lot be to roam through howling solitudes—to traverse boundless and burning sands—to hide himself among cloud-covered precipices—to gaze upon the unalterable and intolerable splendour of the sky;—if often he stand aghast amid the earthquake or the hurricane, or be overtaken by sultry tempests, fraught with suffocation. It is in the heart of forests that are the ancient domain of enormous reptiles, or of savage beasts—it is where horror and death lurk in the way, that the darker passions reach their fullest growth, and are to be seen in their proper force. All the principal or most characteristic forms of fanaticism have had their birth beneath sultry skies, and have thence spread into temperate climates by transportation, or infection.

No such rule must be assumed as absolute—few rules that relate to human nature are so, but it is one as uniform as most, that where neither reason, nor the genuine affections, but imagination, acts as the prime impulse in religion, the malign emotions are found in close attendance, and seldom fail to convert spurious piety into an energetic rancour. Then again this rancour reacts upon the enthusiasm whence it sprang;—the child schools the parent (an inverted order of things not unusual where the progeny has much more vigour than the parent). Enthusiasm, when it has come to sustain Fanaticism, is far more darkly coloured, is more profound, more mysterious, than the illusory piety that has no such load upon its shoulders. Things bright and fair, although unreal, are the chosen objects of this; but the other asks whatever is terrific and destructive. This sort of transmutation of sentiments, which happens when the enthusiast becomes the fanatic—when malignity is shed upon illusion, much resembles what often takes place in feverish sleep;—who has not seen in his dreams, splendid and smiling pageants, gradually relinquishing the brilliant colours they first showed, just as if the summer's sun were sinking from the skies;—but presently a murky glimmer half reveals menacing forms; and in the next moment some horrid and gory phantom starts forth, and becomes master of the scene!

The false religion then of the FANATIC includes elements not at all known to the mere Enthusiast; and before we descend to the particular instances it will be advantageous to ascertain the general (if not universal) characteristics of the spurious malign Religion which animates his bosom;—they may be reduced to three capital articles; namely, 1st. A deference to MALIGNANT INVISIBLE POWER; 2d. The natural consequence of such a deference—rancorous contempt or detestation of the mass of mankind, as religiously cursed and abominable; and 3d. The belief of corrupt favouritism on the part of Invisible Powers, towards a sect or particular class of men; and this partiality is the antithesis of the relentless tyranny of which all other men are the objects.

I. We have named—A Deference, or religious regard to MALIGN INVISIBLE POWERS, whether Supreme or Subordinate, which will be found to enter, as primary ingredient, into every form of Fanaticism, ancient and modern, and may well be called its GERM.

To believe that evil has affected other races of rational agents besides the human, and that such depraved and malignant beings, though unseen, infringe in some manner upon the human system—is one thing: and it is a belief which reason admits, and revelation confirms; but either to impute in any sort, malignancy to the Supreme Power, or to make subordinate malignant powers the objects of deference, direct or indirect, or to grant to their agency the prime place among religious notions, is quite another thing; and it is a perversion of this sort, more or less gross, and more or less apparent, which imparts force to every species of rancorous religious sentiment.

On a field like this the imagination, if it be troubled by a gloomy temper, or made turgid by fierce passions, and especially if it be saddened by actual sufferings, will never want scope or fail of excitements. Nothing less in fact than the hope which it is the prerogative of true religion to impart can bar the entrance of the mind into this realm of fear—a realm upon which mankind has in every age eagerly sought to make incursions. If we are to employ phrases in accordance with the facts which history presents, we are bound to affirm that the NATURAL RELIGION of man, is the fear and service of Malignant Powers. Gloomy superstition springs up involuntarily in the human mind, depraved as it is, and exposed to so many pains, wants, and cruelties, and liable withal to death. Man does not become religious by mere force of gratitude: the unnoticed benefits of every hour lead him not to the shrine of the Supreme Beneficence: it is danger and sorrow that drive him to the altar. The necessities and miseries of the animal frame—the confusion and misrule that prevail in the social system—the stifled sense of guilt in every bosom, and the boding of future punishment, as well as the hatreds which woe and oppression cherish, are active and pungent elements, working in the soul with incomparably more force than belongs to the mild sentiments that may be engendered either by the spectacle of the order and beauty of the material world, or by the fruition of the common goods of life.

The theism of philosophers has never availed to counteract that natural tendency which draws on mankind to the worship of Evil Powers. Neither the ancient nor the modern systems of abstract philosophy have taken any strong hold of the spirits of men; and the failure has happened, not so much because such systems were too refined or too abstruse for vulgar apprehension; but because they have not made provision for the actual position of man in the present state. Sages have announced the Divine perfections, and there have stopped;—but to bring these perfections to bear, in any mode of effective relief, upon the guilt and sorrows of mankind, was a problem quite beyond their power. Let it be granted that philosophical theism may be true in some far distant upper sphere; but ON EARTH it serves to explain nothing; it assuages no trouble; it is no more applicable to the real occasions of life, than are the dreams of the poet. The sage and the poet must alike be looked upon as mere men of idleness and speculation;—their theories of the world—the one abstruse, the other gorgeous, ask to be carried back many ages, or carried forward as many, before space can be found where they may be lodged. Stern experience indignantly or contemptuously rejects both.

Of all the *popular* modes which have been devised for counteracting the tendency of mankind to malign superstition, that embodied in the mythology of the people of Greece may claim to have been the most successful, as well as the most rich and splendid. This system of worship—not so much the work of design, as the spontaneous product of the national mind, avoided provoking the resentment of tortured hearts by giving a direct contradiction to gloomy surmises;—it did not *interdict* sanguinary superstition; but rather occupied beforehand the elements of terror, and worked them up as the materials of its supernatural machinery. No example can be adduced, from any other quarter, of so skilful a substitution of the sublime and beautiful for the terrific. Delicious intellectual voluptuousness, with poetry, and the drama, with painting, architecture and sculpture, as its ministers, got the start of the violent passions, and of natural terrors; and without insulting human woe (as philosophy does) and without giving license to ferocious impulses, as was done by the oriental superstitions, it soothed every harsh feeling by the insinuating fascinations of melody, symmetry, and colour. The Grecian imaginative theology, after having preoccupied the human mind by its exquisite forms of ideal, or visible and tangible beauty, gave audience to the more fierce and malign emotions in their subdued and tranquil hour: or it brought them over unconsciously to such a mood.—Orpheus was immortal in Greece, and always present in the temples to lull the angry or destructive desires of the rude populace. The lion and the leopard are seen stalking along, if sullen, yet pacified, in the processions of revelry and joy.

The Malignant Powers had indeed their titles and images, and temples in Greece; but their tyranny was not permitted; and in accordance with this proscription the priestly order was denied the means of extending its power. Nothing dark or cruel was suffered, in a crude form, to irritate the minds of the people. Although Fanaticism could not be absolutely excluded from the land of beauty, it received there more effectual modifications than any where else—the very circle of pure and true religion excepted. Hesiod, Pindar, Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Apelles, Phidias, were in fact, though not in form, the PRIESTS of the Grecian worship, and the doctors of its theology; and if they did not professedly teach religious truth, they yet disarmed religious error very much of its evil influence.

Historical justice demands that when the absurdities and the impurity of Grecian polytheism (both indeed very gross) are spoken of, its extraordinary influence in allaying the violence of fanaticism should be distinctly admitted. On this ground no other superstition of the nations can at all come into comparison with it. The same justice should moreover lead us to acknowledge—to acknowledge with bitter grief, that, in later times, the corruptions of the Jewish and Christian systems imparted a virulence of fanaticism, such as the contemporaries of Socrates and Plato would have shuddered to think of. The arrogant misanthropy of the Jew—the relentless intolerance of the Mohammedan, and most of all, the insatiate bigotry of the Papist, were forms of evil, new to the world when they severally appeared, and gave an appearance of reason to the calumnies of philosophers, who affirmed that the western nations had discarded the ancient mythology to their cost.

II. The conceptions we form of the Divine Being, and our feelings toward our fellow men, are always dependent one upon the other. As well by natural influence, as by mere contagion of sentiments, a belief in malignant divinities, or an imputation of malevolence in any form, to the Supreme Being, brings with it the supposition that the mass of mankind, or at least that certain portions of mankind, are the objects and the victims of Divine malediction; and therefore may be, or ought to be, contemned, tormented, destroyed.

Is it theory only, or is it matter of history, that MALIGN THEOLOGY has invariably been followed at hand by intolerance, execrations, cruelties? Or whichever may have been precursor, the other has quickly come up. Nor is a simple association all, for the style of the theoretic error will be found to have comported with the character of the practical mischief. Thus it is that, as the belief in malevolent divinities, or the imputation of malevolence (under any disguise of abstract terms) to the Supreme Being, contradicts or distorts the genuine notion of sovereign and impartial JUSTICE, to the tribunal of which nothing is amenable but *crime*, so the correspondent feeling towards mankind which such a belief engenders, is not that of righteous disapprobation *on the score of moral offences*, but that of detestation or abhorrence, on the mysterious ground of ecclesiastical impurity. It is not as the transgressors of a holy law, but as the reprobate of Heaven, that men in particular, or that nations are to be shut out from the circle of our charities. The multitude or *herd* of mankind is spurned as abominable, much more than as guilty. And when once so grievous a perversion of feeling has taken place, then the whole of the force which belongs to our instinctive notions of retribution, or to our acquired belief of future judgment, is thrown into the channel of our sectarian aversions; and this force, like a mountain torrent, in so passing from an open to a narrow bed, gains new impetuosity.—Ingenuous disapproval becomes covert rancour: virtuous indignation slides into implacable revenge; and acrid scorn completely excludes, not only all indulgence towards the frailty of men, but all compassion for their sorrows.

A sense of justice founded on genuine notions of the Divine character and government, does not carry the mind further than to a mournful acquiescence in the infliction of due punishment upon the guilty. But it is quite otherwise with that perverted feeling which, while it draws its animation from hatred, derives its swollen bulk from the imagination.—The imagination inflamed by malignity, respects no bounds in its demand of vengeance. The very essence of Justice, which is strictly to observe a *limit*, scandalizes the fanatic, who must heap terror upon terror, and still fails to satisfy his conception of what might be fitting, as the doom of the accursed objects of his contempt. There is in the human mind, when profoundly moved, a strange eagerness to reach the depths of the most appalling ideas;—or, shall we say, to tread the very lowest ground of the world of woe and horror. This *innominate* appetite finds its proper aliment when a Manichæan belief is turned wildly loose upon the field of human misery:—carnage, murder, slavery, torment, famine, pestilence, pining anguish;—or hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanic fires, are all so many articles in the creed of the malign being. Under the influence of this cavernous inspiration, Pity is thought of, not merely as contemptible, but as impious;—Justice is injustice, and leniency the greatest of crimes.—Are we here only giving point to a paragraph?—or has not history often and again verified such a description of the enormities which the human heart, badly informed, may entertain?*

III. But the Fanatic, inasmuch as he is an Enthusiast born, must take up yet another and a more sparkling element of character; and it is nothing else than the supposition of corrupt favouritism on the part of the deity he worships, toward himself and the faction of which he is a member. The Fanatic, and this we must keep in mind, is not a simple misanthrope, nor the creature of sheer hatred and cruelty:—he does not move like a venomous reptile lurking in a crevice, or winding silent through the grass; but soars in mid heaven as a fiery flying serpent, and looks down from on high upon whom he hates. Imaginative by temperament, his emotions are allied to hope and presumption, more closely than to fear and despondency: he firmly believes, therefore, in the favour of the supernal powers towards their faithful votaries; and in expectation of still more signal boons than yet he has received, offers himself to their service, as the unflinching champion of their interests on earth.

And besides, as we have already said, the imagination, when brought into play by self-love, must draw its excitements from a circle which it can embrace. It will then be a tribe, a sect, a faction, that affords a sphere to fanaticism; and the infuriate religionist, how unsocial soever in temper, is compelled to love *a few*, so that he may be able, in the strength of that partial feeling, to hate the many with full intensity.—The supposition of special favour towards ourselves, on the part of heaven, will corrupt and debilitate, or will purify and invigorate the heart, precisely according to the quality of the notions we entertain of the Divine character. The idea of personal regard and affection from Him who love only what is good and pure like Himself, can never operate to impair the principles of the moral sense: nay, this very idea, when freed from illusions, imparts elevation to virtue, and makes the temper and conduct of man, on earth, to reflect the brightness of heaven. But on the contrary, theological notions, when sullied or distorted, vitiate in an extreme degree every sentiment of the deluded being who deems himself the darling of the skies. Let but such a pestilent doctrine be admitted as that the Divine favour is bestowed, not merely in disregard of virtue, but in contempt of it, and then religion, with all its power, goes over to swell the torrent of impurity, cupidity, and malice. Under patronage of a belief like this, virtue and vice change sides in the court of conscience, and the latter claims sacred honours.

We recapitulate our three elements of Fanaticism, which (as we assume) will be discoverable, in different modes or proportions, under all forms of religious extravagance—namely—the supposition of malignity on the part of the object of religious worship;—a consequet detestation of mankind at large, as the subjects of Malignant Power; and then a credulous conceit of the favour of Heaven, shown to a few, in contempt of the rules of virtue.

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* A fit occasion will present itself for excluding any sinister inference which might be drawn from these allegations against the serious verities of Christianity.

Now we might follow the tract of history, and exhibit the modifications these elements have undergone in the religious systems that have successively ruled in the world. But any method which observes the order of Time, though obvious and simple, is laden with the inconvenience of involving frequent repetitions of general principles. It will be better to sieze upon certain leading varieties of our subject, as marked by broad distinctions, easily traced in every age, and such as may be recognized, whenever they may recur, without hazard of mistake. These conspicuous varieties may be brought under four designations, of which the first will comprehend all instances wherein malignant religious sentiments turn inward upon the unhappy subject of them: to the second class will belong that more virulent sort of fanaticism which looks abroad for its vistims: the third embraces the combination of intemperate religious zeal with military sentiments, or with national pride, and the love of power; to the fourth class must be reserved all instances of the more intellectual kind, and which stand connected with opinion and dogma. Our first sort then is Austere; the second Cruel; the third Ambitious; and the fourth Factious.

Or, for the purpose of fixing a characteristic mark upon each of our classes, as above named, let it be permitted us to entitle them as follows—namely, the *first*, The Fanaticism of the SCOURGE; or of personal infliction: the *second*, the Fanaticism of the BRAND; or of immolation and cruelty: the *third*, the Fanaticism of the BANNER; or of ambition and conquest: and the *fourth*, the Fanaticism of the SYMBOL; or of creeds, dogmatism, and ecclesiastical virulence.

SECTION V.

FANATICISM OF THE SCOURGE.

The broadest distinctions in the exterior character of men, and the most marked dissimilarities in their modes of conduct, do not infallibly bespeak a difference equally great in the elements of their temper. On the contrary, it is sometimes easy to trace in the minds of those between whose visible course of life there has been little or no resemblance, a close analogy. Yet even when such an analogy may be discerned, it is not always practicable to discover the causes of the external diversity which distinguishes them. An obscure peculiarity of the bodily temperament, or a forgotten incident of early life, may have been enough to determine whether certain impetuous passions should take their course abroad, or should boil as a vortex within the bosom. So is it that when a stream gushes from its cleft, the mere bend of a tree, or the angle of a rock, may be all the reason either of its taking its course westward—to measure the width of a continent; or toward the east, soon to find a home in some pent-up gully, or sullen cavern of the mountains.

Causes so inconsiderable or so latent we must not hope always to detect. It will be enough if we can show reason for bringing together into the same general class, men who would both perhaps have recoiled with horror or with disdain to find themselves in each other's company. Yes, we should all learn much of the secrets of our personal dispositions, and see our peculiar tempers as if under a sudden blaze of light, could it happen that some superior Intelligence, descending upon earth, were to do nothing more as Discriminator of character, and Censor of minds, than silently to classify the crowd of men by the rule of their original propensities, or their essential merits. We should then read our hearts in the companions with whom we found ourselves assorted.

Why has the fanaticism of one man devastated the world; while that of another has spent itself within the walls of a cloister? we may not be able to say. Nevertheless there are instances of this sort which are easily explained. As for example:—violent or malign passions sometimes turn inward, and vex the heart that generates them, in consequence of the mere sluggishness or lassitude of the animal system which, while it insulates a man from others, as if he were enveloped in an indolent fog, yet does not much affect the interior of the character. There may exist a very high rate of moral or intellectual excitement, where the manners and mode of conduct indicate nothing but torpor. Just as, in some bottomless lakes, vehement under-currents or eddies make sport below, while the surface is still and stagnant. Not a few of our fanatics of the self-tormenting class come under this description.

There is too to be found, here and there, a pride of personal independence, and a misanthropic arrogance, which, as it spurns every sort of mutuality, compels the soul to feed on its own substance. It might seem enough for such a one to refuse to draw its *satisfactions* from its fellows; but there is a malignant pride more excessive than this, and which even refuses to be so far dependent upon other men as to call them the objects of its hatred or revenge. There is a haughtiness so egregious that a man will contemn and torment himself sooner than condescend to look abroad as if he stood in need of any beings as the objects of his ireful emotions. Although nature forbids that any such attempt at mental insulation should be altogether successful, yet the endeavour is made and is renewed, day after day, by spirits of the order we describe. On the other hand, there are instances in which a mild meditative humour, perverted by some false system of belief, or excessive sensibilites that have chanced to be torn and outraged in the world, or much physical timidity combined with lofty and exquisite sentiments, produce the effect of introverting gloomy emotions upon the heart.

Instances of a mixed or mitigated kind present themselves on all sides. In truth the cases of *pure fanaticism* (our definition being kept in view*) are rare; or rather, are not readily separated from those dispositions with which it naturally consorts. Whether certain extravagant modes of conduct are to be attributed to sheer superstition; or whether there be nothing in them worse than an absurd enthusiasm, it may be impossible to affirm. The best we can do is to catch the distinctive features of each kind, as the ambiguous instances pass before us. Of all the facts which might be adduced (and they would soon fill volumes) illustrative of the system of monkish austerity, very few broadly and incontestibly exhibit the *virulent* motives which, nevertheless, the entire history of the system demonstrates to have been in secret operation throughout it. Especially is it to be observed, that the prevalence of a certain accredited and admired style of expressing the monkish doctrine conceals, or half conceals, the passions that were working beneath the surface of its placid sanctity. No one who is conversant with the ascetic writers can have failed to discern the strong heavings of human nature under the pressure of that system, even when it might be difficult or impossible to adduce formal proof of the hidden commotion. What we have now to do is broadly to characterize this species of fanaticism;—not such as it *seems* in the encomiastic pages of Theodoret, Sozomen, Isidore, Macarius, Palladius, Cassian; or of Basil and Bernard; but such as, after a candid perusal of these writers, we are compelled to believe it to have been.†

There are three distinct elements upon which fanatical sentiment, when introverted, employs itself; and in each instance the product is very distinguishable.—These are, 1st. The miseries, physical and mental, to which man is liable. 2d. A consciousness of personal guilt, and dread of retribution. And, 3d. The supposition of supererogatory or vicarious merit. The working of the soul upon each of these excitements demands to be briefly exhibited.

1st. There is a rebellion of proud hearts against the calamities to which human life is exposed, such as impels sometimes the disordered mind to take up its burden of woe spontaneously, rather than wait till it be imposed "If pain, sorrow, and want, are to be my companions, I vow to have none beside. I will run forward and embrace wretchedness. I will live for Misery, so that she may never overtake me, or set me as the mark of her arrow. Disappointment shall for me hold no shaft which I will not have wrenched from her cruel hand, ere it can be hurled. The power of bodily pain shall have no anguish in store which I will not freely have forestalled. Famine, thirst, heat and cold, shall assail me with no new lesson of distress. No, for I will frequent their school. Every pang the flesh or the heart can feel, I will prevent by existing only for sorrow. Even that unknown futurity of evil which death may reveal, I will penetrate by continual meditation of horrors. So will I daily converse with ghastly despair, as to taste beforehand the very worst, and to nullify fear by familiarity." Modes of feeling such as this, have been indulged; and perhaps even now are not wholly unknown to some. While we are looking only on the frivolous, the busy, and the sensual field of common life as spread out around us, it may be hard to believe that the human mind has ever travelled on a path so deep-sunken.—But if we turn aside a little from the beaten road, we shall find instances of this sort actually to belong to the history of man.

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* Page 366.

† The Author having in another volume considered the Monkish institute and doctrine as the product and parent of ENTHUSIASM, has now only to advert to those stronger features of the system which mark it as Fanatical or *virulent*.

A desperate and sullen pride has always marked the oriental (polytheistic) austerities; and in India we see unmasked, that which in Europe has disguised itself under Christian modes of expression. Very little that offends against the professed humility of the ascetic life is to be found on the pages of the writers who give us the principles and rules of the system, and who, for the most part, were themselves happy under it, as Enthusiasts. What might be the bitterness of the heart in those who were its victims, we are left to surmise. There were more motives than one for imposing perpetual silence upon the inmates of the monastery. The founder of the order, or its reformer, might talk aloud, and disclaim as he would upon the felicity of his condition; for with him the fanaticism was of a sort that might be known and looked at; but not so with the fraternity at large. A de Rance or a Eustache de Beaufort may speak:—but their companions must utter no whisper of their sorrows.*

2d. A proud forestalling of misery, such as we have just spoken of, ordinarily combines itself with the consciousness of guilt and the dread of retribution; and both together lead to the same voluntary endurance of extreme pains; he who thinks himself both a Victim and a Culprit would fain take the engine of retributive torment into his own hand, lest it should be laid hold of by the Vindictive Power he dreads. And the hope he entertains of acting always as proxy for the minister of Justice in his own case, bears proportion to the rigour with which he exercises the function of executioner.†

What spectacle in nature so monstrous, what, at first sight, so inexplicable, as that of an excruciated devotee who scorns even to writhe or to sigh under tortures which other men would not endure an hour, to save or to obtain a mountain of gold! Yet he sustains, year after year, his burden of woe in the mere strength of the obduracy of his soul!—Bound to the stake;—yes, but bound only by the cords of pride!—Does then a spectacle like this afford no lesson? After we have scoffed at the folly, or wondered at the infatuation of the voluntary sufferer, let us return and ask, whether so strange a perversion of the power of the spirit over the body, does not furnish evidence of an overthrown greatness in the human mind, such as the atheist and sceptic quite leave out of their theory of man? If it be said that these witless personal inflictions take place in consequence only of an error of belief, and may properly be compared to the ill-directed fatigues of a traveller, who, on wrong information, pursues a worse road when he might have found a better, let only the experiment be tried of leading, into a parallel error, any being to whom the body and its welfare is the supreme and only interest to be cared for. Not a step could ever be set by such a being towards a folly of this order. The liability of man to go so far astray springs from those ulterior principles that are involved in his nature, and which bespeak an immortal destiny. Every such practical absurdity is an implicit proof of the presence of a latent capacity for entertaining the highest truths; and if man be the only fool among the tribes of earth, and the only wretch, it is because he alone might be wise, virtuous and happy.

On this ground the voluntary endurance of torment, from motives of religion, may be assumed, as demonstrative evidence of the intrinsic superiority of the mental over the animal principles of our nature;—for when the body prevails, as too often it does, over the mind, it is by the means of seductions and flatteries; and we know that in this manner the noble may readily be made to succumb beneath the base. But when, as in the instance before us, the mental force triumphs over the physical will, it does so in the way of an open trial of relative strength;—and the stronger principle is found to prevail. We receive, moreover, from these extraordinary facts, a striking proof of the supremacy of the MORAL SENSE in the constitution of man; for it this chiefly that gives impulse to the practices of self-torture. And again, the relation of man to Invisible and Retributive Power, is by the same means established; the secret of every sort of self-infliction is a tacit compromise with Future Justice; and when notions such as these take effect in a paramount manner, carrying all other reasons before them, we have evidence that, in the order of nature, Religion is the sovereign motive.

The fanatic is much in error; yet let it not be thought that he subverts the first principles of virtue. He is wrong on certain points of morality, calling good evil and evil good; but still it is good and evil that are the elements he works upon. And so in Religion. His correspondence is with a Power of retributive Government on high; but he thinks amiss of that Power. His error is to impute an intrinsic malignancy, or a sheer vindictive purpose to the Invisible Authority; and then he conceives of himself as having, by his transgressions, fallen into the hands of the irresistible avenger, who, as he thinks, can take advantage of mankind only so far as sin brings them within the circle of his wrath; or who, once and again starts forth and catches an opportunity against men, when he finds them unwary or at fault.

In a form so preposterous as this, fanatical belief is hardly perhaps to be met with, except on the banks of the Ganges or in the wilds of Africa. We describe the feeling in its extremes, and then, in turning to instances where a purer creed has softened whatever is harsh, and where an accredited theological style has disguised whatever is offensive, we trace the elements of the very same order of feeling under the concealments that recommend them. We must not expect to hear from the Christian ascetic a genuine expression of the emotions that torment his bosom: these are to be divined by a fair interpretation of his behaviour. It is by the same rule that we shall presently have to estimate the dispositions of those who have signalized themselves in scenes of cruelty. To read the extant writings—the epistles, the meditations, the homilies, of some of these sanguinary personages, one would think them unconscious of every thing but meekness and charity.

Dread or dismay, when of long continuance, naturally settles down into some sort of calculation or of compromise with the apprehended danger. And it is thus that there arises, within the troubled spirit of the man whose consciousness of guilt was at first intolerable, a whispered controversy with the vengeful Power, or a dull wrangling debate concerning the precise amount of the mulct, and the mode of payment. The culprit, confessing that he has fallen under the power of his adversary, nevertheless does not, after a while despair of making terms more advantageous than at first he had thought of. With this hope he looks about for the means of righting his cause, or even of quite turning the balance in his favour.

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* St. Bernard, intending no doubt to recommend the monastic state, pleasantly compares the monks to the fish in a puddle! "Sunt et in stagnis mundi pisces, qui in claustris Deo serviunt in spiritu et veritate. Merito siquidem stagnis monasteria comparantur, ubi quodammodo incarcerati pisces evagandi non habeant libertatem." (*Serm. in Fest. S. Andr. Apost.*) And a horrid prison, according to his own confession, was the monastery: "*Duro* me *carceri* mancipavi." (*Epist.* 237.) So much so, that it seemed to the saint himself the greatest of all miracles that men should be found who were willing to endure its discipline. Let us hear him when, on a high day, he is haranguing the fraternity: "Quid mirabilius, &c.—Quod majus miraculum, quando tot juvenes, tot adolescentes, tot nobiles, universi denique quos hic video, velut in carcere aperto tenentur sine vinculis, solo Dei timore confixi: quod in tanta perseverant afflictione pœnitentiæ, ultra virtutem humanam, supra naturam, contra consuetudinem?" (*Serm. in dedicat. eccles.*) A general fact, on the ground of which we may argue more confidently than from the disguised language of men whose enslaved spirits knew nothing of ingenuousness, is this, that as the monastic system sprung up amid the persecutions of the second century, so has it flourished most, and been carried to the greatest extremes, in times of public calamity and disorder.—The miseries of the open world have been reflected upon the austerities of the cell—that camera obscura. It appears plainly that the excessive abstinence and the savage habits of the Egyptian eremites—so much admired by the Church writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, were little more than a fantastic form of the wretchedness of the people of the country. As much as this is confessed by some of the eulogists of these horrid saints. Thus for example Palladius.—As to what relates to eating and drinking (speaking of a certain Macarius and his companions) I need say little, since nothing like gluttony is to be found there, even among the most indulgent of the monks, who live at large; or any thing to distinguish them from the people of the country; and this as well by reason of the scarcity of food, as from the impulse of a Divine zeal—καὶ διὰ τὴν σπανὶν τῶν χρεῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆλον. —*Lausaic Hist.* c. 21.

† Christian sentiments modify the feelings of this sort, and give them a more humble guise. Ergo qui pœnitentiam agit, offere se debet ad pœnam, ut hic puniatur a Domino, non ad supplicia æterna servetur: nec expectare tempus, sed occurrere divinæ indignationi. (*Ambrose in Ps.* xxxvii.) Do the apostles speak in any such style? The transition was easy from a doctrine like this to the extremest austerities,

Yes, and he goes so far as to harbour the thought (natural to the mind when it is the prey of rancorous emotions) of justifying, to such an extent, the difference between himself and the Avenger, as that, if after all, punishment should be inflicted, it shall be, and shall seem to others—unrighteous and cruel, so that while writhing under it, the sufferer may console himself with the proud consciousness of merit, and may, even on the ground of severe justice, gain a right of retaliation.

At this point then there comes in hope, and a new emotion to give alacrity to the fortitude of the soul. The conscience-stricken man discovers that he possesses within himself (as if it were an inexhaustible fund) the power of enduring privations and pains:—he may deny every gratification, he may sustain without a groan the most extreme anguish, he may live only to suffer. And in his mode of estimating the absolving value of bodily torment he reckons that, whatever price may be put upon those pains or wants which a man endures unwillingly, and from which he has no means of escaping, the merit of the same amount of affliction borne voluntarily, is tenfold greater.* Whoever then has the fortitude to inflict misery upon himself, may boldly defy vindictive Power; for he commands the means of adding merit to merit, at such a rate of rapid accumulation as shall presently outstrip the reckoning of the adversary.†

Fanaticism (the fanaticism of personal infliction) is not *ripened* until it approaches this point. That is to say, it wants spring and warmth;—it is not tumid;—it has no heroism so long as mere dread, and the sense of guilt, are uppermost in the mind. But when pride takes its high standing upon the supposition of merit won, and when Invisible Powers are deemed to have been foiled, then the spirit gets freedom and soars. Pitiable triumph of the lacerated heart that thus vaunts itself in miseries as useless as they are horrid!—Must we not mourn the infatuations of our nature, as we watch the ascent of the soul that climbs the sky only to carry there a sullen defiance of Eternal Justice!—So the bird of prey, beat off from the fold, and torn with the shepherd's shafts—its plumage ruffled, and stained with gore, flaps the wing on high, and fronts the sun as if to boast before heaven of its audacity and its wounds!

It is after it has passed this stage, or when fear and humiliation give way to hope, to pride, or perhaps to revenge, that secondary motives are brought in, and fanaticism becomes a mixed sentiment, and is lowered in its tone; not seldom degenerates into farce or hypocrisy, and at length perhaps quite evaporates. Secondary motives of this kind would never be listened to if it were not for the alleviations that arise from habit. The pains of mere privation, terrible as they seem to the luxurious, the human mind soon learns to endure without repining; nay, it derives at length a sombre satisfaction from the very paucity of its sources of comfort. A reaction, such as this, is not of rare occurrence. Certain tempers are alive to an emotion of personal independence which, when fully kindled, makes it delicious to a man to find that, in comparison with those around him, he is free from solicitude, because free from wants; that a mere morsel of the coarsest food is all he is compelled to ask from the grudging world; and that the thraldom of artificial life is a bondage he has broken.‡

The habitude of positive pain, as well as that of mere privation, brings too its relief:—there is a torpor partly of the nerve, but chiefly of the mind, which more and more blunts physical sensibility;—and there is an art learned in the school of chronic suffering, which teaches so to shift the burthen of anguish as that it may not any where gall to the quick. Moreover, there is a power of abstraction from bodily sensations which long experience calls into exercise, and which may at length (even while matter and mind continue partners) almost set the conscious principle at large from its sympathy with mere flesh and nerve. Pain, at its first onset, condenses the soul upon a point; or brings the whole of the sensitive faculty to the one centre of anguish; but habit of pain loosens this concentration, and allows the mind to occupy a wider surface.

The eulogists of the ascetic saints boast often of the absolute insensibility to pain, to thirst, and to hunger, which some of their heroes had attained to. In certain instances the leathern girdle—zona pellicea, hoc est, ex crudo corio—ad macerationem procurandam—was found, after death, to have lodged itself (shall we say as a seton?) in the integuments around the loins; so as (in ordinary cases) to have occasioned intense suffering: yet never had the secret been betrayed to the fraternity by any indications of uneasiness. Instances still more extreme, and far too revolting to describe, abound in the monkish records. If the facts are admitted as true, and they cannot altogether be rejected, it must be believed that a state of extreme mental abstraction not merely diverts the *sense* of pain, but prevents also that physical excitement which ordinarily attends excruciating torture, and which wastes the animal force. We must attribute to the same influence of the mind the power acquired by some of the hermits of northern Europe to resist the most intense cold—unclothed and unsheltered. The instances are numerous, and are too familiarly spoken of to be reasonably called in question. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the forests of France and Germany were haunted by naked anchorites who, round the year, roamed about, refusing even the comforts of a cavern, and were wont to repose at night on the fresh fallen snow.*

When so much proficiency as this has been made by the voluntary sufferer, he gains leisure to look abroad. Conqueror, so far, of himself—of nature, and of the vindictive powers, the fanatic stalks about as a hero, and may even begin to think how he shall turn his victory to profitable account.—Vanity and ambition, when once they gain a lodgement in the heart, imperceptibly, yet quickly, sap more imaginative and passionate emotions. This substitution of ignoble sentiments for those of a deeper sort meets us every day. In truth the constant tendency or gravitation of the human mind is from the more to the less vehement class of emotions; and then its progress is from the simple and ardent, to the complex and turbid, in its habits of feeling. It is thus that the sincere enthusiast so often becomes (perhaps unconsciously to himself) a religious knave; and thus, too, that the man who commenced his course of mortification and extravagance under the impulse of genuine passions, and who, at the outset, might have been looked at with wonder, if not admiration, degenerates into the charlatan or public fool.

3d. It is not till after the fanatic has acquired some familiarity with self-inflicted torments, and is at ease in his character of voluntary martyr, and especially until he believes himself to have reached a vantage ground in relation to Vindictive Powers, that he entertains the bold ambition of undertaking to suffer vicariously for those who may be less resolute than himself.[*]

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* *Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἀπορῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, καρτερικος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ἐγκαρτερῶν τοῖς δεινοῖ.* So says Basil; and the sentiment might be put at the head of volumes of spurious morality.

† Not a few of those who peopled, first the deserts, and afterwards the monasteries, were such as the "Blessed" eremite whom Palladius describes (*Lausaic Hist.* c. 19.)—a homicide—we take his word for it that he was not a murderer, who, in terror of justice, and under horror of conscience—*μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκὼς, καταλαμβάνει την ἔρημον*—where, unsheltered, he wandered, lost to all feeling, three years; but afterwards built for himself a cell, and acquired celebrity as an eminent practitioner of austerities. I wished to know from him, says our author, with what feeling he now regarded the fatal act that had driven him into solitude:—he replied, that, far from thinking of it with regret, it was a ground of thanksgiving—*γεγένηται γὰρ μοί φησιν ὑπόθεσις σωτηρίας ὁ ἀκούσιος φόνος.* The profession is susceptible of a good meaning, and charity requires that we should so receive it. Nothing indeed would be more outrageous than to deny universally the piety and sincerity of even the most extravagant class of the anchorets. Better speak on such subjects like Alban Butler than like Gibbon.

‡ To a naked eremite St. Bernard, pro signo caritatis, sent a cloak and boots, which he kindly received, and, as an act of humility and obedience, put on; yet presently, like a true New Zealander, laid aside as intolerable. Et nunc, said he, pro amore ipsius, vestimenta transmissa obedienter accepi, et indui; *diutius tamen ea portare non valeo*, quia nec opus est mihi; nec ipse mandavit. Dico autem vobis, amicis meis carissimis, quia nihil est mihi molestius quam ut curæ carnis sarcinam odiosam, cum tanta difficultate depositam, lassatis et dolentibus humeris denuo imponere cogar.

* After deducting from these narratives all the miracles, the bare fact is miracle enough. These stories could not have been sheer inventions. It is difficult to choose among the abundance of examples;—and so much the more difficult, because it is hard to find one in which the venerable language of Holy Scripture is not frightfully misapplied to the follies of superstition. The author of the Book *de Miraculis Cisterciensium Monachorum*, thus speaks of one who, pro Christo quotidie moriens, non unam tantum, sed innumeras cruces et mortes sustinuit: quia quot diebus in eremo vixit, quasi tot martyria duxit. . . . . . Annis siquidem quatuor decem solivagus ac toto corpore nudus, montibus et silvis pro Christo amore oberrans et latitans perduravit, cœlum habens pro tecto, aerem pro vestimento, pecorinum victum pro cibo humano. Ten years, without flinching from his purpose, the hermit lived abroad; but at length yielded a little to the weakness of nature. Postmodum autem quatuor fere annis ante suam dormitionem, in corde hyemis, bruma sæviente asperrima, cum tellus, nivibus obruta, et gelu acriore coercita, nec herbas foris exsereret, nec radices effodi sineret; tunc a facie famis et hujus frigoris sustinere non prævalens, tandem ut homo jam fere præmortuus, obeso corpore, pelle sola circumdatus, cogebatur interdum deserta deserere, atque ad proxima rura, volendo nolendo, descendere.

Master of a fund of supererogatory merit—how shall he dispose of it to best advantage? Can any thing be more noble than to dispense the hardly-acquired treasure among feeble souls, who are quite destitute of that in which he is rich? Absurdities such as this, if not now common, nevertheless, have in past ages often prevailed, and are not only what may be looked for if we calculate the influence of certain motives upon the common principles of human nature. That law of our mental conformation has already been adverted to which makes it highly difficult, or quite impracticable, to kindle the imagination within the home-circle of selfish interests. The fanatic, therefore, all whose sentiments are more or less dependent upon that faculty, very soon feels a need—a craving, which not even the most egregious illusions of self-love can satisfy. He must then spread himself over a larger surface, and take up many more elements of emotion. Every mind, and especially a mind highly sensitive, seeks some object of meditation, the dimensions of which it does not exactly measure. In moments of depression, in hours of languor, we want a defence against the chilling calculations of mere reason. And the more a man's course of life is substantially absurd, the more urgent need has he of a store of vague, unlimited motives, such as shall be in no danger of an assault from common sense. When the fanatic has began to tire on his wearisome pilgrimage of woe, how may he reanimate his purpose if he can think himself a public person who has freely become responsible for other men's salvation; and especially if he can believe that the Vindictive Powers whom he is holding at bay with a strong arm, are watching for the fall of so notable a champion, and would rush upon the spoil were he to faint!

And besides; it is only by heading-up the merit of penance to such a height as that there shall always be a large amount in store, that the public martyr can feel to be himself quite secure against the demands of justice.—May not a man who is every day expiating the sins of others assume it as certain that his own are discharged?—Thus the warfare against ghostly exactors is carried on upon advanced ground! and the knight-spiritual has a space in the rear to which, if pressed, he may retreat.

A contrast, curious at least, and perhaps instructive, presents itself, when we bring into comparison the Mohammedan and Popish superstitions, on the ground of the encouragement they have severally given to the practice of voluntary inflictions. Now it appears that, while the former has not been exempt from extravagances of this order, they have always constituted a main element of the latter; the Romish polity and doctrine having both broadly rested upon the principle (variously applied) of personal austerity. More causes than can be soon enumerated have concurred to produce this marked difference between the religions of Asia and of Europe. The oriental faith burst upon the world, full-orbed, among an energetic and enterprising race. It was the religion of MEN, and the faith of warriors. But the faith of the West was the slow-born creature of the cloister—the religion of recluses and of priests; the child of sour and mopish imbecility. The one was modelled in the youthful season of national existence; the other during a course of melancholy ages which saw the human mind fall back from the high position it once had occupied, to the point of extreme depression.

Yet a somewhat different doctrine of penitential infliction has sprung up from intellectual and moral degradation in the instance of the Jewish people. Nothing can be much more absurd or ludicrous than the Rabbinical penances. It is hard to believe that the mortification, the abstinence, or the punishment, was ever thought of, either by those who issue the injunction or by those who listened to it, otherwise than as an acknowledged mockery. The modern children of Abraham, suffering as they have done in almost every age, and in every country, substantial miseries which might be well reckoned to supersede any voluntary pains, and yet not deeming their theology complete without penances, have taken care to impose upon themselves such only as were too severe to be put in practice, or such as were penal only in name. Besides; the Rabbinical Judaism, with its lumber of frivolous traditions, has left no room for the working of these profounder sentiments whence the monkish austerities drew their motive. The religion of the modern Jew, what is it but a ponderous vanity, under the pressure of which the human bosom may hardly heave?—that bundle of beggarly elements which he bears about upon his shoulders, allows him not the liberty of emotion which men of other creeds enjoy, and which the fanatic of any creed must possess.[*]

But to return to Mohammed, and to mention specific causes, it must be noted that the Arabian teacher, by means of his prime doctrine of the merit of military service undertaken for the propagation of the true faith, and by the large and attractive rewards promised to pious valour, appropriated, to the enterprises of active life, all those springs of action which, when left to pend upon the conscience, impel men to inflict upon themselves expiatory torments. Beings of the very same native temperaments who, in Christian countries, clad themselves in hair-cloth, and mercilessly twanged the scourge over their own shoulders, put on, in the East, the caparison of war, and wielded the scimeter, and this because the Koran offers paradise to those who die in battle.[†]

A subsidiary means of diverting the fanaticism of personal austerity, was also the importance attached by Mohammed to alms-giving—almost the only positive virtue of his system. The aspirant to immortal sensualities could not indeed every day wet his sword in the blood of infidels; but he might at all times *purchase*, if not always *conquer* for himself the future pleasures. Or if the system still seemed to want a vent for those feelings which give rise to ascetic practices, it was found in the rigour and universal obligation of the annual fast, which afforded to every Moslem such a taste of mortification as might effectively cool the ambition of voluntary hunger. The frantic austerities of the Dervish did not spring out of the Mohammedan theology; but either grew upon it; or have been merely farcical and mercenary; or have been practised in continuation of idolatrous usages which the faith of the Prophet did not extirpate.*

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[*] We pass by, as uninstructive, the gross examples of this kind of fanaticism which might be brought from India or Thibet, and rather adduce instances which, though milder in appearance, may well amaze us more. Let us listen to St. Bernard: Videtur quidem et in nostris aliquando tribulationibus esse NONNULLA LIBERTAS, cum videlicet *pro peccatis proximorum*, libera et liberali caritate; laborem pœnitentiæ sustinemus, lugentes pro eis, jejunantes pro eis, *vapulantes pre eis*, et quæ non rapuimus exsolventes.—(*De Diversis*, *Serm.* 34, c. 3.) Yet the pious and respectable abbot of Clairvaux was not the inventor of this doctrine; nor, on the other hand, had it reached its maturity in his time; indeed his own language is often irreconcileable with the preposterous notion of supererogatory merit. Ubi ergo macula propria, propria quoque purgatio jure requiretur, says he; but in the very same sermon (*de Diversis*, 38) he leaves room for the then nascent error.—Per multas enim tribulationes in regnum Dei intrare necesse est; et nemo nisi per tribulationes ingreditur, *aut proprias, aut alienas.* An indistinct belief of a transferable merit in the good works and voluntary penances of the saints, is to be traced in many of the Christian writers from the fourth century and onward. Sed quid mirum, says St. Gregory (Pope) si ad absolutionem peccatoris propria merita suffragantur, quando in sacri eloquii auctoritate discamus, quia alii pro aliis liberati sunt?—(*In I. Regum*, c. 14.) And Ambrose, (*de Pœnit.* lib. i. c. 15.) . . . . Ut per universos ea quæ superflua sunt in aliquo pœnitentiam agente virilis misericordiæ aut compassionis velut collativa quadam admixitone purgentur. Or again (*Expos. Luc.* c. 5.) Si gravium peccatorum diffidis veniam, adhibe precatores, adhibe Ecclesiam quæ pro te precetur, cujus contemplatione quod tibi Dominus negare posset ignoscat. The task is unpleasing and invidious to gather proofs of fatal error from the pages of writers who, taken altogether, are worthy of respect—often of admiration. We stop short then with the specimens above adduced.

[*] Maimonides saw in Egypt enough of the follies and horrors of monkery to sicken him of austerities. On this subject he speaks like a man of sense, and in a strain of which, alas, we find few instances among the Christian writers of the time. He condemns as positively sinful, all voluntary inflictions, not directly enjoined by the law, (see *Bernard's Selections from the Yad Hachazakah*, p. 170, and the entire chapter). The doctrine of Repentance, as we find it in this writer, might with advantage to the Jew be compared with the Romish doctrine on the same point, from the age of Pope Gregory I. to the present day. His rule of confession (p. 222) is incomparably more sound than that of the doctors of the church. But Maimonides must not be taken as a sample of Rabbinical instruction:—he boldly appealed to Moses and the prophets.—The Rabbis issued nothing which they did not first deform and render absurd. Qui, &c. . . . . diebusque æstivis accedat ad locum plenum formicarum, inter quas nudus sedeat. Diebus vero hybernis, frangat glaciem, et in aquis sedeat usque ad nares. Qui, &c. . . . . sedeatque in aquis diebus hybernis, quantum temporis requiritur ad coquendum ovum. Qui, &c. . . . . jejunet quadraginta dies continuos, atque singulis diebus vapulet bis, aut ter. Qui, &c. . . . . sedeat in nive et gelu per horam unam singulis diebus; sic faciat per totam hyemem quotidie semel, aut bis. Diebus vero æstivis objiciat se muscis, sive vespis et apibus; aliosve pœnas subeat morti similes. That these penances were matters of form only one might infer from the fact that a forty day's fast is enjoined upon whosoever exacts usury (interest) and that the taking of interest even from the Gentiles is reprobated. See the book called *Reschit Cochma*, as quoted by the annotator in Raimond Martin's *Pugio Fidei*. It is curious to observe that the practice of penance has never comported with the sentiments and habits of a trading people.

[†] Verily God hath purchased of the true believers their souls and their substance; promising them the enjoyment of paradise, on condition that they fight for the cause of God; whether they slay or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by the law, the gospel, and the Koran. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than God? When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them, and bind them in bonds. . . . . And as to those who fight in defence of God's true religion, God will not suffer their works to perish: he will guide them and will dispose their heart aright, and he will lead them into paradise, of which he hath told them. (*Sale's Koran*, c. 9 and 27.) We shall presently find occasion to match these passages with some of similar import from other quarters.

The Roman Superstition embraced many more elements of meditative emotion, and those of a more profound sort than were included in the Koran. Although if we are to speak of it as a whole, and especially if we have in view its condition in the eighth and ninth centuries, Popery was a more corrupt system than that of the Arabian prophet, so that Mohammed and the Caliphs may almost claim the praise of religious Reformers; yet did it retain those potent principles of hope and fear—of remorse and compunction, of tenderness too, and of keen sensibility, which put the soul into deep commotion, and set it working upon itself. On the contrary, Mohammed, by strangely admitting into his theology the expectation of a sensual paradise, the pleasures of which were not to differ in substance from the delights of an oriental palace, effectively cashiered from his system every pure and spiritual conception of virtue.† For if the heaven which a man is thinking of as his last home be grossly voluptuous, of what avail will be fine abstract axioms or grave discourses to teach him purity.

No perversion such as this ever gained ground among Christian nations, even in their lowest state of religious degradation. And as some spiritual conceptions of the Divine character, as well as some just notions of the sanctity of the upper world were generally prevalent, the correspondent belief of the guilt and danger of man as a sinner retained its force. Nevertheless as, at the same time, the genuine and evangelic scheme of remission of sins, was nullified, or quite forgotten, the tormented conscience was left to contend as it could with the dread of future retribution.

The doctrine of Purgatory sprang up naturally in the bosoms of men from this mortal conflict of fear and conscious guilt, with the obscure hope of impunity; and although the "fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture," may be traced in its elements to very early times, and although it became at length, in its practical bearing, a device well adapted to serve the purposes of a rapacious priesthood, it should be regarded, in its essence, as nothing more than the proper product of elevated and spiritual notions of virtue, cut off from that solace which the Gospel affords. Some opinion equivalent to the doctrine of purgatory, has been seen, even in our own times, to be associated with the two conditions, namely—a damaged Gospel, and a severe morality.

It belongs to another subject, namely SUPERSTITION, to trace the origin and growth of the doctrine of Purgatory. This ancient and widely-diffused dogma went hand in hand with that which led to the invocation of saints, and the belief of their efficient intercession in the court of heaven. The latter doctrine seems to have been ripened, or to have reached a definite form rather earlier than the former; nor is the mode of its birth quite so obscure. When at length both had become the accredited doctrine of the church, a brisk commerce between the visible and invisible worlds was carried on, and in this traffic the clergy were the brokers and the gainers—the gainers to an incalculable amount.‡

The idea of future expiatory torments having lodged itself firmly in all serious and devout minds, no other consequence could be looked for but the practice of penitentiary inflictions, having for their motive the hope of abating the demands of justice in the region of chastisement. The most excessive abstinence, a shirt of haircloth, a bed of straw, continued watchings, perpetual silence, sanguinary flagellations, and positive tortures, were willngly resorted to as assuagements of the dread which the belief of purgatory inspired; and if we are to wonder at all in looking at these severities, our amazement must be, not that men could be found who were willing to submit heartily and permanently to the rule of St. Benedict, or St. Dominic; but rather that the miseries of the monastic life were not carried to a much greater extent than we actually find them ordinarily to have reached. It would not have seemed strange if sincere believers in the doctrine of purgatory had gone the length of the ancient worshippers of Baal, or of the modern devotees of Indian divinities.*

It is in the glare of a doctrine such as this that we should peruse the rules of the ascetic life, and the blood-stained story of the monastery. Is it any wonder that men who first had tortured themselves at the instigation of this belief should think it a light matter to ply the rack and the brand upon others?—The fanaticism of austerity was proper parent of the fanaticism of cruelty. But the mild and meditative spirit of Cristianity happily came in to moderate, in some degree, that extravagance into which the human mind naturally runs when highly excited by a ferocious theology.—The Christian flagellist might, it is probable, draw as much blood from his back in a year, as did the frantic priest of Moloch from his sides and arms;—or perhaps more; but yet it were better done with the scourge than with the knife. The Romish fanaticism did not rise to a horrid and murderous pitch until after it had become the instrument of sacerdotal rancour, and had been directed against the heretic.

The derivation of fanatical cruelty from fanatical austerity it is by no means difficult to trace; nor is the line of descent far extended. Often indeed has the one generated the other in the same bosom; or if the history of the Church is looked to, it will be seen that, within the circuit of a century, or more, those outrages upon human nature which had been going on in the cells of the monastery, and those preposterous sentiments which the ascetic life enkindled, reached their proper consummation when the friar and inquisitor took in hand to rid the church of her enemies. Far was any such consequence from the minds of the early and illustrious promoters of the monastic system; but though not foreseen by them, it demands to be attentively regarded by us, since the instruction which history conveys is drawn from considering, rather the commencements than the issues, rather the germs than the fruits, of whatever excites admiration or surprise upon the stage of the world's affairs.

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* Sooffeeism, with its varieties, is a far more ancient and a more widely spread system than the doctrine of the prophet. The philosophic pantheist of Persia and Upper India, the frantic fakir, and the dervish, are personages of all times, and of almost all countries.—The ascetic tribe is older than history, and presents the same general features wherever we meet with it. In reading Arrian's account of the Bramins, or Sophists, as he calls them, of India, one might believe he was describing so many Romish saints. Οὗ τοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταὶ, (*Indian Hist.*). The Koran neither created nor cherished infatuations of this kind.

† The contemplative or more refined class of Moslems have strenuously endeavoured to put a figurative construction upon those passages of the Koran which describe Paradise, and have maintained that the prophet never intended to be literally understood. The mass of his followers have taken things as they found them.

‡ Not only the doctrine of Purgatory, but the practical abuses of it, stand forth almost in the grossest form in the writings of Gregory the Great; and it would be really hard to choose between the faith of the Christian Pope, on this subject, and that of his contemporary—Mohammed;—both announcing eternal damnation as the doom of the uninstructed mass of mankind; and both preaching a purgatorial state to those whose religious advantages were of the highest kind. Assuredly the Koran is more free from suspicion of a sinister purpose on this point than are the Dialogues of Gregory:—if indeed these dialogues can be trusted to as the *unaltered* productions of the writer to whom they are attributed—or are his productions at all—a point deemed questionable.

A service perhaps might be rendered to sincere and candid Romanists if the history of this doctrine—a capital article in his belief, and one which he knows to be of high antiquity, could be satisfactorly traced. Our materials, it is to be feared, are too scanty to sustain the inquiry; for between the close of the apostolic age and the time of Cyprian or Tertullian, more is wanted than actually exists to enable us to give a good account of the state of the opinion as we find it in the pages of those two writers. The expression so often quoted by the Romanists, from Tetullian,—Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus (*de Corona*) is not of itself conclusive; but becomes so as compared with other passages. Dic mihi soror, in pace præmisisti virum tuum? Quid respondebit? An in discordia? Ergo hoc magis ei vincta est, cum quo habet apud Deum causam. . . Enimvero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus. (*De Monogam*). Every one has seen quotations to the same effect from Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cyril of Jerusalem. But in these, and similar instances, the true import of certain phrases is to be gathered from each writer's general strain on those topics which are most nearly allied to the opinion in question: especially on the subject of repentance and remission of sins. The doctrine of purgatory, it is pretty evident, sprang out of an early corruption of those principal articles. Here we find a confusion of notions, and a perverted exposition of Scripture, in almost the earliest of the Christian writers.

* The Romish writers use no reserve in describing the pains of the purgatorial state; and as they have, in the doctrine itself, supplied to the Church an article on which Scripture is silent; so, in furnishing the particulars, have they drawn largely upon that special knowledge of the infernal regions which their privileged commerce with invisibles has supplied. "A soul," says the Rev. Alban Butler, "for one venial sin shall suffer more than all the pains of distempers, the most violent colics, gout, and stone, joined in complication; more than all the most cruel torments undergone by malefactors, or invented by the most barbarous tyrants; more than all the tortures of the martyrs summed up together. This is the idea which the fathers give us of purgatory, and how long many souls may have to suffer there we know not."—*Lives of the Saints*, Novem. 2.

And so, if it be intended to receive in the most efficacious manner those lessons of practical wisdom which spring from the contemplation of individual character, we must select as specimens, not the most distorted instances, but those rather wherein the peculiar tendency we have in view is moderated by fine qualities of the heart, or lost almost amid the splendour of rare mental powers and accomplishments.—For inasmuch as it is only when so recommended that spurious virtues produce extensive ill effects, our caution against the evil should be drawn from examples of that very order. Let the sardonic historian, whose rule it is to exhibit human nature always as an object of mockery, crowd his pages with whatever is most preposterous in its kind. A better motive will lead us to bring forward the worthiest exemplars; and yet not as if the illustrious dead were to be exhibited that it might be said of them how little were the great! but rather that the admonition, of whatever kind, which the instance presents may come with the fullest force.

Forgetting then the frenzied anchorets of the Egyptian deserts, of the rocks of Sinai, and of the solitudes of Syria, and leaving unnamed the savage heroes of the Romish calendar,* let us take an instance in which a due admiration of great qualities must mingle with our reprobation of mischievous sentiments. Instead of a St. Symeon, or a St. Columban, we turn to Basil—the primate of Cappadocia.†

But how obtain the simple and living truth in the instance we have chosen? Nothing belonging to that age in which the Church ascended to the place of worldly greatness is to be found in its native form and real colours. Flattery and clerical arrogance confound all distinctions, violate all modesty, and in the interested idolatry of human excellence, commit frightful outrages upon the just rules of piety. Those calumniators of his friend and patron against whom Gregory Nazianzen inveighs,‡ could not have injured the true frame of Basil so fatally as himself has done by his hyperbolic encomiums. We turn as well with suspicion as disgust from the turgid oration,§ and are fain to relinquish the attempt to rescue a good and accomplished man from the suffocating embrace of his eulogist. Well might a warning be taken by the Church, even now, against the danger of indulging the spirit of exaggeration and of fond adulatory regard to the illustrious dead. It was this very spirit as much as any other influence we can name, which effected the ruin and hastened the corruption of early Christianity. Hence, directly, sprang some of the very worst errors which in a matured state strengthened the despotism of Rome, and made its services idolatrous, and its practices abominable.

A reasonable distaste of the inflation which offends the eye so often on the pages of the early Christian writers (as well as motives of indolence or levity) has almost cut us off from correspondence with the worthies of the ancient Church; so that men whose vigour of mind, whose copious eloquence, and whose universal learning, should attract us to the perusal of their works, are little more thought of than the demigods of the Grecian mythology. Yet undoubtedly by this oblivion we not only forfeit the advantage of justly estimating *things that are*, by comparison with things that have been; but fail of that special and highly important benefit which an exact knowledge of history conveys, namely—a timely caution against the first inroads of insidious errors and spurious sentiments.

It may be too much to affirm that Basil, eminent as were his qualities, or indeed that any single mind could have turned the tide which, at the opening of the fourth century, was in full course, bearing the Christian world—eastern and western, fast toward that swamp of superstition wherein all its virtues were soon after lost. Yet it is certain that although he might not have had power to divert the course of things, his influence was great and extensive in accelerating the unhappy movement. As well in the Latin as the Greek Church, and during many successive centuries, the writings of Basil formed the text book of monkery, and gave sanction to its follies.* His friend and biographer assures us, and his own writings attest the fact, that, not like many who, so long as their private interests go well, trouble themselves not at all on account of the evils that may prevail abroad, Basil anxiously occupied himself with whatever concerned the welfare of the Christian community throughout the world:† and seeing the Church "split into ten thousand sects, and distracted with errors,"‡ laboured, as well by his writings as by personal interposition, to remedy the existing evils. Nor were his labours without fruit. The specific heresies with which he contended were held in check by his eloquence, and by the weight of his personal character. False dogmas he discerned, and refuted; but alas, the false temper of the times—the universal wrong tendency of men's notions of religion and piety, this he did not discern; on the contrary, while fighting with errors in the detail, himself immensely promoted the grand error which had already poisoned the Church, and which, after a century or two, laid her prostrate as a corrupting carcase. So it is that what is special we can see: what is general escapes our notice. A hundred times, while following Basil through his track of cogent argument and splendid illustration, one stops to ask, Why did not so comprehensive and penetrating an intelligence question itself, and question the Christian body, concerning the soundness of its first principles of practical piety? Why not inquire whether a system of conduct manifestly at variance with the course of nature, and with the constitutions of the social economy, was indeed enjoined by Scripture, or could, in its issue, be safe and advantageous? Not a surmise of this sort, so far as we can find, ever disturbed the meditations of the Cappadocian primate. No;—but these only may fairly blame and wonder who themselves are habituated to entertain and indulge severe inquiries concerning the opinions and usages they most zealously affect.

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* No literary enterprise can well be named, or perhaps thought of more undesirable—more humiliating—at least if a man retains any feeling of self-respect, than that which the worthy and learned author of the Lives of the Saints has executed. The Romish Church is rich in the boast of upwards of a thousand saints—a number so large that she is able to allot as many as three or four glorious patrons, on an average, to each day of the year! Now most men would think it a formidable task to undertake merely a cold apology of *every one* of any thousand frail human beings that could be brought together in a list. But what must it be, not simply to excuse, but to commend every one of a thousand? And what, not only to commend, but to find proof that every one is a fit object of adoration, and an efficacious mediator between God and man? Yet such is the achievement that signalizes the name of Alban Butler! A thousand saints, one after another, to be hoisted upon the pedestal of canonization, or defended there! Truly one of the loftiest of these enviable standing places should be reserved for the author himself! Those who, without a cause to serve, or a church to prop (or to pull down), look calmly at human nature as it is, and who read history for themselves, will, with a sort of mournful contempt, bring into comparison the foolish exaggerations of Butler on the one hand, and the malign representations of Gibbon on the other; and will learn to hold very cheap, as well eulogists as calumniators, when it is truth we are in search of.

† Let ninety-nine of every hundred of the Saints of the Calendar retain their title. If the Romanists please; it shall be *Saint* George, *Saint* Dunstan, *Saint* Dominic, and so forth; but we are disposed to withhold the sullied honour from the few whom we believe, notwithstanding the misfortune of their canonization, to have been good and honest men, and sincere Christians. And certainly we so think of Basil of Cappadocia. He governed the churches of that province rather more than eight years, during the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

‡ See the funeral oration in praise of Basil, Morell's Greg. Nazianzen, 1680, Tom. I. pp. 360, 363.

§ The twentieth oration above referred to, ἐπιτάφιος, in which Gregory exhausts the powers of language in the service of his deceased friend and spiritual father, upon whom indeed, while living he had lavished the hyperpolas of praise; as in the sixth, seventh, and nineteenth orations, and in various places of his Epistles. Could the simplicity of the Gospel, and the honour of Christ comport with that style of adulation which in the age of Gregory was accredited and common in the Church? The epistle, the nineteenth, in which he excuses himself from the charge of neglecting his friend, would astound the modern reader. No wonder that those should have fallen into an idolatry of the saints in heaven, who had already gone so far in worshipping one another.

* The praises of Basil and of his institutions are on the lips of most of the contemporary and succeeding church writers, as well Latins as Greeks; and most of the oriental monkish establishments were founded upon the model of which he was the author. Isidore, (Lib. I. Epist. 61,) reproaches one who, while he professed high regard to the words of our DIVINELY INSPIRED FATHER—Basil, practically set his authority at naught. Equivalent expressions are employed by other writers. By a strange catachresis the monastic rule was called generally by the writers of that age (as by Isidore in the epistle here referred to) κανὼν φιλοσοφίας, and the institution itself the true and divine philosophy. See a fond and frequent use of this phrase in the epistles of Gregory Nazianzen.

† . . . ἀλλ' ὑψοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν διάρας, καὶ κύκλω τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα περιαγαγὼν, πᾶσαν εἴσω ποιεῖται τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅσην ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐπέδραμεν. Greg. Naz. Orat. 20. His assertion is borne out by several passages in Basil's own writings, from which it appears that the state of the Church universal was the subject of his frequent (and not very happy) meditations: for instance, in his treatise on the Holy Spirit, c. 30, where, with admirable force of language and vigour of conception, he makes a comparison between the distracted state of the Church and a sea-fight during a storm: or again in that remarkable epistle to the bishops of the West, in which he entreats them to send delegates to the eastern church, who might raise it from the dust. The same catholic and patriarchal solicitude appears in his epistles to Athanasius, and in those of similar import, to the bishops of Gaul and Italy. Basil's monasticism did not at all seclude him from public interests.

‡ . . . εἰς τε μυρίας δοξας καί πλάνας διεσπασμένον.

Far from seeming fanatical or malignant, the monastic system, as it stands on the shining pages of Basil, bears quite a seductive form. His discriptions of his own seclusion among the mountains of Pontus, and of the pleasures of abstracted meditation and holy exercise, can hardly be read without kindling an enthusiasm of the same order.[*] In his ascetic rules, too, there is very much of admirable and elevated sentiment, and of spiritual discretion; as well as a thorough orthodoxy. More easy is it to yield the heart and judgment to the persuasive influence of the writer, than to stand aloof, and call in question his principles.

Nor perhaps, apart from the aid of that comment which the after history of the Church has made upon those principles, would it have been easy to demonstrate their pernicious tendency: and yet there is little or nothing among the enormities of the ascetic life which might not be justified on the grounds assumed by Basil; as for example, That the domestic constitution of man is abstractedly imperfect, and irreconcilable with high attainments in piety.[*]—That Religion—or at least that the only admirable order of religion, consists—not in the worthy and fruitful exercise of virtuous principles amid the occasions and trials of common life; but in cutting off all opportunities of exercise, and in retreating from every trial of constancy:—That, in a word, piety is a something which in every sense is foreign to the present state, and can flourish only in proportion as its laws and constitutions are contemned and discarded.

The first practical measure necessary for giving effect to maxims such as these, was of course that of breaking up the conjugal economy, and of gathering men and women (destined by God for each other as sharers in the joys of life, and helpers in its labours and sorrows) into horrid fraternities and comfortless sisterhood of virginity.[†] This violence once done to nature—and then every lesser enormity was only a proper consequence and a consistent part of the monstrous invention. All fanaticism—all cruelties, all impurities were in embryo within this egg.[‡] Strange does it seem—or strange to us of this age, that the authors and prompters of the unnatural usage, while reading the evangelic records, did not see that the virtue of our Lord and of his Apostles, if we are not to think it quite inferior to that of which the monks made their boast, was altogether unlike it, and must have been founded on different maxims. Of our Lord it is said that he was continually accompanied in his journeys by women who "ministered unto him." But the doctors of monkery assure us that the society of woman is altogether pernicious, and wholly incompatible with advancement in the Christian life;—yes, that the mere touch of a female hand is mortal to sanctity![§] The sanctity of the monk, then, and the purity of the Son of God had not, it is manifest, any kindred elements.—Of the Apostles and first disciples it is said that they consorted together "with the women," and throughout the history of the Acts nothing appears to have attached to the manners of Christians that was at variance with the genuine simplicity and innocence which is the characteristic of a virtuous intercourse of the sexes. The "angelic life," described and lauded by every Father, from Tertullian, to the Abbot of Clairvaux, is not any where to be traced in the authentic story of the first and purest years of the Christian Institution. Why was not a fact so conspicuous perceived by Chrysostom, by Gregory, by Basil? Alas! such is the original limitation, or such the superinduced infatuation of the human mind, that, when once it takes a wrong path, not the most eminent powers of reason, nor the most extensive accomplishments avail to give it a suspicion of its error!

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[*] It was customary with the monks of a later age to select for the site of their establishments the most horrid and pestilential swamps, and this professedly with the intention of mortifying the senses, and of rendering life as undesirable and as brief too as possible. Not so Basil: fully alive to the beauties of nature, he exults in his enjoyment of them. The following description, though perhaps too long for a note, tempts us to turn aside a moment from our path. Addressing the friend of his youth, Basil says—In Pontus God hath shown me a spot precisely situated to my turn of mind and habits.—In truth it is the very scene which heretofore, while idly musing I had been wont to picture to myself. It is a lofty mountain, enveloped in dense forests: on its nothern front it is watered by gelid streams that sparkle to the eye as they descend. At the foot of the hill a grassy plain spreads itself out, and luxuriates in the moisture that distils perpetually from the heights. Around the level space the woods, presenting trees of every species, take an easy sweep, so as to form a natural rampart. Calypso's isle, so much praised by Homer, one might contemn in comparison with this spot: in fact itself might almost be called an island, since it is completely encircled and shut in—on two sides, by deep and precipitous ravines; on another, by the fall of a never-failing torrent, not easily forded, and which like a wall excludes intruders. In the rear the jagged and uneven heights, with a semicircular turn, rise from the skirts of the plain, and deny access, except through a single pass, of which we are masters. My habitation occupies the ridge of a towering height, whence the landscape, with the many bends of the river, spreads itself fairly to the view, and presents, altogether a prospect not inferior, as I think, in gay attractions, to that which is offered by the course of the river Strymon, as seen from Amphipolis. That stream indeed moves so sluggishly in its bed, as hardly to deserve the name of river; but this on the contrary (the most rapid I have ever seen) rushes on to a neighbouring rock, whence thrown off, it tumbles into a deep vortex in a manner that excites the admiration of every beholder. From the reservoir thus formed we are abundantly supplied with water, nor only so, for it nourishes in its stormy bosom a multitude of fishes. What might I not say of the balmy exhalations that arise from this verdant region, or of the breezes that attend the flow of the river? or some perhaps would rather speak of the endless variety of flowers that adorn the ground, or of the innumerable singing birds that make our woods their home. For my own part, my mind is too deeply engaged to give much attention to these lesser matters. To our commendation of this seclusion we are moreover able to add the praise of an unbounded fruitfulness in all kinds of produce, favoured as it is by its position and soil. To me its principal charm (and a greater cannot be) is this—that it yields me the fruits of tranquillity. For not only is the region far remote from the tumult of cities, but it is actually unfrequented by travellers of any sort, a few huntsmen excepted, who make their way hither in search of the game which abounds in it. This indeed is another of its advantages; for though we lack the ferocious bear and the wolf that afflict your country, we have deer and goats, sylvan flocks, and hares, and other animals of the sort.....

Who would not turn monk if he might lead the angelic life in a paradise such as that of Basil?

[*] Throughout the ascetic writings of Basil every thing commendable or desirable in the spiritual economy is assumed to attach exclusively to that mode of life which could be followed only in the monastery; nor does he think it practicable to maintain faith and virtue in the open world, or while encompassed with the cares and duties τοῦ κοινοῦ βιον. Not so Paul and Peter. In a letter to his friend Gregory Nazianzen, after describing the distractions of ordinary life, and the cares of matrimony, he says—From all which there is only one way of escape—namely, an entire separation from this world:—not indeed a being absent from it corporeally; but a rending of the soul from every bodily affection;—to be no citizen—to have no home—no property—no friends—to be destitute, and in absolute want—to have no concerns or occupation—to be cut off from commerce with the world—to be ignorant of human learning;—and so to prepare the heart for the due reception of the divine instruction. Such were the principles which this good man diffused throughout the Christian world:—himself did by no means carry them out fully into practice—this part was left for his admirers. So it is that great minds indulge in exaggerations which small minds interpret literally to their cost. It would be useless to quote fifty passages of like import—a hundred might be found.

[†] The author of the Lives of the Saints would fain rid the reputation of St. Basil of the ambiguous honour of having written the tract on Virginity. If there be a doubt on this point, we will assuredly give the Archbishop and the *Monk* of Cæsarea the benefit of it. Whether it be his or not, the doctrine it mantains is in substance, though not in so unpleasing a form, found in his unquestioned writings. The passages that might the most aptly be quoted in this instance, are best left in their concealment of Greek.

[‡] The subject of celibacy, and its influence on the character, must again, and more copiously be treated. See next section.

[§] We turn for a moment from Basil, who nevertheless is strong on this point. "So far as possible," says Isidore, "all converse with women is to be shunned: or if this cannot altogether be avoided, they should be spoken with only, the eye fixed on the earth......In the case of almost all who have fallen by their means *death hath entered in by the windows!*" Lib. I. Epis. 67. Cassian, and still more, his commentators, might be quoted at large on matters of this sort. Gregory the Great says—Qui corpus suum continentiæ dedicant, habitare cum feminis non presumant; and he tells a long story to enforce his advice. Dialog. Lib. III. c. 7. Sulpitius Severus thinks it necessary to excuse his hero, St. Martin, in an instance (referred to in Nat. Hist. of Enthus. Sect. IX.) in which he had suffered the touch of a woman: and in the same spirit, an unknown monkish writer—

Causa gravis scelerum cessabit amor mulierum,
Colloquium quarum nil est nisi virus amarum
Præbens, sub mellis dulcedine, pocula fellis.
Carman Paræneticum.

All that could be done by a vigorous and comprehensive mind, well furnished with Scriptural principles, to render the monastic institution as good as its nature admitted, was actually effected by Basil;[*] and his ascetic writings—his Rules, the longer and the shorter, and his monastic constitutions, if they could, in translation, be purged of their characteristic asceticism, would form an excellent and edifying body of instructions in the practice of piety.—But our time and labour might be better spent. Happily the principles and maxims of religion we can draw from purer sources; and while it is unquestionably incumbent upon the few who aspire to exercise a correct and comprehensive judgment concerning the various phrases of Christianity, to make themselves familiarly conversant with the voluminous remains of ecclesiastical literature, it is certain that the private Christian, with the Bible and with modern expositions in his hand, need not sigh that those treasures are locked up from his use.

In its rancorous stage the fanaticism of austerity is not to be looked for in a writer so great and good as the Bishop of Cæsarea. For instances of this we must turn to some of his contemporaries of less note; and to those who afterwards followed in the same track. Nevertheless the germs of malignant religionism (such as in a preceding section we have briefly stated them to be) are not wanting even in Basil. It is evident, for example, that the very serious impressions he entertained of the Divine Justice, and its bearing upon man, were not balanced, as in the minds of the apostles, by a clear and auspicious understanding of the great article of justification by faith:—his faith therefore was comfortless, severe, and dim.[†] Again, the scriptural belief of the agency and malice of infernal spirits, had become, in that age, and before it, so turgid and extravagant that it filled a far larger space on the circle of vision than properly belongs to it. In truth, among the monks, the subject of infernal seduction quite occupied the mind, to the exclusion almost of happier objects of meditation. The devil, whatever may be the title of the piece, is the real hero of the drama of monastic piety:—that piety therefore has all the proper characters of superstition.[‡]

Furthermore, the broad distinction made between what was insolently termed "the common life," and the "angelic," or monastic, and upon which Basil so much insists, could not fail to generate, as in fact it did, a supercilious disdain of the mass, not of mankind at large merely, but of the Christian community, and with it, a preposterous conceit (ill concealed beneath the cant of humility) of peculiar privilege and celestial dignity, as the distinction of a few. Thus was it that all the stones of the foundation of the pandemonium of pride, impurity, and cruelty, were laid by the hands of men whom we must venerate and admire.

The most benign in its elements, and yet perhaps the most destructive in its actual consequences, of all the forms of fanaticism (under this general head) remains to be mentioned;—we mean the custom of pilgrimage. What enterprise can seem more innocent than that of a journey to gratify the tranquil yearnings of pious affection toward a sacred spot?—But what usage more fatal, if we look at its products through a course of ages? Well may it be questioned whether the most ferocious of the ancient superstitions ever made such havoc of human life as have the tranquil pilgrimages of the eastern and western nations. Even the merciless military executions perpetrated by zealot kings upon their own subjects at the instigation of friar-confessors, have probably not caused more death and misery than pilgrimage has occasioned. The reader might startle perhaps to hear it affirmed that, looking only to modern times, the wars that have raged in different parts of Europe and Asia have not wasted the human species to a greater amount than the noiseless processions that, during the same era, have been streaming toward the centries of Brahminical, Mohammedan, and Romish superstition.

Travel by sea and land—the latter not less than the former, does indeed include a hundred chances of death unknown to the resident portion of mankind. But journeys prompted by motives of religion seem to invite and concentrate every ill chance that can possibly belong to a passage from country to country. Among the many routes beaten by the foot of man, which catch the eye as we look broadly over the earth's surface, if there be one that stares out from the landscape—whitened with bones, we shall always find it terminate at some holy shrine. A spot made important by nothing but the dreams of superstition, has become, by the accumulated mortality of ages, the very Golgotha of a continent; and death has fitly erected his proudest trophies on the paths that have led to the place of a sepulchre.

Besides other, and incidental reasons of the difference, it is enough to say that, while men are engaged in mercantile adventure simply, and are acting upon the common inducements of worldly interest, they naturally foresee dangers, and provide against them. But the train of pilgrimage, at first mustered by Folly, has renounced as an impiety, the guidance of reason, and hurrying onward, every day with a more desperate haste than before, has at length poured itself as a torrent along the very valley of death.

It is hard to conjecture to what extent the mischief might have reached—especially in those ages when the frenzy was at its height, if it had not been checked by the saving admixture of grosser motives with the pure fanaticism which was its prime impulse. How greatly are we often indebted (if pride would but own it) to those whispered suggestions of common prudence which we should indignantly spurn if they dared to utter themselves aloud! Yes, and in the wondrous complexity of human nature, provisions are made for the clogging or diverting of every power that tends to run up to a dangerous velocity. Religious delusion is in fact found to coalesce readily, on the one side with soft sensualities, and on the other—strange amalgam!—with mercenary calculations. Oftener than can be told has pious heroism slid down by a rapid descent into sordid hypocrisy, and the stalking devotee of yesterday has become to-day a sheer knave. Just so does a torrent tumble from crag to crag of the mountains, and sparkle in the sun as it storms along;—until, reaching a level and a slimy bed, it takes up the impurity it finds—gets sluggish as well as foul, and at length creeps silent through the oozy channels of a swamp.

The wan and wasted pilgrim—shall we call him devotee or pedlar?—who left his home warm with genuine fervours, unluckily for his reputation, discovered as he went, the secret of profitable adventure. Become dealer, either in articles of vulgar merchandize,[*] or, still better, in the inestimable wares of superstition—rags—bones—pebbles—splinters, he took his course, barely knowing at length of what sort his errand was, but actually reached his home a wealthy trader, who had gone forth a crazy mendicant. The important effect however of a transmutation of motives such as this, was to impart caution and forethought to the pilgrim enterprise; for it is a singular inconsistency of human nature that men will ordinarily take much more care of life *for the sake* of goods and property, than they will do of life by itself. If it had not been for these mitigations, pilgrimage, during certain eras, might almost have swallowed up the human race in the countries where chiefly the madness raged.*

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[*] Evidence might without difficulty be adduced to prove that the monastic institution, such as it had become in the times of Basil, was rather corrected and purified, than rendered still more extravagant by the influence of his writings. In *his own age* therefore (if the fact be as we presume) he was a Reformer. His influence, on the contrary, as extended though succeeding ages, has been to hold in credit a system which, but for the support of men like himself, must soon have fallen under the general reprobation and contempt of mankind. Remove from this institution what Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard did to sustain it, and not all the exploits of a thousand fanatics could have availed to keep it going.

[†] The disorders, the corruption, and the religious feuds of the age had evidently affected the mind of Basil in a manner not favourable to his dispositions. A genuine lover of solitude, he was a passionate admirer of Ideal Perfection, and turned with alarm and distaste, as well from the church as the world, in the actual state of both. Yet his was a mind of the *governing class*. From public interests he could not refrain;—not his paradise in the depth of the wilderness could hold him, when a sphere of power opened itself before him; but he ascended the archiepiscopal throne an anchoret in heart, more even than in discipline and garb;—might we say, an anchoret by imaginative taste. We regard his ascetic writings as the product of the original incongruities of his character: seated in the place of power, he aimed not so much to govern the church-secular and actual; and as a Latin would have done, as to create or to mould a celestial community that should yield itself fully to his plastic hand.

[‡] At a very early time the belief of Christians, and especially of the monks, concerning infernal agency, had assumed a form from which nothing could follow but the follies and horrors of superstition. A far extended and exact inquiry would be needed to place this subject in a just light. Though intimately connected with the rise and maturity of Fanaticism, it is too copious a theme to be entered upon in this volume. It demands, however, to be fully considered if we would obtain a comprehensive and satisfactory understanding of the early corruption of Christianity.

[*] See Robertson's Disquisition on India, sect. 3.

A portion only of this system of religious vagrancy belongs to our immediate subject; for it is very far from being true that all pilgrims have been fanatics. Some, as we have said, should be reckoned mere traders, or hucksters under pretext of religion; just as valiant knights were often freebooters, under the same guise. Some, we cannot doubt, have been instigated mainly by that taste for adventure and love of roving which, in certain bosoms is an irresistible impulse. Some, moreover, and not a few, have been flogged on, through their weary way, by pure superstitious terror, or by the well-founded dread of the future retribution of their enormous crimes. And lastly, we must except those (perhaps not many) whose motive may have been only a mild poetic enthusiasm, wholly free from virulence or gloomy fear, and not very difficult to be conceived of, if we are ourselves at all open to imaginative sentiments, and if we will surrender the fancy awhile to the seductive ideas that are called up by long meditation of a distant and hallowed region.†

There was a time—long gone by, when the streams of pilgrimage (if the anachronism of the phrase may be pardoned) flowed from all points around the Mediterranean toward the principal centres of philosophy, or of legislative science. First India, or Chaldea, then Egypt, then Greece, drew from all lands the votaries of wisdom. How marvellously must the love of pure wisdom have declined since those ages!—or else wisdom has become the produce of all climates. More nearly analogous to the pilgrimages of later times, though still very unlike them, was that widely extended practice which brought every year multitudes of the Greeks of all the settlements, even the most remote, and not a few of the still more distant barbarians, to the oracular temples of the mother country, or to those of Ionia and Æolia;—to Oropus, Aba, Dodona, Delphi. Yet although the errand in these cases was often a fruitless one, and the belief whence it arose superstitious, the motive (had but the premises been sound) was calm and rational, and not at all of the sort to kindle the imagination, or to disturb the passions. Instruction, advice, or what perhaps might be equally serviceable—a *final decision* on some perplexing occasion of public or private life, was needed, and sought for; and, whether for the better or the worse, actually obtained from the ministers of the mephitic cavern. Now it must be granted that an authoritative determination (even supposing there to be an equal chance of truth and error) might, in many an instance, well repay a journey of three hundred miles, or a voyage of five. The common business of life, and the affairs of state too, were often much advantaged among the Greeks by their appeals to what one might call a court of Chancery, in which the god gave verdicts generally without delays—always without pleadings—and most often for moderate fees.

We have yet to search for the pattern or the origin of the practice of pilgrimage; but find resemblances rather than actual analogies. Such may be deemed, and it is not more than a resemblance, that usage of the Jewish people which brought the male population of the country three times in the year to the centre and only sanctioned place of public worship. An auspicious institution—well adapted to diffuse, and to keep in brisk circulation among a simple and agricultural people, the several elements of social and religious prosperity. Then it is evident that the shortness of the distances, the frequency of the visit, and the universality of the obligation, must have obviated the evils which attend the custom of pilgrimage. No danger, ordinarily, nor perilous adventure, and no extreme privations, could beset a journey of fifty—a hundred, or a hundred and fifty miles, through a home-land, densely peopled; nor could any but the calmest and happiest sort of excitement spring up on an occasion which, instead of being a single and solemn act of a man's life, was the habit of his life. But the main circumstance of difference is this, that the resort of the people to the tabernacle and temple, being a national duty, and a general or universal practice, it could never be made the ground of boasting or honour to individuals, nor could be thought of as a meritorious enterprise, by the aspirants to religious reputation.

The Mosaic institution seems to have *set* the habit of journeying in the Jewish character, and to have fixed it there so firmly and tranquilly, that in after ages, when the circumstances of a visit to the "Holy City" were altogether altered, and were such as might readily have kindled an active fanaticism, dangerous to the governments which allowed it, the ancient devout serenity held its place in the feelings and manners of the people of the dispersion. Those who, during the Persian, Macedonian and Roman eras (the early portion of it) came to appear before the Lord from the remotest settlements of Libya, or Scythia, or India, went "from strength to strength" with a feeling nearly the same as that of their happier ancestors, whose journey lay only through the olive vales of Palestine. It is not until we approach the dark hour of the catastrophe of the city that we meet with the indications of a different spirit. Then indeed a frenzy had seized the obdurate race, both at home and in the lands of its exile; and the resort of the scattered nation to the ill-fated Jerusalem, was like the rush of acrid humours to the heart and head of a delirious man. This season excepted, the Jewish pilgrimages to the holy city were not, as it appears, marked by fanatical turbulence. The purpose of the worshippers was rational, and their religious notions were, in the main, of a substantial and healthy sort;—they did not travel a thousand miles—to kiss a stone, or to purchase a relic; but to take part in the services of that Temple where alone, in all the world, the first principles of theology were understood, and the true God adored. The journey, and its attendant sentiments, were such as befitted its object.

It is a preposterous creed that makes pilgrimage fatal. In this case Delusion leads the way; Crime attends the route; and Despair and Frenzy at the last comes up to urge the infatuated troop toward the horrid spot where Misery and Death are to be glutted with victims. Such, in brief, and with circumstantial differences only, have been the pilgrimages that have beaten the roads of India, of Arabia and of Palestine. To the latter, we should remember, is due the blood-stained glory of giving birth to the Crusades; for if there had been no resort of the pious to the desolated sepulchre, there would probably have been no heroes of the cross:—if no Peter the Hermit, no Tancred, no Godfrey, no Baldwin, or Richard!

Should we not in this place, note the fact that while superstition, as if with a power of fascination, has always been drawing men from extensive surfaces toward some one vortex of delusion, true religion, on the contrary, has shown itself to possess an expansive force, which has rendered it a point of radiation, or an emanative centre, whence light and blessings have flowed to the remotest circumference. Is a criterion wanted which, by exterior facts only, might discriminate between a false and a true belief? little hazard would be run in assuming such a one as this—that the former will be seen to be gathering up, and accumulating, and devouring;—while the other spreads itself abroad, and scatters and diffuses, as widely as it may, whatever benefits it has to confer. Christianity is not the religion of a shrine, of a sepulchre, of a chair, or of a den; but of all the broad ways of the world, and of every place where man is found.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In treating of the Fanaticism of the SCOURGE, a passing notice, at least, of the miserable Flagellants of the 13th and 14th centuries, may be looked for. The pitiable frenzy, though of fatal consequence for a time, and horribly suppressed, does not seem to merit much attention either as a matter of history or of philosophy. What has been handed down concerning those dolorous vagrants, is familiar to most readers. Froissart's account (Vol. ii. p. 263) relates to the last eruption of the Flagellants. "This year of our Lord 1349, there came from Germany persons who performed public penitencies by whipping themselves with scourges having iron hooks, so that their backs and shoulders were torn: they chaunted also, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and sufferings of our Saviour, and could not by their rules, remain in any town more than one night; they travelled in companies of more or less in number (it is elsewhere affirmed that they amounted sometimes to ten thousand, and included persons of the highest rank) and thus journeyed through the country, performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years Jesus Christ remained on earth; and then returned to their own homes. These penitencies were thus performed to entreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for at this period an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants." This fanaticism was of too turbulent a kind to be suffered by the Church, which, after severely denouncing it, and in vain, at length let loose upon it the armed ministers of her power. Eight thousand persons were massacred in a day by the Teutonic knights at the command of Pope Clement VI. There is reason to believe that some articles of the dominant superstition had been called in question by these penitents.

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* It was not merely as venders of relics, or of the productions of the East, that the pilgrims found the means of refunding the expenses of their journey; for it appears to have been customary for them on their way home to perform sacred dramas in the streets and squares of the towns through which they passed. Ceux, says a French writer, qui revenoient de Jerusalem et de la Terre Sainte, &c. . . . . . . composoient des cantiques sur leurs voyages, y meloient le recit de la vie et de la mort du Fils de Dieu, ou du Judgment dernier, d'une maniere grossiere, mais que le chant et la simplicite de ces temps la sembloient rendre pathetique . . . . . . Ces Pelerins qui alloient par troupes, et qui s'arretoient dans les rues et dans les places publiques ou ils chantoient le Bourdon a la main, le chapeau et le mantelet chargez de coquilles et d'images peintes de diverses couleurs, faisoient une espece de spectacle qui plut. . . . .

† Quam dulce est peregrinis post multam longi itineris fatigationem, post plurima, terræ marisque pericula, ibi tandam quiescere, ubi et agnoscunt suum Dominum, quievisse! Puto jam præ gaudio non sentiunt viæ laborem, nec gravamen reputant expensarum; sed tanquam laboris præmium, cursusve bravium (βραβεῖον) assecuti; juxta Scripturæ sententiam, gaudent vehementer cum invenerint sepulcrum. (St. Bernard. Exhort. ad Milites Templi, cap. 11.) a tract we shall have occasion again, and more fully to refer to. See Sect. VII.

SECTION VI.

FANATICISM OF THE BRAND.

Galerius, Alva, Bonner, cross our path in every street of a populous city; and moreover the agents and ministers of such formidable personages might be found in every crowd. The chief and his company, fit for the labours of religious cruelty, we must not think have passed away with ages long gone by; but rather believe that they are about us now, and wait only the leave or bidding of circumstances to re-act their parts. Or, to confess in a word the whole humiliating truth, it is Human Nature, such, alas, as it is harboured in each of our bosoms, that offers itself with more or less readiness to the excitement of malign and even murderous passions!

At once therefore justice toward the signalized authors of persecution, whom we are apt to regard as beings of infernal origin, and a due caution, having respect to the possible events of some day which may yet come in the world's history, demand that instead of taking a distant glance at the gloomy tragedies of remote times, we should look into the heart in search of those deep sunken motives whence the worst atrocities might take their spring. The man is indeed to be envied whose spirit contains no such elements as might enable him to institute an analysis of this sort. Few will make the profession; and perhaps among those who would, there may be one or more that, if actually drawn into the eddy of turbulent passions, would be found foremost in deeds of violence; for it is certain that the prime impulses of a sanguinary fanaticism act and re-act one upon another until an emotion is generated which quite bears down the gentler feelings of our nature.

The offence given to self-love, and the wound inflicted upon pride by resistance in matters of opinion, is deep in proportion, not simply to the *importance* of the question debated, but to its *obscurity* also; for in this case a secret dread of being at length overthrown and humbled, adds asperity to arrogance. It is obvious then that no subject can equal religion in furnishing occasion to these keen resentments. The vastness and unlimited range of the matters it is concerned with—the infinite importance of its capital truths, and the readiness with which the weight of what is substantial may be made over to what is not so—even to the most trival of its adjuncts, fit it well to impart the utmost vehemence to whatever feelings attend the contests of mind with mind. All this hardly needs to be affirmed; nor can we wonder to see the bitterness of ordinary strife assuming, when religion is the subject of controversy, a solemn virulence, such as makes secular contentions seem vapid and trivial. Common hatred now rises to an immortal abhorrence; wrath swells to execration, and every ill wish breaks out in anathemas.

That feelings so strong should vent themselves in vindictive acts, when opportunity serves, is only natural; and we might, without advancing further, account in *this* manner solely for the cruelties in which religious discords have so often terminated. But there seems to be something yet deeper in the tendency to employ torments and death as means of persuasion. It should be expected that a course of action so preposterous as that of destroying men in professed love to their souls,* will be found to take its rise from a sheer absurdity:—such, for example, as that of putting an antagonist into the position with which we associate the idea of atrocious crimes *in order to confirm ourselves in the belief* that he is indeed an atrocious criminal. This we grant is reasoning in a circle; but it is a logic not strange to the human mind. A secret influence not to be resisted, impels us to do homage to the primary elements of virtue, even when most we are violating its particular precepts. This homage, although tacit, and rendered unconsciously, is not the less real in its effects. We can in no case hate and curse our fellow-men until after we have wrought ourselves up to the persuasion that they are condign objects of such treatment. But in the instance of religious animosities such a persuasion is not ordinarily to be attained, except in a circuitous track. Even the slenderest pretext for charging upon our opponent moral delinquencies is often wanting: on the contrary, perhaps a life and temper absolutely blameless put to shame every attempted calumny. Woe to our victim if this be the case, for then the cruel work of vilifying him must be so much the more elaborate! To establish to our own satisfaction the guilt of our enemy by the method of argument—by fair inference and evidence, is a process too slow to keep pace with the velocity of the vindictive passions. What then remains but by the forms of law—if law be at our bidding, and by the sword of justice—if justice be our obsequious servant, to consign the hated impugner of our will to the class of malefactors? When once we have looked upon him covered with ignominy—and if we can but see him pale with the paleness which a dungeon sheds on the face—and if we do but catch the clanking of a chain about his neck which a Barabbas yesterday wore; yes, and if we hear him groaning under torments that are the necessary schooling of obdurate wickedness—then we can fill up with ease what before was wanting to tranquillizé a just revenge. The circle of our ideas is complete, our moral instincts come round to their close; we breathe again, and by inflicting those heavy injuries which are *presumptive evidence of demerit*, we prove to ourselves, as well as to the world, that the object of our hatred was indeed worthy of detestation!

A mode of reasoning analogous to this (if reasoning it should be called) is not of rare occurrence. "The man must be odious, or should I thus maltreat him?" and then greater outrages must be committed, if it be only to justify the first assault. The bystanders in a common quarrel may often follow angry spirits around a circle of this sort. Perhaps in the first burst of resentment a much more grievous imputation of bad motives was advanced than the facts of the case would at all sustain; or indeed that the accuser had himself seriously intended. But his position is now taken, and hatred can make no backward step. At once to bring over to his side the sentiments of others, and to fill out his own vindictive emotions, he goes on to deal with his antagonist *as if* the exaggerated indictment were fully established. Then, from the overt act of vengeance an inference is brought back upon the demerit of its object.

Religious rancour once generated, whether in the manner we have described, or in some other which we have failed to penetrate, gets aggravation from incidental causes, some of which demand to be mentioned. Such as arise from specific opinions we shall presently have occasion to speak of. To look then to external causes, one of the most ordinary and obvious is the mixed feeling of jealousy and interested pride that floats about the purlieus of every despotism, and especially of every religious despotism. It is trite to say that cruelty is produced or exasperated by the consciousness of impotence; and as the foundations of spiritual tyranny are less ostensible, and more precarious than those of secular government, its alarms will be more vivid, its jealousies more envenomed, and its modes of procedure more rigorous and intemperate. The natural temper of men being supposed the same, it can hardly happen otherwise than that the rod or staff of ghostly supremacy should be a more terrible engine than the sceptre and the sword of temporal power. Must we not admit, too, and may we not admit without offence, that, if once he gives way to the taste for cruelty, the man of the cowl and cloister will prove himself a more inexorable and a more ingenious tormentor, than the man of the field and cuirass?[*]

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* There is no cruelty comparable to that which wraps itself in a villanous hypocrisy. The Romish Church (nor that alone) has always professed the tenderest regard to the spiritual welfare of those whom she was about to let drop into her fires. And thus the Holy Office, in the instructions which guide its agents, provides that—"If a prisoner falls sick, the inquisitors must carefully provide him with every assistance, and more particularly attend to all that relates to HIS SOUL." See Llorente.

In its very worst condition, and during those ages when every thing human was broken up or corrupt, the sacerdotal order, looked at in the whole of its influence, must be allowed to have been a benefit to the nations: and how incalculable a benefit has it proved in happier eras! Yes, and who shall imagine the happy fruits of the same institution when it shall come to take effect upon the social system with the unembarrassed power of its proper motives? What now we have to speak of is the special sacerdotal temper, such as we find it when all those motives were forgotten, or were spurned.

The moral sentiments are almost always, or in some degree, put in danger by the possession of privilege; still more so if the beneficial distinction be of an undefined and intangible sort. This danger is much enhanced if serious privations, or disabilities, are the price paid for indistinct honours; because in that case a perpetual petulance, or dull revenge, works itself into the character, and adds the bitterness of concealed envy to the arrogance of rank; so that the malign sentiments of the pauper and of the oligarch are concentred in the same bosom. If moral disadvantage can yet be aggravated, it is so when the being who already is too much alienated from his species by the destitution of real sympathies, and by participation in a ghostly nobility, is, in his mode of life, actually secluded from the open world, and breathes the poison of a cell.

Nevertheless the pernicious consequence of circumstances so unfavourable will be found open to many more exceptions than theory may lead us to expect: for it might naturally be thought that not one human heart in a thousand would fail to become depraved from long exposure to influences so bad: whereas in fact it is not perhaps more than a third of every thousand that undergoes to the full the perversion of its genuine sentiments; while another third appears scarcely at all impaired by a process that might seem of efficacy enough to break down the virtue of a seraph.

Yet our anticipations will not fail us in relation to the third or the fourth of any body of men so cruelly placed in the very focus of spiritual ruin. Some such proportion will always exhibit in temper (and in conduct if opportunity permits) what a vicious system may do in rendering men—men like ourselves, abhorrent, malign, or foul. Especially shall we find in such a body frequent instances of a peculiar species of ferocity, like to nothing else in the circle of human sentiments;[†]—a rancour from which has been discharged all that is vigorous and generous in manly resentments, and all that is relenting in those of woman;—a rancour which, although some few single examples of it had before been shown to the world in the course of twenty centuries, had never attached to a body as its characteristic until the sacerdotal institution, under the fostering care of the Romish Church, reached its maturity.

What modern heart would not leap with fear if it were permitted to us for an hour to step back from the nineteenth century to the age of Vespasian, and to push our way into the theatre of imperial and popular diversions, just when the gladiator was about to die for the sport of a philosophic prince, and of sumptuous citizens; or when hungry beasts were to be glutted with the warm flesh of the nobility of a conquered kingdom! And yet the ancient Roman theatre, with its mere sprinkling of blood, and its momentary pangs and shrieks, quite fades if brought into comparison with that Colisæum of papal cruelty, in which not a hundred or two of victims, but myriads of people—yes, nations entire—have been gorged! If we must shrink back, as assuredly we should, from the one spectacle, we shudder even to think of the other.—Though it were possible to summon courage enough to gaze upon the mortal, yet equal, conflict of man with man in the theatre, how shall we contemplate torments and burnings inflicted by the strong upon the weak; or if we might endure to see the lion and the panther spring upon their prey, could we force ourselves to the far more horrid sight, when the priest and the friar, athirst, were to rush upon men, women, and babes!

Agitating emotions, whether of indignation or of terror, are however to be restrained, and in a calmer mood—a mood compatible with the exercise of reason, and which may allow us even to intermingle, where it can be done, excuses and pity for the perpetrators of crime (often far more unhappy than the sufferers), we should survey that strange scene of wo whereon the Romish priesthood, age after age, has figured.

But is it equitable, some may ask, to single out the Papal Hierarchy as the prime or incomparable example of religious ferocity? Were not the ancient idolatries—Druidical Syrian, Scythian and Indian, cruel and sanguinary; and have not the more modern superstitions of Mexico and Hindoostan been deeply stained with blood? This is true; but a broad distinction presents itself, which places the papal immolations and tortures on a ground where there is nothing to compare with them. It might be enough to say that an annual or triennial sacrifice of a few victims, or the gorging of captives reserved for that very purpose from the slaughter of the field, have in no country amounted to a tenth of the numbers that, in equal portions of time, have fallen around the altar of the Romish church. But leaving this point, there is a clear difference, much in favour of the pagan rites, between the shedding the blood of a *victim* (using the term in its restricted and proper sense) at the impulse of a sincere superstitious dread; and those executions and exterminations that have sprung, not from horrors of conscience, not from error of belief, but from a sheer rancour. Superstition does indeed *tend* to blood, and often is guilty of it; but Fanaticism—fanaticism such as that of the Romish Hierarchy, breathes revenge, and murder beats from its heart.

Historic justice demands however that another comparison should be made, and it is one which seems to relieve a little the horrors of the papal tyranny;—we speak of course of the severities under which the Christians of the first three centuries suffered, from the pagan predecessors of the Popes, on the seven hills. Might we not believe that the demon of blood, though dislodged for a season when the house of Cæsar fell in ruins, had lurked a century or two in the mists of the Tiber, or had slept in the swamps of Campania, until scenting its new occasion, and springing up refreshed, it entered with greetings the halls of the Vatican. It may be difficult or impossible, imperfect as is our information, equitably to decide between imperial and papal Rome, on the question of ferocity. Yet some points of difference present themselves very clearly;—as, 1st. The imperial persecutions of the Church are, in most instances, to be attributed to the personal temper or the fears or jealousies of the emperors, as individuals.[*] Whereas the papal cruelties sprung from the system, and never failed to be displayed, whatever might be the character of the Pontiff, as often as the specific provocation arose.[*] 2dly. More than one or two of the ten persecutions (to follow the common computation), appear to have been, on the part of the imperial government, a desperate endeavour, prompted by serious alarms, for ridding the state of a formidable intestine foe. A reluctant use, as it seems, was made of means so severe, but which were deemed indispensable to the preservation of the vast and shaken edifice of the empire.[†] Now if it be alleged that the papal persecutions had often similar motives, and might therefore admit of a parallel excuse, we must rest the difference on the ground, that the maintenance of civil polity (if the means be lawful) is a duty and a virtue in public men; while we can regard the supporters of a ghostly domination in no other light than as hateful usurpers;—never can it be a virtue to uphold that which, in its essence, and under any condition, is wicked. Then 3dly. The pagan persecutions were (for the most part) enacted and executed by men schooled in the field of war—and of war often against barbarous hordes. They were men indurated, too, from youth by the spectacles of the theatre—that is to say, taught ferocity as much by their pastimes and festivities, as by their campaigns. From the hands of beings so trained what could be looked for?[‡] But it is quite otherwise with the popish cruelties; for these, in every age, have been devised and executed by men of the cloister; men emasculate in habit, and whose nerves should have had the sensibility which sloth, study and indulgence engender. An atrocity perpetrated by the hand of a delicate woman is always deemed to indicate a more malignant soul than if it be the act of a bandit or a pirate. By the same rule, should not the priest be somewhat more humane than the soldier? Yet in fact the principals and the agents in the destruction of heretics were men who had personally learned none of the bad lessons of war, and had witnessed no scenes of torment or bloodshed but those in which themselves were the actors. Should it be forgotten, while this comparison is pursued, that the emperor and the senate, the proconsul and the centurion, knew nothing more than the darkness of paganism could teach them; but popes and cardinals, legates, priests and monks, held the Gospel of peace in their hand![§]

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[*] One of the earliest and most zealous advocates of the practice of burning heretics is said to have been the Abbot Theophanes, who himself suffered extreme severities under the Iconoclast, Leo V. Pain (for beside his voluntary penances he was subject to the stone) was the unhappy man's element; and he doled it out to others with a freedom corresponding with the alacrity with which he bore it himself. This connexion between the infliction and the endurance of torments has been a very frequent one; frequent enough to bring under just reprobation every specious form of asceticism. The Abbot Theophanes, we are told, commenced his course of abnegation by an act well fitting the part he afterwards acted as author or promoter of ecclesiastical cruelties. "Being arrived at man's estate, he was compelled by his friends to take a wife; but on the day of his marriage he spoke in so moving a manner to his consort on the shortness and uncertainty of this life, that they made a mutual vow of perpetual chastity. She afterwards became a nun; and he for his part built two monasteries in Mysia."—*Lives of the Saints*, March 13.

[†] In that particular species of ingenuity which exercises itself in the invention of torments, the sacerdotal artists have certainly outstripped all competitors. Happy is the reader if he be still ignorant—and continue so, of the *mechanical secrets* of ecclesiastical prison-houses. Descriptions of this sort injure the mind; they rack the imagination, and engender emotions of resentment and disgust which do not well comport with Christian feelings.

[*] The first persecution (to follow the vulgar computation) was the act of Nero—Religionum usquequaque contemtor; the second of Domitian—non solum magnæ, sed et callidæ inopinatæque sævitiæ: what shall we say of the emperors to whose jealousies or philosophic pride are attributed the third and fourth? The fifth took place under Severus—natura sævus—vere Pertinax, vere Severus. The sixth under Maximin—a genuine savage, as jealous as fierce:—the seventh, horrible as it was, should be attributed to the political fears and energetic resolves of Decius:—the eighth persecution perhaps had its origin in the envy of an obsure individual. The austerity and vigour of Aurelian, qui esset, says Lactantius, natura vesanus et præceps, if not diverted, would probably have given to the ninth more than a name. The tenth and the heaviest was the fruit partly of the personal dispositions, but more of the political fears of its two imperial authors.

The bas-reliefs and bronzes of the age of Roman greatness have brought down for our inspection the form and visage of the Roman soldier, such as he was under Nerva, Trajan, Aurelius, Domitian. The contracted brow declares that storms of battle have beat upon it often: the glare of that overshadowed eye throws contempt upon death: the inflated nostril breathes a steady rage: the fixed lips deny mercy: the rigid arm and the knit joints, have forced a path to victory, through bristled ramparts and triple lines of shields and swords. And withal there is a hardness of texture that seems the outward expression of an iron strength and rigour of soul—a power, as well of enduring as of inflicting pain; and the one with almost as much indifference as the other. Shall we conceive of encountering, on the open field, a being so firmly fierce, and so long accustomed to crush and trample upon man? But who shall imagine himself to have been delivered into the hands of the Roman soldier armed, not as a warrior but as executioner! This indeed is terror. Alas, then, let us commiserate the fate of our brethren and sisters in Christ—the early martyrs!—What had they to look for when the centurion's band, such as we see it now encircling the column of Trajan, was let loose upon a flock of trembling victims, with license and command to torture and to kill![*]

Yet we have not reached the extreme point of horror:—there remains a picture which still more chills the blood. True, the Roman soldier, as well by his murderous occupations, as by his brutal usages, had become hard and cruel; yet there was no mystery in his rage:—savage more than malign, his purposes of evil sprung only from the provocations of the hour; they were not profound as hell. We turn then from the bas-reliefs, and the sculptures, and coins of ancient art, and open an illuminated codex—choice treasure of a monkish library. At the head of homilies and prayers, and of meditations and miracles, and set in flowers of purple or gold, we find the veritable effigy of the canonized zealot;—abbot or brother—a Dominic or a Fouquet. How delicate was the bodily frame and outward texture of the man:—the soft contour bespeaks physical and mental laxity; yet is there, too, in the mobile features an indication of that resolution which excitement may give, if not that which animal courage imparts. An abject habit of soul, together with a boundless insolence;—a usage of submission to every tyranny, and an arrogance that would crush a world when provoked, meet in the tortuous brows. Under how many impenetrable coverings are the secrets of that heart concealed; if we are to judge by the wily closing of the lips, and the wrinkled temples! The face, taken at a glance, is the very pattern of penitence and ecstacy; but to look at it again is to find it wanting in the traces of every human affection. The man, beside that his occupations have not been of the sort that give vigour to the animal system, and cheerful alacrity to the mind, has no kindly relationships, no natural cares, no mild hopes: he is not social, not domestic; but in the place of all genuine impulses, harbours the rancid desires of a suppressed concupiscence. Who could imagine him to be husband, or father, or friend, or neighbour, or citizen, or patriot? Hover where it may, this is an alien spirit—foreign to whatever is human; at home only in the world of ghostly excitements:—it haunts earth; not dwells upon it.

What then, think we, shall this being show himself when he comes to be inflamed by spiritual revenge, and quickened by the virulence of those boundless hatreds which a malignant superstition engenders! And what when the engines of a mighty despotism are entrusted to his zealous hands! Horror has now nothing worse to conceive of:—the ghastly ideal of cruelty is filled up. Who would not rush from the grasp of the irritated ascetic to cling to the knees of the Roman soldier, and there plead for human compassion!

Yet is this same horrific personage human, nor perhaps worse than many, if we deduct all that the bad system it has been his wretched lot to live under, has done to pervert him. The Franciscan—the Inquisitor, once sucked the breast of woman, and joined in the mirth and gambols of childhood; and even now, if it were possible to take him apart for a moment from his rules and his crucifix, we might find in his bosom the germs at least of the common charities of life: yes, doubtless he is human; and if the sinewy fabric were exposed by the knife of the anatomist, the transformation that has made him so unlike to other men could not be detected.—The brain, for aught that appears, might as well have entertained reason and truth as another brain;—the heart, for aught that we can see, might, as readily as another heart, have throbbed with pity.

System and circumstance deducted—the Franciscan or the Inquisitor may be found in all communities.—Look, for example, at that grave and abstracted, yet youthful countenance

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[*] The personal character of the Pontiff has no doubt often made itself felt in the measures pursued by the Church. But in quite as many instances the handling of the keys has seemed to effect a total metamorphosis of dispositions:—the *cardinal* was one being—the *pope* another; and the college has had reason almost to doubt the identity of the person whom they had lifted to the summit of power. Thus the very man who had been singled out as more likely than any other to respect his oath, and to achieve desired reformations; has been the one most audaciously to brave the amazement of his comrades, and to defy the clamours of Christendom. The average date of each pontificate, taking the entire series to the present time, has been little more than seven years—and those, generally, the last years of decrepid age. But a system of government which, from century to century consigns the reins of power to trembling hands, must of course derive its temper and character much more from the body than from the head. The average reigns of the Roman Emperors was about ten years;—and those, for the most part, the mid years of life;—few of the series reached the extreme verge of mortal existence.

[†] Putting out of view the violent dispositions of Galerius, there is abundant reason to believe that the fatal decision which burst like a thunder over the Roman world from the palace of Nicomedia was the result, in the main, of purely political calculations. Nothing beyond such calculations appears (two hundred years before) to have influenced the conduct of Trajan, such as himself holds it up to view in his letter of instructions to Pliny.

[‡] The Roman soldier had become a far more ferocious being in the age of the emperors than he was in that of the consuls. In the early era he was a member of a limited community, and had his home—his virtues—his personal sentiments; in the latter period he was ordinarily nothing better than an enlisted barbarian—how unlike to the warrior-citizen of whom, subaltern as well as chief, it might be said, in the words of Florus, ... expeditione finita, rediit ad boves rursus triumphalis agricola.

[§] It is customary to speak of the middle ages as being destitute as well of scriptural as of profane learning; and this may be true of the mass of the people; but certainly not of the principal actors in Church affairs. By the ecclesiastical writers of those times Scripture is quoted as largely and familiarly as it is in modern religious books. St. Bernard (of whom we shall have occasion presently to speak more at large) in the tracts and letters by which he instigated the second crusade, scarcely moves through a paragraph without a text. Every thing is thought of—but the morality of the enterprise!

[*] The cruelties endured by the Christians were often inflicted to appease the ferocity of the rabble. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον τῶ ὄχλω χαριζομενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν, ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία. *Epist. Vienn. et Lugd.* Similar expressions abound in the early martyrologies.

—pallid, and somewhat fallen from the salient outline that should bespeak the actual years. What intensity in the glare of the sunken eye! What fixedness of purpose in the lips! and the movements of the youth seem inspirited with some intention beyond simple locomotion, or mechanical agency:—as he walks one would think that he was hastening onward by the side of an invisible competitor for a prize at the goal. Or hear him speak:—he is terse and precise: his tones, too, have a certain mystic monotony in place of the natural modulations of a voice so young. But listen to his opinions; how vehement are they; how darkly coloured his representations of simple facts;—exaggeration swells every sentence: and how far from *youthful* are his surmises; and his verdicts how inexorable!—not a look, not a word, not an action of his belongs to the level of ordinary sympathies: all is profound as the abyss, or lofty as the clouds. But, strange to say, you may find this our instance, perhaps, to be one of a community that boasts itself as the especial enemy of intolerance.—He has been bred in the heart of the very straitest sect of liberality, and would die gladly in the sacred cause of religious freedom! Ah! how like is man to man, strip him only of a garb!—Take now our fervent youth, and immure him a year or two with twenty like himself, in some dim seclusion:—there work upon his passions with whatever is acrid in the system he already holds, and draw him on with a little art—the art of sacred logic, from inference to inference, until he comes into a state of mind to which nothing, the most exorbitant, can seem strange. You must then find for him a sphere of excitement; and without beads or a cowl he will act the part of the worthiest son of the Church that has lived.

We return to matters of history.—By what rule of equity is a balance to be held between the cruelties of the papacy, and the exterminating wars of the Moslem conquerors? Without affirming absolutely on which side the scale might turn, certain points of comparison at once present themselves:—such for example as these.—The fury of the early propagators of the doctrine of Mohammed was that of warriors who, having launched upon the great enterprise of conquering the world, could not mince their measures. Or if we turn to those who in a later age took up the cause of the Prophet, we must remember that the ferocious hordes that pressed upon Christendom were SCYTHIAN before they were Mohammedan, and had long been used to drink the blood of their enemies from skulls, when they came to be taught a new religion from the Koran. The Moslem conquests (under the caliphs) were a storm that wasted the countries it passed over, and died away; and it is to be remembered that the conquerors, when once firmly seated in their fair possessions, exhibited in their polity and manners far more that was liberal and humane than the world had long before seen, or than it saw elsewhere, during many ages afterwards.[*] Of the intolerance of the modern Mohammedan world, Turkish and Persian, it may fairly be said that, though in a sense attributable to the religious system of those nations, their despotic policy is nothing more than a homogeneous part of the oriental economy. This intolerance is ASIATIC, rather than Mohammedan. What but rigour and a tyrannous dogmatism can be imagined to find a place among nations whose theory of government springs from the relation of lord and slave?[†] Whether this theory belongs to the climate, or to the physical conformation of the race, or to what else, we will not say; but come whence it may, it is much older than the age of Mohammed; nay—as old as history.

That measure of liberty of opinion (we may remark in passing) or of liberality of sentiment and of sceptical indifference, which of late has worked its way through the widening fissures of the Persian and Turkish governments, is not merely inconsistent with the abstract idea of those political structures, but incompatible with their continuance. If already the dyke of despotism had not bulged and gaped, the insidious element of freedom could not so have penetrated its substance:—the fact of its having penetrated is at once a proof of decay, and a prognostic of that coming rush of waters that must, within a century, lay waste (lay waste to fertilize) the eastern world, from the deserts of the Indus to the mouths of the Danube:—shall we add—to the shores of the Baltic, and the banks of the Elbe?

But the elements of the social system, and the principles of its construction have ever been, even from the remotest times, altogether of another sort in the west. Notwithstanding all oppressions and degradations, the love of liberty, through a long course of ages, yes, during the lapse of three thousand years, has clung to the European race. If some of these families, anciently as free as others, have, in modern times, quite sunk to the dust under the foot of despotism, it has only been by the presence and aid of the spiritual Power—by the Incubus of the Church, that the people have fallen. Popery apart—every nation west of the Euxine had long ago been free:—nay, had never been enslaved. The papal usurpation (thinking of it now only as a system of polity) has resided in Europe, not as a form of things in harmony with the spirit and temper of the region; but *malgre* the aboriginal character with which it has always had to contend.[*] Popery is not to Europe what Mohammedism is to Asia, but rather a long invasion of a soil which nature had said should bear nothing that was not generous. When shall the European families drive the exotic tyranny for ever from their shores!

There is little difficulty then in finding a sufficient reason, though not the sole reason, for the incomparable cruelties of popery; its restless jealousies, its exterminations, its inexorable revenge, have all been proper to it as a precarious and alien despotism. The consciousness of an inherent hostility between itself and the temper of the nations it has seduced and subdued, has made it a tyranny more merciless than any other mankind has tolerated. Even popery, we may fairly believe, might have been less sanguinary had it from the first seated itself in some congenial torrid climate—native to abjectness and slavery.

Were it true that this ancient, and now decrepit Mother of corruption had actually disappeared from the real world; or even could we believe without a doubt, that she was very speedily to vanish, time might be better spent than in searching any deeper for the secrets of her power. But alas, it is not so; and moreover it is true that a portion at least of the bad qualities whence this power arises, attaches to other systems beside the Romish Church, and may be discovered in dogmas not covered by her scarlet mantle. On all accounts then we must advance in our scrutiny, and expose, if it be possible, the hidden impulses of that malign fanaticism which popery has so largely engendered.

With this purpose in view, something must be said, 1st, of the doctrine of the Romish Church; 2dly, of its constitution as a polity; and something, 3dly, of its sacerdotal institute.

1. We are, of course, to speak of the Romish doctrine only *in the single point* of its tendency to generate, or of its fitness to sustain, a sanguinary fanaticism.

The prominent article of the New Testament, and which distinguishes Christianity from all other religious systems, is a doctrine of Mercy incomparably full, free, and available. And yet this happy announcement of forgiveness of sins takes its stand upon a much more distinct and alarming assertion of the rigour of Divine Justice, and of the extent of its penal consequences, than hitherto had been heard of, or than the natural fears of conscious guilt would suggest, or readily admit. This ample promise of Grace, and this appalling declaration of Wrath, may fairly be assumed as the prime elements of true religion, working always, and intended to work, one upon another, for the production of those vivid emotions, that are becoming to man in his actual relation to God.

What less than the most serious evils can then accrue from disjoining in any manner these two essential and correlative principles, or from any sort of tampering with the efficacy which the one should exert upon the other? If, for example, the doctrine of immutable justice and future wrath be brought into question, or *abated of its force and meaning*, then instantly the doctrine of mercy loses its significance, its moment, and its attractions; and fades into the vague idea of an indolent clemency on the part of the Supreme Ruler—an idea which at once relaxes the motives both of piety and morality. Such (we appeal to facts) has been the invariable result of every attempt to *reduce* the plain import of certain passages in the Gospels. Or, on the other hand, if the rule and method of forgiveness, as declared in the Scriptures, be in any way abused, then will the theatened wrath take a wrong direction, and not fail (from its own intrinsic quality) to produce the most dire effects. The tremendous doctrine of eternal perdition, loosened from its proper hold of the conscience, will remain at large, and be at the disposal of the spiritual despot, to be drawn on this side or that, as may best subserve the purposes of intimidation and tyranny. Nor is this all, for the same appalling doctrine so perverted by the despot, will take effect upon his own heart and imagination, and school him to act his part as the unflinching instrument of every horrid barbarity.—The zealot tormentor, taught from the pit, wants nothing but power and tools to render him indeed terrible and ruthless.

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[*] In the next Section the Mohammedan military fanaticism will come to be considered.

[†] The reader may perhaps think that the southern states of the American Union, where no other marked distinction exists between man and man, except that of lord and slave—or of sallow skin and black, present an instance directly at variance with the position advanced above.—We assume this very instance, on the contrary, as the most pertinent that could be adduced in confirmation of the general truth.

[*] Every one knows that the several eras in which the papal despostism consolidated and extended its power were those in which the civil polities of Europe were in the feeblest or most distracted condition. The *termagant* watched the moment always when the *virile power* of the nations was spent or fallen.

If it were demanded to give in a few words the chief incentive of the ferocity of Romanism, we must plainly say, that the doctrine of eternal damnation—*as held and perverted by the Romish Church*, is the germ of its cruelty. Or the truth (such we deem it) may be expressed in general terms—That a malignant fanaticism of some kind (truculent if opportunity permits) will attend every misrepresentation or misapplication of what the Scriptures affirm concerning future punishment. It should be added that an error of this sort naturally follows in the track of an abused doctrine of grace.

Let it be noted that our Lord and his ministers speak of the wrath of God as provoked by nothing but impiety and immorality; and they leave us in no doubt of what it is specifically which they mean when they issue their comminations. It is the blasphemer and the impenitent; it is the murderer, the thief, the liar, the slanderer, the impure, the adulterer, the perjured person, and the rapacious; or, in a word, the sensual, the malignant and the unjust, who have to expect the fiery indignation—the future "tribulation and anguish." Terrible as it is, this doctrine leans with its whole stress to the side favourable to virtue; nor is there any thing mystic, indefinite, or obscure attached to it. If any complain of the severity of the threat—let them forsake the evil of their ways, and its severity shall not touch them. Does any complain? nay rather, let him repent, and it shall go well with him.

And not only, in the preaching of our Lord, and in the writings of his Apostles, is the threatening clearly attached to a vicious and irreligious life, *and to nothing else*; but it is employed in no other way, and for no other purpose, than to enforce, or to give solemnity to the invitations of mercy. How cogent is the reason why men should humble themselves before Almighty God, and instantly sue for the pardon of sin!

Thus defined, and thus employed, the doctrine, appalling as it may be, was clearly an engine of benevolence:—it must have been grossly perverted if, in any case, it has ceased to deserve this commendation. So was it at first, and so, in any age, whoever, after the example of Christ—the Saviour of the world—spends life and strength in the endeavour to lead his fellows to the arms of the Divine compassion, *because* there remains a "fearful looking for of wrath" which shall fall on the impenitent, is not only no fanatic, but deserves the praise, and will win the recompense, of the highest and purest philanthropy.

Not such is the Romish doctrine of wrath; nor such the spirit or style of its preachers; nor such its pit of perdition. What is the Papal Hell but the State Prison of the Papal Tyranny? The future woe, converted into the instrument of its oppresions, has made it natural that the inflictions of the infernal dungeon should be taken as the exemplars of sacerdotal barbarity. All offences of a moral kind, even the most atrocious, having come under the management of the Church, and being made the subject of a mercenary commerce between her and the transgressor, so that while he submits implicitly to the direction of the priest (who farms heaven) he has nothing to fear, the bearing of the doctrine of retribution is wholly turned off from the consciences of men; and the genuine association of ideas, which connects sin and punishment, is broken up. The preacher may still declaim about the righteous judgment of God; but in fact, and in every man's personal apprehensions, the terror of justice has passed off obliquely, and is no more thought of in its due place. The future Retribution remains therefore at large to serve the turns of the hierarchy: it is nothing else than an ecclesiastical terror. The Romish place of perdition awaits—the infidel, and the heretic, and whoever provokes the jealousies of the Church. Let us fix our minds a moment upon the natural consequences of this perversion of so momentous an element of religion.

We will imagine then that he have received and firmly embraced this Romish dogma as true. How does it affect our general sentiments toward the bulk of mankind; or what impression does it convey of the Divine character and government? Under such an influence, in the first place, we learn to think that the most heinous crimes—crimes aggravated by a full knowledge of religion, and committed in the face if its sanctions, enjoy perpetual impunity by the means of a villanous and interested misprision on the part of the functionaries of Heaven; so that in fact Justice takes no hold of those whose fortune it is to be born upon a canonical soil, and where, the dispensing power having its agents, pardons are always in the market. The actual state of morals in countries where, age after age, nothing has been tolerated that might serve to correct the proper influence of popery—Spain, Portugal, Italy, is proof enough that these suppositions are not imaginary.[*]

Yet the dogma has another, and perhaps it is a worse aspect. Imbued with its spirit, we turn toward the millions of mankind—pagan and Mohammedan, whose misery it has been to have possessed no religious light—or a mere glimmer, and who, if we are to trust to our Lord's rule of equity, are to be "beaten with few stripes," for this proper reason, that they knew not his will:—but upon these, we are taught to think, the unrelieved weight of the future wrath is to press.—These, because they have no holy water, no holy oil, no absolving priest, are to suffer without mitigation. Thus have we subverted the order of reason and justice, and have rendered the righteous retribution of Heaven, which, as expounded in the Scriptures, is altogether of a sanatory influence, horribly corrupt and despotic.

The practical inference is natural and inevitable.—If God thus deal with his creatures—inflicting the heaviest penalties where there has been the lowest responsibility; and allowing a mercenary commutation of punishment in the case of the most aggravated guilt, why may not man, in his dealings with his fellows, follow in the same track, though at a humble distance? Who can affirm that, to carry the brand of exterminating war into the heart of pagan and Mohammedan lands—to hack and rip up and dash to the ground, and burn, detested tribes of misbelievers—*miscreants*, is not a religious work? If it be not so, then the harmony that should subsist between divine and human virtue is broken. Such has actually been the belief and practice of the Romish Church in every age. Did the feeble nations of the Mexican Isthmus, and of Peru, fall under the feet of the most Catholic people of Europe? Yes; but the mere avidity of gold would not have prompted so many torments and so many massacres:—the soldier was pushed on by the friar, with this very dogma of perdition burning in his bosom.

And yet an inference which had to be carried out a thousand miles, or across the Atlantic, would not immediately affect more than a portion of the people in any country. Not so the inference which fell upon the heretic at home. In this application of it every man—every husband, and every wife, every father, and every child, might be concerned.[†] Especially did it affect the sacerdotal order, through all its ranks, and at every moment; nay, every motive of corporate interest, and pride, and jealousy, bore upon it with the greatest force. The heathen world out of view, then the lake of perdition was to be peopled only by heretics, and by the contumacious impugners of Church power.—"Submit, recant, and be saved; persist and be damned."—Such was the voice of the Church, and such the rule of its proceedings; and the history of Europe during a full thousand years—a history written in blood, has been the comment on the rule.

True it is, that the Ecclesiastical Hell of the Romish despotism has, of late, been closed, and a seal set upon it by the strong hand of the civil power, or the stronger hand of popular opinion; but the dogma is what it was, and where it was. The pent-up fire of its revenge still murmurs through the vaults of the spiritual edifice, from the mouth of the Tagus to the Carpathian mountains; give it only wind, and how should it rage to the skies! The Waldenses, the Lollards, the Reformed of Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, England, and the Huguenots of France, were the victims, not of a cruel age, but of a cruel doctrine; and that doctrine is as cruel now as it was in the pontificate of Innocent III.

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[*] The state of manners in the southern countries of Europe is now unhappily but too well understood in England; for the profligacy of the continent has of late been shed over the entire surface of our ephemeral literature. No reference on this subject need be made to authorities. If it be alleged that the manners of the northern and protestant states are but a shade or two better than those of the south, we shall then have to balance the unobstructed influence of popery against the scarcely at all obstructed influence of infidelity—and the scale is seen to turn a little in favour of the latter.

[†] Deinde promiscua multitudo, timore perculsis animis, deferebant quosque certatim, nulla neque propinquitatis neque necessitudinis aut beneficiorum habita ratione, non parenti filius, non uxor marito, non cliens patrono parcebat. Delationes autem erant plerunque de rebus frivolis; ut quisque forte aliquid ob superstitionem in aliquo reprehenderat. *Melchior Adam*, as quoted by Bayle. The passage relates to the establishment of a court of the Holy Office.

II. A vindictive spirit and ferocious acts belong of necessity to a polity such as that of the Romish Church. Already we have mentioned the contrariety which subsists between the aboriginal European temper (as compared with the Asiatic) and a tyranny so excessive as that of the Church, and have noted the consequent severity of the hierarchial power. But this is not all; for while it is true that popery is alien to the climate and to the races of the western world, it exists also, and in another sense, as a foreign power in every single country of Europe—Italy excepted. Need we then defend the general principle that a foreign domination is more jealous, and oppressive, and less placable than a domestic government? Or if there be exceptions to this rule, assuredly the Romish church does not afford one. But the theme is trite. Every reader of modern history must have observed the pernicious influence which Italian churchmen and monks have exerted in the councils of the European states. This influence has made itself seen in the rigour of those measures which kings, under terror of excommunication, have been compelled to adopt for the maintenance of the far-stretched authority of Rome;—and especially when the skirts of the Church fell over countries that were quickening into freedom.*

Over the same area, or nearly so, Imperial Rome extended her sway; but her instruments of power were visible, intellible, and readily applied; and therefore admitted of leniency and reason in the use of them. A military despotism, founded on the right of conquest, confides in its means of securing obedience, and is often less afflictive to a country in fact than in name. It must be otherwise, and always has been so, with a ghostly despotism. The conscious indistinctness of the grounds on which it demands submission inspires it with an anxiety that leads it to overdo its severities. And then the abominable hypocrisy of not itself touching the sword of justice (alack, the cleanness of its hands!) but of setting the civil power at work when blood is to be shed, can never fail to render its executions so much the more cruel and severe. To be tried and condemned by one authority, and punished by another, is a hard fate, and can differ very little from that of becoming a victim of blind fury.

Besides as the spiritual Despotism rules by usurping the imagination of men, and is seated upon their fears of an awful futurity, it will, by a natural connexion or harmony of causes have recourse, when provoked, to those means of intimidation that, by the horror they inspire, call up the faculty on which the tyranny takes its hold. When endangered by resistance, it will endeavour to regain its ground by such displays of intolerable anguish in the persons of its foes as shall fitly symbolize the torments that await them in the world to come. The doctrine of perdition, as held by the Church, will be visibly typified in the modes of punishment it employs. Fire is the chosen means of its chastisements.†

III. We have to speak, lastly, of the Romish clerical institution, and to exhibit that natural connexion of motives which has drawn upon the temper of its sacerdotal order a fanaticism more intensely ferocious than the world has elsewhere seen.

If the secular influence of the papal superstition be now immensely diminished, and if the engines it once wielded have been broken; if no longer it can breathe the rage of war into the hearts of kings; and if the humility it effected in the twelfth century, is forced upon it in the nineteenth, and if therefore the danger of its hurling a brand again into the bosom of the European community be extremely small—it is nevertheless true that the Romish Clerical Institution does still exist on all sides of us: and that its elements are, in the nineteenth century, precisely what they were in the twelfth. And it is true moreover that an institution so incurably pernicious should be looked at, notwithstanding its actual feebleness at any moment, as a virulent germ, that waits only a favourable season to spring up with all its native properties about it.

The errors of Romanism, doctrinal and practical, we are so much accustomed to regard as objects of *theological* reprobation, that it is not easy at once to look at them in the light of what may be termed their physical quality. We propose however now to consider the Romish clerical institution in that light, (all Biblical argument apart,) and especially to trace in it the natural generation of the spirit of cruelty.

A word already has been said of the moral peril to which the sacerdotal order, under even the most auspicious circumstances is exposed. Of the several points of disadvantage there alluded to, we now select only one;—but it is the chief, and it is that one which our proper subject points to. We affirm then that the law of celibacy, taking effect, as it does, upon a large and promiscuous body of men, cannot fail to produce, in a certain proportion of instances, a rancorous fanaticism. The broad fact that it has done so, we take as the guide and support of our argument, and turn to the common principles of human nature for the interpretation of the fact.

Nothing intelligible can be meant by the phrase—the laws of Nature; if we do not understand—Divine Constitutions wise and good, which are not to be tampered with, but at our cost. To say that such or such is the intention of nature, is to imply that some severe, and often incalculable mischief will accrue when that specific intention is thwarted. The usages of nations, or their political institutions, or their religious practices, have in a thousand modes contravened the beneficent purposes of the Creator; but never have done so without entailing innumerable woes. Yet is it remarkable that in such cases the actual ill consequence, often, has not been altogether of the sort that would have been looked for; or has not been apparently the direct effect of the special cause. An evil, such as none had foreseen, breaks out, on the one hand or the other, and stretches, we know not how far. In truth, the great machine of the world—intellectual and physical, is so intricate, and so remotely compacted part with part, that when we disturb a power, no human sagacity can say where, or at what stage our presumption will meet its punishment. Thus we shall find it to have been with the celibacy of the Romish priesthood. The direct and obvious inconveniences and evils of the institution have indeed followed it every where, and have been seen in the profligacy it has spread over the face of society, in the abominations it has fostered, and in the personal sorrows it has entailed. But these, shall we say, have not been the MAIN MISCHIEFS of the system; for we regard as deeper and more extensive than any of them, the encouragement it has given to exorbitant and inexorable opinions, to portentous modes of feeling, to outrageous courses of conduct, and, in a word, to the spirit that delights in destruction and torture. The sanguinary fanaticism of the Romish Church we trace, through no very circuitous track, to the unnatural personal condition of its ministers.*

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* The native free spirit of the European stock, which in England has long had its scope, has in no age been altogether broken down in France. The Gallican Church, century after century, has hung loose upon Rome; and the papal court has well felt how precarious were her spiritual possessions west of the Rhine and the Rhone. The horrors of St. Bartholomew, and the cruelties perpetrated by Louis XIV. were only the proper expressions of the conscious alarms of the Romish power in regard to France. When shall France learn to blush at once at her atheism and at her superstitions? Is it any thing but her atheism and her superstitions that have compelled her to cede to England the first place of moral influence in the world at large, and of foreign empire! The horrors committed in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva afford another illustration of the rule that has guided the Romish despotism in measuring out its vengeance.

† A curious comparison might be drawn between different nations on the point of the modes of capital punishment in use among them. The subject can only be glanced at here; but well deserves a more ample treatment. The Jews had three or four modes of inflicting death, but chiefly used the most summary—hanging or stoning. The Greeks had seven or eight; yet very rarely had recourse to those which were excruciating:—the poisoned cup was the most usual; or casting from a precipice. But fine, slavery, or banishment, were much oftener employed than capital punishment. The Romans, after they had conquered the world, and had amalgamated the usages of barbarous nations with the ancient practice of the Republic, added to their list of penal terrors several excruciating deaths; especially empalement or crucifixion. Yet, if the acts of a few execrable tyrants are excepted, none but horrid and incorrigible criminals are consigned to lingering agonies. The institutions of Mohammed rather mitigated and restrained, than aggravated the penal severities of the oriental nations. Fines, whipping, or cudgeling, were admitted instead of death, very freely. And whatever horrors may have been perpetrated by savage Scythian chiefs, it cannot be affirmed that cruelty is the *character* of the Mohammedan penal code.

The Romish Church, simplifying its practice, has fixed upon that one mode of inflicting death which must altogether be deemed the most horrible of all. She admits indeed, in certain cases, of strangling before burning; but again, in other cases, has used slow roasting instead of burning at the stake. But the three main circumstances that distinguish the papal executions from those of any other polity are these—1st. The prodigious number of the victims of her courts. 2d. That all but a very few of these victims were confessedly guiltless of crimes visibly injurious to society. And 3d, That, while other polities have reserved ignominious and excruciating punishments for rare instances of obdurate wickedness, or for frightful crimes, and for persons of the vilest rank, the Romish polity has put out of view all such distinctions, and has, without respect for rank, or habits, or personal merit, consigned to the flames—nobles, prelates, men of letters, women, children. Nothing at all comparable to the blind ferocity of the Romish executions has elsewhere been seen in the world:—the world has seen no such judges as her priests.

The true extent of the violence done to human nature by the practice of religious celibacy has been in a great measure concealed from notice by a partial fact that seems to excuse it. It is always true that, in a body of men taken at random, a certain number will be found (we need not hazard a conjecture as to its amount) to whom, from peculiarity of temperament, a life of celibacy cannot be deemed unnatural, and to whom it will be no grievance. At least it may be affirmed of such that some moderate and accidental motive of prudence, or taste, or the vexations of an early disappointment; or perhaps a praiseworthy regard to the welfare of relatives, will abundantly suffice to reconcile them to their singular lot. Then beyond this small circle there will be a wider one, including not a very few, to whom a motive some degrees stronger will prove efficient to the same end. A vigorous selfishness, abhorrent of disturbance in its comforts, or fearful of the diminution of its dainties, will answer such a purpose:—are there not those who would never marry lest they should be compelled to dine less sumptuously? Or a strong intellectual taste produces the same effect:—there have been artists and philosophers, many; yes, some of the most illustrious of men, who, having wedded a fair ideal, have sought no other love. Still more (and to approach our specific subject) the powerful sentiments of religion, have in very many instances, and in a manner not culpable, (sometimes commendable,) separated men from the ordinary lot, and rendered them in a genuine sense virtuous, as well as happy, in single life. Such cases—exceptions made without violence, it is proper to take account of;—they are Nature's exceptions, and those who come fairly under the description shall be styled, if they please, a physical aristocracy—born to illustrate the supremacy of Mind.

Now inasmuch as religious motives—being more profound than any others, can never be brought within calculation, so as that we might fix a limit to their power, it must be deemed impracticable to ascertain to what extent they may operate safely, and without engendering much positive evil, in swelling the company of the unmarried. A large space should be left open for exceptions of this kind; and we should be slow to inculpate motives, or to condemn a course of conduct which, in the eye of Heaven, may not be reprehensible. In times of great religious excitement, and especially during the undisputed prevalence of enthusiastic opinions, who shall say whether ten or twenty in a hundred might not devote themselves to celibacy, and yet neither undergo nor diffuse a sensible injury? Human nature has a pliability that admits of its adapting itself to very great variations of sentiment and practice.

The exceptive fact, such as we have stated it, was manifestly the rudiment of the ancient religious celibacy; and it ought to be granted that, so long as a high and genuine excitement lasted, and moreover before spiritual despotism came in to avail itself of the usage, and to stretch the anomaly beyond its natural limits, the ill consequences would not be extreme. But how immensely different is the state of things, and how must the mischief be aggravated, when the law and custom of celibacy, having come to constitute an essential and permanent element of the social and political system of a country, not merely takes up the little band of *cœlibes* by destination of nature; but is every day applied, by priestly or paternal tyranny, to temperaments of all kinds, and with a blind cruelty is made to include those very instances upon which it will not fail to inflict the worst imaginable injuries! In thinking of the celibacy of the Romish clergy, we are too much accustomed to regard it under the palliation of supposing that it is an institution which just serves to draw into a company the scattered individuals of that frigid class which every where exists;—whereas in fact it observes no such rule of selection. The age at which youth are devoted to the service of the Church makes it certain that, in by far the greater number of instances, this decision is altogether irrespective of any physical aptitude to submit to the condition imposed upon the ministers of religion.* Might we advance a step further, and conjecture that, so far as personal fitness is at all thought of, there is a double probability that the most unhappy cases will be thrown into the toils of the presumptuous vow? Who does not know that an early destination to the Church very often is the consequence (in the first place) of a manifest sluggishness of the animal and mental faculties—a sensual and indolent propension, which, though it must cut off a man's chance of success in the arduous engagements of common life, is likely to be no bar to his advancement in the sacred calling; and certainly can never expose him to cruel mortifications in the discharge of its even-paced functions. But alas, what will the oath of virginity probably do for constitutions of this order—the very idea must be dropped. Or (in the second place) a youth is not seldom devoted to the clerical profession from reasons of an opposite kind, namely, a precocious display of intellectual tastes, with its attendant irritable delicacy or debility of constitution, which is foreseen to preclude laborious employments. And yet these very cases (nine out of ten of them) are precisely those in which the most lamentable consequences must ensue from the violence done to nature by the sacerdotal institute.

The high importance of the subject—the incalculable extent of the evils that have attached to it—the actual existence of the abuse in our own times; and (may we add) some appearance of the rise of a general indignation against it even in the heart of catholic countries, invite and may excuse (notwithstanding the difficulty of doing so) our advancing;—nay, the subject is inseparable from the specific theme we have in hand.

Before we insist upon some more special matters, let us for a moment consider what, though often adverted to, can never be too much regarded—the negative influence of clerical celibacy, as it cuts off from the unhappy class of men to whom it applies, the very means which God has provided, and the *only generally efficacious means* of generating sentiments of compassion and tenderness in the bosoms of men. Doubtless there are born a few milky natures, soft and sensitive, that, without wife or child, feel and weep, and are kind as woman. But taking men at large, and taking them exposed as they are to the rude operation of laborious occupations, and to the ungentle collisions of sordid interest, it is only as husband and father, and as possessors of the enjoyments of home, that the rough force of the mind, and the harshness of the temper, are broken down—that gross selfishness is attempered; and especially that the habit is formed of considering and of realizing by sympathy, the pains, infirmities, wants, and sorrows of others.† It is in this point peculiarly that human nature needs a softening power; and admits it too. Barbarities often of the worst sort spring from the mere want of the habit of regarding the feelings of others; but this habit is not of spontaneous growth; it must be inwrought by the repetition of proper occasions.

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* A multiplicity of independent circumstances had influence in ripening the two principles—namely of clerical celibacy and ecclesiastical intolerance: but it is fair to point out the coincident growth of the two. In truth the latter followed so closely and constantly upon the former, that to deny all connexion of causation is to be resolutely incredulous.

* In boyhood ordinarily. Although celibacy was not *imposed* upon the secular clergy until long after the monkish system had reached its settled form, yet when it was so imposed, what had been the usage of the monastery became the usage of the clergy universally. And as the monastic vow was often taken before the eighteenth year (for we find Gregory the Great, fixing that as the earliest age *in certain exceptive cases*) so was it usual for the sacerdotal function to be chosen irrevocably at the same period of life. Nay, it would seem that ordination, and church preferment even, were often conferred upon mere striplings. Scholares pueri et impuberes adolescentuli ob sanguinis dignitatem promoventur ad ecclesiasticas dignitates, et de sub ferula transferuntur ad principandum presbyteris; lætiores interim quod virgas evaserint, quam quod meruerint principatum.—St. Bernard *de Officio Episcoporum*, c. 7. Cautions against the ordination of beardless youths are of frequent occurrence, proving the abuse to have been common: Pueri ad sacros ordines nullatenus admittantur, ne tanto periculosius cadant, quanto citius conscendere ad altiora festinant. In later times, as it is well known, the transition has been immediate from school to the church. It has been the policy of the Jesuits especially to make their selection of youths from the schools under their care. The earliest display of intellectual power fixed the eye of the superintendant; and forthwith the venom of the society's fanaticism was shed into the victim's mind.

† Uxor et liberi disciplina quædam humanitatis, at cœlibes tetri et severi.—*Bacon.*

Amid the stern contentions of public life, or under the severe labours and dangers of the field, a man is learning to discard as an incumbrance every gentle emotion, and is arming himself to bear down opposition. But he comes home (and unless unblessed indeed) is schooled in another and a better lesson. Taken even at the lowest calculation, the amount of this counter-influence is vast.—What would be the world if we can imagine it to be wholly withdrawn?—Look but to the rugged labourer, impenetrable and insensible as he seems, and follow him, when his task is done, to the door where he meets helpless playful infancy—where he finds that his wants have been thought of—where he has offices of kindness to discharge:—follow him, and admire the provision made for correcting in one hour the ungracious influences of twelve! Nor is our supposition romantic.—Whoever has been conversant with the lower classes, and whoever has an eye and an ear to catch the expressions of human charities, as rudely uttered or uncouthly displayed, must often, in the crowd that gathers in a street about distress, have detected *home-taught hearts*, and paternal sympathies, where the aspect and the tones indicated only a sensual ferocity.

Should we count it then a light matter to come in upon the circle of the domestic remedial influence (God's beneficent ordinance) with our monstrous institutions, and at a stroke to cut off from a numerous body of men, and for ever, and from the class that are to be the teachers of mercy, all their part in the economy of human kindness? If indeed the design were horrid, the means would be fit; but if it be religious, how preposterous are the means!

Let it only be imagined that the preservation of the social system demanded some necessary office, at once foul and sanguinary, hard and loathsome, to be discharged, and that, to secure a supply of wretched beings to go through with the cruel function, it were deemed proper to train from the cradle a certain proportion of mankind.—Among the various means that might be devised for effecting the initiation of such a miserable class, and for securing to it an education exclusive of every gentle sympathy, and of rendering our agents both impure and rancorous, what measure more efficacious could be imagined than that of imposing upon the unfortunate band the very celibacy in which the Romish Church breeds her ministers?

We must yet look at this institution in its operation upon specific temperaments.

It is fair to assume that, of a body of men *taken at hazard* from the mass, and placed under the restraint (or rather the *profession*) of continence, a considerable portion—perhaps a third, will very early in their course throw off every thing but their hypocrisy, and become thoroughly profligate. The notorious condition of those countries where nothing has forbidden the natural expansion of the Romish system, would warrant our affirming that two-thirds of its clergy come under such a description. Nay, perhaps our English credulity would be ridiculed at Madrid, Grenada, Lisbon, Florence, Lima, or Rio Janeiro, if we persumed that any more than a very few of the sacerdotal class were not utterly debauched.* Now if men of this sort are to be placed by the side of the licentious "out of orders," then the difference against them will consist in that aggravation of crime which his sacrilege and blasphemy heap upon the head of the Churchman. As violator and corruptor of every family about him, he makes his way, as it were, through the presence chamber of the Eternal Majesty, and, as he goes, formally invites the Omniscient Purity to look upon his deeds of shame!

It cannot but happen that the dissolute priest—one hour surpliced and before the altar, and the next—where we must not follow him, should become intensely more wicked than the secular man of pleasure. So foul at heart will he become, that no enormity can distaste or alarm him. Not often are such men in any sense fanatics;—of enthusiasm they are incapable, and rancour is not their characteristic. Nevertheless, in times of general excitement, or at the call of superiors, and for the support of corporate interests, they will fall into their places around the scaffold, or the stake, with much composure;—and lend their hands too in the work if needed. Nay, human nature admits, when it has reached this stage of corruption, of an infernal frenzy; sensuality and cruelty in a moment collapsing, and the herd of swine suddenly seized of the demon of malice rush on—not themselves indeed to dash from the precipice, but to fall upon the innocent.

To omit lesser distinctions, we may next adduce the instance of those, and they will not be a few, of a middle sort, who though they may once and again have fallen under peculiar temptations, and so may have lost that *mens conscia recti* which their vow should have preserved, are nevertheless ordinarily retained in the path of virtue by the motives proper to their order;—by a sense of professional decorum, by ecclesiastical pride, and by sentiments too which, for want of an unexceptionable term, must be called—religious. And yet the continence of men of this class is not at all attributable to coldness of temperament. We must stop short of a full explication of the state of feeling likely to grow out of a position such as this; it may however be said that the human mind can hardly be placed in circumstances more pitiable or injurious. Quite unlike to it is the voluntary celibacy of secular men of similar constitution. The iron girdle of a solemn irrevocable oath, galling the conscience, because a violated oath, and yet not to be laid aside—the Chuchman's prudery of spotless virtue, wounded to the quick by humiliating recollections, and the impulses of nature fought off from disadvantageous ground, leave no tranquillity, allow no repose within. Rather a tempest of passion rages in the bosom—a tempest so much the more afflictive, because it may gain no vent.*

To the tumultuous stage of this mental conflict there succeeds perhaps, either a dead hopeless debility, most pitiable to think of, or perversions of the mind still more sad. But if the character have more vigour, and does in fact repel the assailants that would tread it in the dust, such men will be found in a state of peculiar preparation for admitting malignant excitements,—the very substance of the soul has become combustible—a spark kindles the latent heart, and the passions blaze to heaven. A settled feeling, hard to define or describe, but which might be called a chronic revenge, of which humanity at large, and all forms of enjoyment are the objects, is the habit of the mind, and is always in readiness to be shed forth upon whatever it may meet. Some grateful alleviation of the inward torment is obtained by merely witnessing sanguinary scenes;—the hidden anguish which has so long silently preyed upon the heart, is diverted for an hour while torture is inflicted upon another; and the woe of the soul, which might not express itself in words, or hardly in sighs, seems to be vented in the groans of a victim.

Such transitions of strong and turbid emotions from one channel to another are not very unusual. Few sensitive minds can be at a loss in recalling analogous instances from the page of personal history. If the torrent of feeling is choked on one side, it swells and bursts a passage in another: and strange as it may seem—not strange perhaps if we scrutinize attentively the structure of the passions, it is a fact that the gentle and genial affections have a specific tendency, when cut off from their natural flow, to take the turn of rancour and ferocity. The spirit baffled in its first desires and defeated, not subdued, suddenly meets a new excitement, although altogether of a different order;—combines with the novel element, and rushes on, it knows not whither.

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* The Romanists can have no more right to boast of the purity of the Catholic clergy of *England*, or to appeal to the manners (confessedly respectable) of English priests, as a fair specimen of the sacerdotal body, than modern deists have to take a parallel advantage of the mild temper and irreproachable character of some who now reject Christianity. To judge equitably of Deism, we must look at it where it has received no correcting influence from Christianity. Popery must be judged on the same principle. We do not ask what Romish priests are when surrounded by protestantism; but what where the system develops itself without restraint. Most readily and cheerfully is it granted that, notwithstanding the cruel disadvantages of his condition, the English priest is ordinarily correct in behaviour, and etimable as a member of society.

* It were better to sustain in patience the imputation of advancing exaggerated statements, and of giving a stronger colour to an argument than the facts of the case would justify, than to do the uninitiated reader so serious an injury as to bring to light the evidence that bears upon this question. An appeal therefore is made to whoever has actually perused, or at least looked into the ascetic writers from Macarius, Ephraem, Pelladius, and Cassian, downwards to those of the twelfth century. On the ground of the evidence which might from those sources be adduced, a general result may be stated under three heads—namely,

1st. That the monastic vow and the life of celibacy FAILED TO SECURE THE PROFESSED OBJECT of the institution in all but a very few instances, and that it *did not* promote that purity of the heart which was acknowledged to be its only good end.

2d. That beside the evil of cutting men off from the common enjoyments, duties, and sympathies of life, the work of maintaining and defending their chastity (exterior and interior) absorbed almost the whole energies of those (a very few excepted) who sincerely laboured at it:—so that to be chaste, in fact and in heart, was pretty nearly the sum of what the monk could do, even with the aid of starvation, excessive bodily toils, and depletic medicine—to say nothing of his prayers, tears, and flagellations.

3d. That the monastic institution, even during its earlier and better era, entailed the most deplorable miseries, and generated the foulest and most abominable practices, so that, for every veritable saint which the monastery cherished, it made twenty wretches, whose moral condition was in the last degree pitiable or loathsome.

Now shall we leave these propositions unsupported by proof?—or will the Romanist—the pride and prop of whose Church is monkery, challenge us to make good our allegations.

Will it seem paradoxical to affirm that some of the most portentous exhibitions of ungovernable violence that have amazed the world, or have been signalized in history, have been nothing but the out-bursting of long suppressed passions of some other kind than those which appear? We venture to say that certain extreme cases of religious ferocity might be explained (were we in possession of the secret history of the individuals) on this principle: and then would be cleared up the mystery of the union of virtue and piety (of a spurious kind) with a horrible cruelty of temper.* Could we delve in some spots of the earth's surface, far down towards its secret caverns, we might come upon the laboratories of nature, where chemical agents in constant turmoil have, age after age, convulsed the abyss—yet unfelt above. Yes, perhaps low beneath some of the most tranquil and smiling landscapes, where no such terror has been ever seen or surmised, furious tempests of fire are continually shaking the infernal vault. But in a moment, by the heaving of the cavern, a new element rushes down, and egress too is made:—heat tenfold more intense than before is suddenly generated. The very bowels of the world swelter and are molten:—the jagged jaws of the pit are sundered; torrents of fire rush up, and are flung to the clouds, and kingdoms are covered with dismay.

We grant at once that our comparison in appearance goes beyond the occasion, and is disproportioned to the subject.—Let it then be condemned as inappropriate. Nevertheless the truth remains certain that the mischiefs occasioned by even the most dire of volcanic eruptions have been trivial, if compared with the sorrows, and pains, and devastations, that have, in more than a few instances, sprung from the burning cavern of only a single human bosom. What is the descent of a river of lava through vineyards and olive groves, or what the overthrow of hamlets and the burying of villages or castles, compared with the torments and imprisonments, the conflagrations, the famines, the exterminating wars, and the ages of national degradation, all of which have had so simple and narrow an origin as the fiery malice of a friar's heart? Better were it, incomparably better for mankind, that a new volcano should heave itself from the abyss, and spout sulphur in the centre of every province of every European kingdom, than that Dominicians and Franciscans, papal legates and Jesuits, should find leave to repeat the massacres and executions which so often have stained the soil of France, and Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, and Germany, and Holland, and England.

There is yet another, and a very different order of men upon whom the vow of celibacy cannot fail to produce the most pernicious effects. We mean those stern natures that are, in a sense, pure and clean, but not so much by poverty of temperament, as by hardness of mental structure. They are not cold as water but cold as marble; not solid as ice, but solid as iron. They shed no tears, and have no power of relenting, because there are no humours or lymph at all in their constitutions. Every nerve is a chord, stretched till it vibrates, and which will sooner snap than relax. There are born a few men (*men*, for they have bones and muscles—senses and bodily organs) and especially do such make their appearance under the wing of gloomy superstitions, who themselves quite exempt, as well from animal appetites as from social affections, and unconscious of the soft alternations of hope and fear, grief and joy, look with grim contempt upon humanity;—even as man may look upon the most ignoble of the brutal orders.

The state of celibacy, which cost such men no struggle, they will esteem their glory, as being a fit outward sign of the intrinsic dignity which lifts them above their fellows. Celibacy to such is but a visible seal of spiritual supremacy—a scutcheon of nobility in the kingdom of heaven. Conscious of immaculate and unalterable personal sanctity (if continence be sanctity) and conscious of a sort of ecstatic indifference under the voluntary pains of penance—floggings, fastings, and vigils, how can they doubt themselves to have reached the utmost summit of virtue? Their virtue, is it not seraphic, rather than human? What can sully such excellence?—as easily slur the bright sky of noon, as contaminate a piety so celestial!*

Yes, but of all the preparations for atrocious crime, none is more ominous or complete than a presumption of possessing superhuman virtue. Sanctity of this heroic and immortal order may dip its hands in blood and fear no stain! Illusions such as these, egregious as they may seem, are not foreign to the human mind. The holy arrogance of the soul, so long as it can be held entire, is a warrant that will cover all extents of guilt. There is no murder in murder, no falseness in perjury, no sin in any sin, if but the perpetrator is inflate with the persuasion of himself being a demigod in goodness. No self-deception so extreme can be maintained by men who walk along with others upon the vulgar level of human interests; whoever would be mad at this rate, assuredly must not be citizen, neighbour, husband, or father; for the duties and offices of these relations teach even the most preposterous minds some common sense. It is celibacy and the cell that skreen the infatuation, and that foment it.†

Surrounded as we are in the present day, happily, by circumstances altogether of another sort, nothing less than a vigorous and continued effort of the imagination can enable us to follow those links of transition by which, so often, the stern ascetic, whose devout meditations we may even now peruse with pleasure and advantage, has passed to the fervours of a truculent zeal. These links are fewer than at first we may think. Let any one conceive himself to have laid down, as he may put off a garment, every social affection, remote and intimate, and to have thrown off every sympathy with what animates the open world, and to be mulct at once of manhood and humanity, and with a sort of desperate apathy to look down upon the theatre of life. Add to this supposition the heats of a turgid piety, and then ask whether much would be wanting to open the way to cruel or vindictive desires.

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* Mr. Butler strenuously denies the imputation ordinarily cast upon Guzman (Saint Dominic), of instigating and personally enacting the barbarities of the Crusade against the Albigenses. It is probable that his conduct in this instance was in harmony with that of the Church generally, and especially of his spiritual progeny—the Inquisitors, who, abhorring to soil their own fingers with blood, delivered the condemned to the civil power to discharge the last "offices of Mercy." The point in question may seem of infinitely small moment. Nevertheless, as a signal and unmatched instance of the sort, the character of the Founder of the Dominican order is worthy of the labour that might be needed to set it clear from the misrepresentations of all kinds, which cover it. The author hopes to be able, in a future work, to give the result of an examination of authorities touching the reputation of this dread personage. We find modern Romanist writers far more discreet and cautious on points of this kind than were their predecessors of the sixteenth century. Thus while the Author of the Lives of the Saints takes pains to keep the reputation of St. Dominic clear of blood, an Italian annalist, speaking of the pontificate of Innocent III. plainly says, Nacque allora l'eresia di Tolosa, che fu da S. Dominico ammortata. But how extinguished? not until fire and the sword had converted the finest countries in Europe into a wilderness.

* It is surely more than a mere coincidence that the very age in which the folly of conferring celestial titles upon illustrious churchmen reached its height, was the era also wherein the execrable intolerance of the papacy burst forth with the greatest fury. While torrents of blood were flowing in the east and the west, at the instigation of spiritual heroes, the interior of the Church blazed with the superhuman virtues of ANGELICAL doctors, and SERAPHIC doctors—and so forth. Yes, and at the very moment that the duty of the civil power to aid the Church in the extermination of heretics and infidels was loudly preached, the fervours of the saints were reaching such a pitch (if we are to credit their devoted biographers) as often to lift them while in prayer many feet from the ground. "F. Leo, the secretary of St. Francis (of Assisi), and his confessor, testified that he had seen him in prayer raised above the ground so high, that his disciple could only touch his feet, which he held and watered with his tears; and that sometimes he saw him raised much higher." *Lives of the Saints*, October 4. It was in one of these elevations that the saint received those far-famed stigmas of which his order have so much boasted—unless indeed we listen to the story which affirms that St. Francis and St. Dominic, while together at Rome, fell out, and actually proceeded to blows; when the latter seizing a spit, inflicted some severe wounds upon his unarmed friend. This story perhaps should be regarded as an allegory, intended to prefigure the hot animosities that afterwards prevailed between the ghostly progeny of the two Founders. It is remarkable that, besides other "bones of contention," these very stigmas became the subject of a fierce warfare between the rival orders; the Dominicans having the audacity to claim for their founder the very honour which the Franciscans had long thought their own without dispute. But we have wandered from our purpose, and return to it to remind the reader that, at the very time when the miraculous wound in the (right) side of St. Francis was oozing gore in attestation of his seraphic piety, the soil of Languedoc was soaking in the blood of the luckless inhabitants—blood shed at the instigation, or under the eyes, of these same superhuman saints.

† There are exceptions. Simon de Montfort was bred not in the cell but the camp; and although, as Mr. Butler assures us, "his zeal and piety equalled him to the apostolic men;" yet had he acquired it all in the open world.

Or let any one entertain another supposition—as for example, that being arraigned on the indistinct ground of some political offence, in relation to which prejudice and passion have much scope, he stood at the bar, and saw his jury to consist of a dozen cowled anchorets, just summoned from their dens of morose meditation. Who would indulge a hope of receiving justice from such a band? Aye, would not a man shudder were he to descry only one such being among the twelve; and must he not believe that the pertinacious rancour of that one would effect his destruction?

Shall we pass from the light and air of an English court, to some pestilent cavern of the Holy Office?—an atmosphere in which Justice has never borne to remain even an hour, and in which Mercy never spoke.* The reverend assessors, with their obsequious ministers—tools in hand, are, we will imagine, drawn in even proportions from the three classes just specified. To the right and left sit those of the first sort—*the lookers on*, whose vote for the use of the rack and pully has often had a motive more detestable than even the most horrid malice, and who hasten the consent of the court to a fatal sentence that they may save the hour of some adulterous appointment. Next are those of our second class, in whose bosoms mingled passions, and alternate irreconcilable desires, are beating like the waves of a tempest-troubled sea. To them is not this very hour of gloomy service the season toward which tumultuous emotions have long been tending, as the time when they should get vent? It is then that the grinding torments of wounded pride or despair are to relax awhile; as if the culprit (Jew, or Moor, or heretic) who is to groan his hour upon the wheel, were to take up as substitute the anguish that grasps the heart of his judge. Nay, we do not carry imagination too far;—it belongs to human nature thus to feel;—the sight, and even the infliction of extreme suffering, loosens for a moment the gripe of internal distress. The vulture of remorse or revenge forgets his part to glare upon other agonies, and rests appeased in listening to another's sighs.

But what say we of the President of the Court? to him we must allow the praise of loftier motives. Not since sunset of yesterday has he tasted bread, or moistened his shrivelled, bloodless lip. Watching and prayer, though they have not spent him, have wrought up the chronic fever of his pulse to a tremulous height, that almost reaches delirium. Yet settled and calm is his front, and his eye glazed:—the spirit, how is it abstracted from mortal connexions! human sympathies are as remote from his soul as are the warmth, the fruits, and the pleasures of a sultry Syrian glen, from the glaciers and snow that encrust the summits of Lebanon. The communion of the soul is with the things of another world.—Alas! not the world of love and joy, but the gulph of misery! In every sense, immediate and figurative, this terrible personage is son and minister of hell. And now he comes from his cell to his chair that he may again realize, in a palpable, visible, and audible form, those conceptions of pain, horror, revenge, perdition, upon which the monotonous meditations of his cloister are employed. The dark ideas that haunt his imagination, night and day, stoop the wing to this hour, in which the implements of anguish are to bring forth shrieks and groans, such as shall give new vividness to the fading impressions of misery which he delights to revolve.

Idle, ah how idle is the hope entertained by the cold and shuddering culprit, when, as brought up from his dungeon, he rapidly peruses each reverend visage in expectation of descrying on one, or upon another, the traces of reason and mercy!—Alas, it is for this very purpose, and no other, it is to sigh, to shrink, to writhe, to shriek, that he has been dragged to the dim chamber of the Holy Office:—he stands where he stands, because the men who sit to mock him with forms of law, have need (each in a special manner) of the spectacle of his misery.

Does the history of popish tyranny bear out, or does it refute our descriptions?—let them stand or be condemned by an appeal to records that are open to every eye.

We have not however quite done with the heavy theme of that preparation which the Romish Church has made for training her ministers to become the scourges of humanity: and let it be remembered, as we proceed, that a just horror of the *system* should generate so much the more pity for the *agents*, even with all their loathsome vices and cruelties, who, age after age, have undergone its influence. The doctrine and the Institute we execrate:—for the men we mourn.

It might well seem as if circumstances so unfavourable to virtue and goodness as those we have already mentioned could hardly admit aggravation. But in fact they have a climax. The practice of auricular confession would entail a thousand evils and dangers upon the parties concerned, even apart from the unnatural condition to which one of these parties has been reduced. But what must we think of auricular confession when he into whose prurient ear it is poured lives under the irritation of a vow of virginity! The wretched being within whose bosom distorted passions are rankling, is called daily to listen to tales of licentiousness from his own sex (if indeed the ambiguous personage has a sex) and infinitely worse—to the reluctant or shameless disclosures of the other. Let the female penitent be of what class she may, simple hearted or lax, the repetition of her dishonour, while it must seal the moral mischief of the offence upon herself, even if the auditor were a woman, enhances it beyond measure when the instincts of nature are violated by making the recital to a man. But shall we imagine the effect upon the sentiments of him who receives the confession? Each sinner makes but one confession in a given time, but each priest in the same space listens to a hundred! What then, after a while, must that receptacle become into which the continual droppings of all the debauchery of a parish are falling, and through which the copious abomination filters?*

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* The author will be thought to have forgotten that the great Ximenes de Cisneros presided eleven years in the court of the Inquisition. Did then neither Justice nor Mercy accompany the cardinal in his descents to the vaults of the Holy Office? Yes, the Justice and the Mercy of the Romish Church went with him there. By what rule are we to think of men—that of their professions, or that of their deeds? During the inquisitor-generalship of Ximenes, fifty thousand Moors, under terror of death and torture, received the grace of baptism; while more than an equal number of the refractory were condemned. Of these, two thousand five hundred and thirty-six he burned alive. Or, supposing the whole number to have been evenly distributed through the period of his presidentship, it will appear that between Sunday and Sunday of every week of those years he committed (to reject the odd two hundred and forty-eight) four men or women to the flames! Let it be affirmed that, in the "New Regulations," some regard was paid to the rights of the accused; yet was the entire process a horrible snare, so contrived as to render the escape of the victim almost impossible. Besides, is not reason insulted by talking at all of the justice *of the details* of a judicial process, the object of which was to maintain an execrable usurpation? We may mourn indeed that a mind of fine quality should be found in company with a Torquemada; but we must not so outrage the great principles of virtue as, on account of talents or accomplishments, to skreen one murderer of thousands, while we consign another to infamy.

* Neither the oath of secrecy, nor the penalty which sanctions it, has prevented the disclosure of more than enough of the abominations of the confessional. The discreet and well-informed Romanist will not challenge evidence in justification of the strong language which the Author uses on the subject: the Romanist, we presume, does not need to have certain notorious books named to him in which, with astounding insensibility, the Confessarius has divulged the mysteries of his art. Of one of these infamous books a respectable Romish writer says, Ce prodigieux volume contient un examin tres subtil de toutes les impurities imaginables; c'est un CLOAQUE, qui renferme des choses horribles, et qu'on n'oseroit dire. On l'appelle avec justice un ouvrage honteux, compose avec un curiosite enorme, horrible et odieux par la diligence et l'exactitude qui y regna, a penetrer dans des choses monstreuses, sales, infames, et diaboliques. Il est impossible de comprendre comment un Autheur peut avoir renonce a la pudeur jusqu'a pouvoir escrire un tel livre, puis qu'aujourd'huy un homme qui n'a pas despouille toute honte patit effroyablement en le lisant. And again speaking of the same writer, ... prodigioso volumine, velut Cloaca ingenti, fanda infandaque convolvit.

The Church rigorously enjoins the faithful, as they would escape perdition, to make the most intimate and *circumstantial* disclosures of their guilt, without which, it says, the "sacred physician cannot be qualified to apply the proper remedy." And we are not left in doubt as to the result. Constat enim, says the Council of Trent, sacerdotes judicium hoc, incognita causa, exercere non potuisse, nec æquitatem quidem, illos in pœnis injungendis servare potuisse, si *in genere* dumtaxat, et non potius *in specie*, ac sigillatim, sua ipsi peccata declarassent...... Without the most unreserved confession, say these doctors, there is no hope of remission—qui secus faciunt et scienter aliqua retinent, nihil divinæ bonitati per sacerdotem remittendum proponunt. Nor was it enough to disclose the mere *facts* of guilt; the Church must know *all circumstantials;* Colligitur præterea, etiam eas circumstantias in confessione explicandas esse, *quæ speciem*

It is hard to suppose that the Romish Church, in constituting her hierarchy, had wittingly kept in view the purpose of rendering her clergy the fit instruments of whatever atrocity her occasions might demand them to perpetrate; and so had brought to bear upon their hearts every possible power of corruption. Not content with cashiering them of all sanatory domestic influences, she has by the practice of confession, made the full stream of human crime and corruption to pass—foul and infectious, through their bosoms! Having to construct at discretion the polity of the nations, the Romish architects have so planned it, as that the sacerdotal order should constitute the *Cloacæ* of the social edifice; and thus have secured for Rome the honour of being, through these channels, the great Stercorary of the world; How fitly in the language of prophetic vision is the apostate church designated—sitting as she does at the centre of the common drainage of Europe—as the Mother of abominations, and as holding forth in shameless arrogance, the cup of the filthiness of her fornications!

The Church of Rome is without doubt entitled to the preeminence we have given her as the Nurse of sanguinary fanaticism.—Her doctrine begets cruelty;—her polity demands it;—and her clerical institute trains her ministers to the service she has need of. And that which the theory of this superstition would lead us to expect, history declares to have had actual existence. There is no other volume of human affairs that can for the abundance of execrable acts, come into comparison with the story of the papal tyranny.—If the Theory only of this system should go down to posterity, and its History be lost, no credit would be given to the affirmation that a scheme so unnatural had ever found a place in the world; much less that it had maintained its influence over civilized nations during a longer course of ages than could be boasted by the firmest and most extensive secular monarchies. Or if the History of the Romish Church were to descend to distant times, and the theory of the system be forgotten, then must it certainly be thought that, during the thousand years, or more, of its unbroken power, a licence extraordinary had been granted to infernal malignants to usurp human forms, and to invade earth with the practices of hell; or that the world from the seventh to the seventeenth century, had suffered a dark Millennium of diabolic possession.

But while we have outspread before us, at once the theory and the history of Popery, we are able, by using the latter as a comment upon the former, and the former as a key to the latter, to reconcile those notions of human nature and Divine Providence which we must devoutly cling to, with the hideous facts that admit, alas, of no dispute. The lesson we gain from such a digest is this—and one of more moment can hardly be found—That human nature, plastic as it is, and susceptible of all influences, may, by long exposure to the operation of a pernicious code, an immoral institute, and a despotic polity, become atrocious in a degree that confounds every distinction, between human and diabolical wickedness. If then, in any measure, we have gained advantage over such a system, and are actually driving it further and further towards the skirts of civilization, with how keen a jealousy should we look—not so much to the expiring remains of that same system, near us, as to those deep principles of ghostly usurpation which are very far from having been utterly crushed and destroyed, even in the freest of the European communities.

Yet in the heat of our indignation, let justice be done to Rome. This justice makes a demand upon us under several heads. The topics are trite, but must not here be omitted.

I. The specific guilt of the Papal tyranny is that of having *converted to the purposes of its spiritual usurpation* those congenial corruptions of faith and practice which it found in readiness, and which it received from a higher age, recommended by the unanimous approval of Saints, Doctors, and illustrious Writers. But neither popes, nor cardinals, nor councils, can fairly be accused, except in some single and less important instances, of originating (as if with malign ingenuity) the elements of the despotism which they administered. This main point of Church history has been too much obscured by Protestant controversialists.

II. At once as a relief to the sad impression of human nature made by the history of popery, and as a tribute too to the mighty efficacy of Christianity, even when most corrupted, we have to keep in view the actual amount of virtue, humanity, piety—and the learning, the intelligence, and the bright excellence of every name, which has existed in all ages under the Papacy. Let us call this amount large—and indeed it is so:—assuredly the proofs of its extent would not soon be exhausted. We denounce the Romish doctrine and polity, not on the charge that it *excludes* all religion and all virtue; or that it renders the *whole* of its hierarchical body as corrupt as it renders many; but only on this ground, that it generates a species of ferocity more malign than any other system has produced, and that it never fails to have at its service a formidable number of inhuman beings, who want nothing but occasion to cover kingdoms with sorrow and blood.

III. Yet the main article of the measure of equity which should be rendered to the Church of Rome is this—That even if *unrivalled* in cruelty, she is not *alone* in it; but has been, if not eclipsed, worthily followed by each offset Church, and by almost every Dissident community.*— Those that have gone off to the remotest point of doctrine and polity—whose rule of belief and duty has been—in every article, the antithesis of Rome, and those too that have filled the interval at every distance from the extremes;—all have wrought, in their day, the engine of spiritual oppression; all have shown themselves, in the hour of their pride, intolerant and merciless; and all should look with shame to their several histories:—while the Church of Rome looks, or might look, to hers with horror.

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peccati mutant.—See the fifth chapter of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

The sacrament of confession, when it came to be thus explained and enjoined, naturally drew in upon the Church, in tenfold quantity, the impurities of licentious times. Heretofore, those chiefly had come to the priest who possessed some conscience and virtue, and whose disclosures were of a less flagrant sort. But afterwards, that is to say from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the custom of confession became universal; and the most abandoned of men (and women) retained superstition enough to desire absolution and to seek it in this manner from the priest.—Accordingly we find from this time abundant indications of the bad proficiency which the clergy made in the knowledge of every horrible enormity. On this point it might be enough to refer to the writings of Albert, bishop of Ratisbon—if a book which bears his name has not unjustly been attributed to him. But even long before the time when the Sewers of the Church were thus deepened and widened, it is clear from abundant evidence that the practice of receiving private confessions had had great influence in depraving, both the secular and regular clergy, and in spreading on all sides a shameless and boundless licentiousness. It would be very easy, could it be done without offending the just rules of propriety, to put this matter beyond dispute. Little more than the reputation and the conceit of sanctity could be left to men who, being themselves bound to single life (we must not call it chastity) were able to write what some noted fathers of the Church have written on offensive subjects. This sort of learning they frankly acknowledged themselves to have acquired at first or second hand from penitents ..... ὡς πρός ἐμέ τις τῶν αἰδεσίμων καὶ πολιᾶ καί βίω παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ, ἐξομολογησαμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν γυναικὸς, ἀπεφθέγξατο ..... nor is this a solitary instance in the same Father (as well unnamed). The replies given by Basil to his monks on certain points of *discretion*, sufficiently attest the evils involved in the practice, even in its infant state; who, by the way, goes all the length of the Council of Trent in demanding (from the monks at least) a discovery of even "the lightest movements of the soul," and of "every secret of the heart;" and by means of an apt illustration persuades them to a throwing forth from the inner man, whatever is noxious. Some of the interrogations addressed to Basil, and relating to confession, are highly significant; but they must be remitted to a more fit occasion.

How far, in the actual practice of the Romish Church, regard was paid to the temperament and character of the man, in appointing the confessarius, it is not easy to learn. But great care has been taken to prevent any but those *duly appointed*, from receiving confessions; and a cure also to prevent promiscuous confession. A priest leaving his care, or disabled by sickness from the discharges of his duties, named a substitute, to whom alone his penitents might unburden their consciences. Among the many instances that might be adduced in illustration of the rule, a somewhat curious one occurs in the minutes of the trial of the luckless Joan of Arc.—Interroguee si elle se confessoit tous les ans, dit qu'ouy a son propre cure, et s'il estoit empesche elle se confessoit a un autre prebstre, par le conge dudict cure; nevertheless, and although the heroine could prove qu'elle recevoit le corps de nostre Seigneur tous les ans a Pasques, she was, by her ferocious and hyprocritical judges, condamnee a estre arse et bruslee, not for having fought in the cause of her country, but—comme heretique.—*L'Histoire et Cronique de Normandis.*

We return for a moment to the influence of auricular confession upon the Priest, and conclude this note in the words of Bayle. Il arrive a ces Critiques (upon Catullus and Martial) ce qui arrive aux Medecins et aux Chirurgiens, qui a force de manier des ulceres, et de se trouver exposez a de mauvaises odeurs, se font une habitude de n'en etre point incommodez. Dieu veuille que les Confesseurs et les Casuistes, dont les oreilles sont l'Egout de toutes les immondices de le vie humaine, se pussent vanter d'un tel endurcissement. Il n'y en a que trop sans doute qui n'y parviennent jamais, et dont la vertu fait naufrage a l'ouie des dereglemens de leurs penitents.

* It would be an injustice not to say that the Quakers are clear of this guilt, and to their many peculiar merits, add the praise of being, not only as wise as serpents—but harmless as doves.

If nations, churches, and communities, as well as individuals, have a future retribution to fear; then has almost every existing religious body a just cause of alarm. If a day is to come when the Righteous Administrator of human affairs, and Head of the Church, is to make manifest his detestation of ecclesiastical bloodshed and torments, shall the Church of Rome stand alone at the bar, or have no companions in punishment? Ought we not to think more worthily of the Justice of Heaven than to suppose it?

Leaving so high a theme, let the general inference be fully and clearly drawn—That gloomy doctrines and pernicious schemes of polity are therefore to be execrated, because, even without them, or where every influence is the most favourable, human nature scarcely avoids abusing the profound excitements of religion as the incentives or the pretexts of its malignant passions.

SECTION VII.

FANATICISM OF THE BANNER.

In escaping from the Consistory to the Camp, we seem to breathe again. Without staying to inquire whether the greater sum of positive evil has been inflicted upon mankind by the fanatical priest or the fanatical soldier, it is certain that the sentiments with which we contemplate the one course of action are vastly less oppressive than those excited by the other.

Let but the energies of men be spent upon a broad field and under the open sky; and let them but have to do with interests not of one kind only, but of many; and let but their motives of action embrace the principal impulses of our nature, and especially, let those who run such a course freely expose themselves to the perils and sufferings of the enterprise, and then it will always happen that admirable talents and fine qualities find play;—talents and qualities such as are neither seen nor thought of within the shades of sacred seclusions, or in ecclesiastical halls.

None but minds imbued with the darkest fanaticism can feel any complacent sympathy with the character and deeds of sacerdotal despots; on the other hand there are few minds so frigid, or so pure, as not to kindle in following the story of exploits which (criminal as they may have been in their object and issue) yet sparkle with rare instances of valour, and are graced with the choicest examples of fortitude, mercy, and magnanimous contempt of selfish interests.

And besides; there is this capital disparity between the fanaticism of the Churchman and that of the Soldier—that while the oppressions and cruelties practised by the former are in all cases, and under every imaginable condition—an ATROCITY, destitute of palliation or excuse, the deeds of the other have often been instigated by motives which go far to soften our disapproval. In truth there are certain instances of this class of so mixed and ambiguous a kind, that we must shrink if called upon to say decisively whether the actors should be commended or condemned. It is easy and trite to affirm that aggressive and ambitious warfare is always immoral;—and how flagrant is the guilt of aggressive war, waged under sacred banners, or at the alleged bidding of Religion! But often the question of national existence has been inseparably connected with the question of faith; and the alternative of a people has been to crouch and to perish; or to defend by the sword at once their Homes and Altars. He must be a stern moralist indeed, who, in such cases would without reluctance pronounce a verdict which must make the oppressor exult, and the oppressed despond.

Compared with either of the two forms of fanaticism described in the preceding sections, that now to be considered is remarkable on account of its diversified combinations with other sentiments. Patriotism and national pride, calculations of policy, the motives of trade, the desire of plunder, and the impulse of personal passions—the resentments or the ambition of chiefs, have all come in to mingle themselves with that more profound excitement which gave the first impulse to wars on account of religion. On the ground we have hitherto traversed, every object almost has shown the darkest colours, and has repelled the eye by a sombre and horrid uniformity—we have been making way through a valley of grim shadows—or a region illumined only by the fires which cruelty has lit up:—

> Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
> Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris;
> Quam super haud ullæ poterant impune volantes
> Tendere iter pennis.—
> Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci,
> Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ;
> Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
> Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et turpis Egestas,
> Terribiles visu formæ; Letumque Labosque;
> Tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
> Gaudia—

But from these regions of woe we are to emerge; and the prospect at once brightens with the pomp and movement of great enterprises. Empires are mustered on the ground, and the many nations of a continent, in the gaiety of their various attire, and with banners spread to the winds, are pouring on from side to side of the field. Or in other quarters, if clouds hang over the scene of action, yet there the constancy of human nature is showing itself in deeds such as no other fields of war can boast.

If then hitherto the danger has been lest we should admit feelings of disgust or of resentment toward our fellows, such as the spirit of the Gospel does not allow;—the danger now is, lest a complacency should be awakened which the inflexible maxims of its morality cannot but condemn.

The Romish Superstition has afforded the most signal instance which the page of history at all presents, of the fanaticism of cruelty. For an example equally signal of the fanaticism of martial zeal and religious ambition, we must turn to the first propagation of the doctrine of Mohammed.

To profess, or to feel a jealousy toward the Mohammedan faith, as if its rival merits might perhaps bring into question those of Christianity, would be a ridiculous affectation; or would indicate an extreme imbecility of judgment. The time surely is gone by in which it might be proper anxiously to demonstrate that the Bible exhibits every quality fitting a revelation from God—the Koran none;—or none after deducting the materials that its author stole from the Prophets and the Apostles. The balance of Truth is in no jeopardy in this instance; and therefore without solicitude we may do full justice as well to the founder as to the first propagators of the religion of the eastern world.

In fairness, it should never be attempted to bring Mohammed into comparison with Him who came, "not to destroy men's lives, but to save." Nothing but a summary condemnation of the military zealot and his Caliphs could be the issue of such a contrast; nor does it afford any needed advantage to Christianity. This contrast therefore being put out of view, many circumstances demand to be considered that should mitigate at least the feelings with which we are accustomed to regard the rise and spread of Islam.

Those tides of the northern nations which at length swept away the Roman greatness, might be spoken of as mere evolutions of the physical energies of the great social system; or as acts in the natural history of man, and acts too, the recurrence of which, at intervals longer or shorter, may be looked for, unless prevented by opposing causes of another order. Shall it be deemed utterly incredible that the very same regions which heretofore have poured their ruinous torrents over southern Europe and Asia, may again do so? Must it not be admitted as more than barely possible, that the decay of the commercial and military greatness of England and France—the only European nations that now efficiently sustain the civilization of the world, would, were it to take place, quickly be followed by a Scythian inundation, such as would leave (in this hemisphere at least) hardly a vestige of intelligence—and none of liberty?

Now certainly in this sense it must not be affirmed that the Saracenic conquests were only natural expansions of a superabundant power: for an eruption from the same quarter has happened but once in the history of the world; nor does it appear that it would have happened at all apart from the religious impulse whence actually it sprang. Had not the Merchant of Mecca penetrated the seventh heaven, and brought down thence a spark which set the ambition of Arabian bosoms in a blaze, the very name of Saracen—with all the splendours that surround it, had hardly found a place on the page of history. Without Mohammed the Bedoween horsemen had probably continued, age after age, to sweep their native deserts—a terror only to traders and pilgrims.

This being admitted, and while it is fully granted that the motive generated by the new religion was the proper incentive of Mohammedan warfare—the support of its fortitude, the spring of its courage, and the reason of its success; it is nevertheless true that a race so prince-like and so bold as that which occupied the Arabian wilderness, when once put in movement, and made to feel its actual and its relative strength, would necessarily conquer as it did conquer, and spread itself abroad where nothing existed that could match its force. The countries to the north, to the east, and to the west, lay as a rich inheritance of which the actual possessors had lost their title by extreme degeneracy, and which seemed to ask to be seized upon by men worthy to enjoy it. The Saracenic conquests, as we assume (though not in the same sense as those of the northern barbarians) partook of a physical quality, and if in the main, conquests of proselytism, were also the natural out-bursts of national energy over a surface which superstition and luxury had already, and long before vanquished.

But leaving this ground, there is good room to inquire whether the project of bringing or of driving the much corrupted nations by force and terror into the path of truth, might not, to an ardent spirit, seem in the age of Mohammed both lawful and noble.

Possessed of the first elements of theology (who shall say in what manner obtained?) and standing in the position which he occupied, surrounded at hand by polytheism, and, more remotely, by the ruins of three fallen religious systems, was it strange that Mohammed should have deemed the sword an instrument of necessary severity, and the only instrument which could be trusted to for efficaciously reforming the world?

In listening to the apology[*] which the Prophet himself offers for the use of arms as a means of conversion, the belief at least is suggested, that he had mused in a comprehensive manner upon the religious history and the actual state of mankind, and had deliberately come to the persuasion that the interests of the true God in this benighted world were utterly hopeless, unless at length they might be promoted and restored by the terrors of war.[†] Mohammed perhaps had convinced himself that so worthy and holy a purpose would well excuse any means that might bring it about. Christian doctors have entertained the same principle, and have made a worse use of it; for assuredly we must hold the fabrication of miracles to be a worse immorality than the use of force employed because the pretension to miracles was scorned: and again, are not the judicial murders perpetrated by Spiritual despots more horrid than the open carnage of the field?

Looking round upon the world, such as it was in the seventh century, what appeared to have been the result of the several successive endeavours to reclaim the nations from their inveterate superstitions, and their idolatries? Not to insist upon the then decayed state of the religion of Zoroaster, Mohammed saw his countrymen, as well as many of the more luxurious people of Asia, deep sunk in the follies of polytheism. And some of these nations had fallen back far from the position they once occupied.[‡]

The theology and institutions of Moses, after struggling to exist on a single and narrow spot through a long course of ages, were then to be discerned only here and there in fragments, scattered over the world, like the broken embellishments and gilded carvings of a sumptuous palace which some lawless rout has overtaken and pillaged—strewing the earth with shining atoms of the spoil. Did it indeed then appear as if Jehovah, the God of Abraham, had any purpose in reserve for converting the world by the agency of the Jewish people? Rather it seemed that the obdurate and infatuated race was, in every religious sense, thrown aside and forgotten as a broken instrument.[*]

Even a mind much more enlightened than that of Mohammed (as we are accustomed to think of him) might, while looking at Christendom in the seventh century, have come to the conclusion that the fate of the religion of Christ after an experiment on a large scale, carried on through six hundred years, forbade it to be any longer hoped that the mild means of mere instruction would permanently avail to support truth in the world. A pure theology and a pure morality, sanctioned by miracles, had, as a system, apparently spent itself; had become worse than impotent; had covered the territories of ancient civilization with the noxious growth of superstition, so that idolatries—more degrading than the ancient polytheism, because men not divinities were the objects of it, had taken full possession as well of the eastern as the western nations.[†] Could any other event, at that time, well be looked for but the speedy extinction of even the name of Christianity, and the giving way of the feeble barriers which still preserved the south from the savage forms of worship of the Scythian hordes? Mohammed—or if not he, any thoughtful observer, might with reason have regarded the human family as then hastening down a slippery descent towards the bottomless abyss of ignorance and utter atheism. He might thus have thought, and his inference would be strong, that the sudden use of even the most violent means, was lawful and good, if so the universal catastrophe of the race might be prevented.

It should now be regarded as a hopeless endeavour to determine, without doubt, the personal character of Mohammed; and it might perhaps be better to direct attention rather to the system, than to its author. The supposition that he was a sheer Fanatic is opposed, if not quite excluded, by the description given of the suppleness of his public conduct, of the courteousness of his manners, and of the ready and well-judged adaptation of his means of influence to the sudden and various occasions of the perilous enterprise he had taken in hand. The supposition, moreover, it is hard, we will not say impossible, to reconcile to the fact of his having sustained fraudulent pretensions, and of propagating delusions of which he could not have been himself the dupe. On the other hand, as well the Koran (although itself a vast plagiarism—a booty, rather than the fair fruit of mental labour) and the political and military conduct of Mohammed, bespeak an elevated and impassioned soul. Those have not looked into that book, and have not perused the story of the Prophet's public life, who can think him a vulgar impostor, or believe that subtlety and craft were the principle elements of his character. If it be true that the author of the Koran has stolen his materials, yet must a man have had greatness and elevation of soul to have stolen as he has done. If, on the rich fields of sacred literature, he plundered—he plundered like a prince. The spoil which he gathered so largely from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures[‡] might be likened to that with which certain learned and munificent conquerors have graced their triumphs—they have indeed trampled upon and overthrown the ancient seats of arts and learning; but yet have first snatched from the devastations of war each signal monument of greatness and beauty.

Were it necessary at any rate to offer some solution of the ambiguous facts of Mohammed's character, recourse might be had to the principle that a mixture of incongruous moral elements does often take place by means of a sort of silent violence, done every day and hour to reason within the bosom. A wise and tranquil mind will not rest until it has adjusted its rules of action; has determined what are to be its objects; and (whether on the best model or not) yet brings the interior man into a condition of harmony and order. But there are minds, perhaps energetic, and rich in sentiment, that, conscious of the utter incompatibility of their leading impulses and principles, willfully abstain from the endeavour to reconcile the springs of action. Despairing to reach, or not even wishing to reach, that unity of soul which virtue and wisdom delight in, they act, and think, and speak in alternate characters. Now the better, and now the worse interior personage assumes the hour, and struts upon the stage. Meanwhile the wondering world gaze perplexed, and disagree upon the enigma—whether the man be sage or sophist—hero or poltroon.[*]

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[*] It is by no means always easy (especially through the medium of a translation) to follow the chain of the Prophet's reasonings or meditations: and the difficulty is increased by that ambiguity under which, from evident motives of policy, he skreened his real meaning when he had to speak of the Jewish and Christian economies, the votaries of which he aimed if possible to conciliate. Notwithstanding these obscurities, some such mode of thinking as that assumed above for Mohammed, makes itself dimly apparent in many passages of the Koran; among others, the 42d and the four following chapters may be referred to. An under-tone of apology, in which, without compromising his authority as the apostle of God, he excuses his measures as founder of a religion, runs through the rambling incoherencies of Mohammed.

[†] "And if God did not repel the violence of some men by others, verily monasteries, and churches, and synagogues, and the temples of the Moslems, wherein the name of God is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demolished. And God will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for God is strong and mighty."—*Koran*, chap. 22.

[‡] "Say, Go through the earth and see what hath been the end of those who have been before you; the greater part of them were idolators."—*Koran*, chap. 30.

[*] "The likeness of those who were charged with the observance of the law (the Jews) and then observed it not, is as the likeness of an ass laden with books."—*Koran*, chap. 62.

[†] The fifth chapter of the Koran affords evidence that Mohammed was well aware of the degeneracy of the Christian world. "The Christians have forgotten what they received from God."

[‡] It has been questioned whether Mohammed had ever seen the Christian Scriptures. That they were familiar to him it is hard not to believe in reading the Koran. Or even if the actual books had not come under his eye, the phraseology and sentiments of the evangelists and apostles he was certainly not ignorant of; these were to be met with every where, both in the east and the west. The sort of garbled allusion to the very text of the New Testament which abounds in the Koran may be seen at the close of chap. 48.

Such perhaps was Mohammed: assuredly not truly wise and honest, any more than a sheer impostor. But whatever the Originator of the new profession might be, many of his companions and immediate successors—his vicars, possess an unquestionable claim to the praise of sincerity and genuine fervour; and they have left to the admiration of posterity some of the rarest examples of greatness of soul. If Christianity were at all implicated in the comparison—which it is not, even remotely, we should shrink from a contrast between the Crusaders of the twelfth century, and the Caliphs of the seventh and eighth.[†]

Without doubt (as we shall presently see), every essential characteristic of fanaticism belonged to the temper and conduct of the Moslem leaders; nevertheless it is certain that the military religious maxims, and the usages of war established and generally adhered to by the Saracenic conquerors, were by no means such as comport with the indiscriminate and unconditional ferocity of men thoroughly rancorous, or natively cruel;—far otherwise. Ordinarily (for instances must be excepted) the genuine zeal of proselytism prevailed over the fury of war: if fanaticism ran through the exploits and policy of the martial zealots, it was still a fanaticism that leant more to the side of enthusiasm than of malice, and that readily admitted a generosity which the ecclesiastic (when he takes the sword) seldom thinks of and which the soldier as seldom forgets. Or to speak a volume in a word, the fanaticism of the Mohammedan conquests was that of warriors, not that of monks.

Common motives of policy, to the exclusion of sincere motives of religion, will by no means suffice to account for the rule early adopted by Mohammed, and adhered to by his immediate successors, of offering to IDOLATORS no other choice than that of conversion or death;[‡] while any who professed the worship of the one God—whether Jews or Christians, might purchase by tribute the liberty to go unhurt and at leisure on their own path to perdition.[§] So long as the doctrine of the Divine Unity were but acknowledged, errors of profession were tolerated; and if the tribute laid upon conscience was heavy, it did not exceed the measure customary with Asiatic conquerors. The lenity thus shown by Mohammed to the followers of Moses and of Christ, places his conduct in contrast with that of most zealots, whose rule has been to spend their indulgence upon whoever stood most remote in faith from their standard; while all the stress of their inexorable spite was made to press upon the sectarists of the next shade. Let the Arabian prophet be called Heresiarch and Impostor;—yes, but a Reformer too. He kindled from side to side of the eastern world an extraordinary abhorrence of idol worship, and actually cleansed the plains of Asia from the long settled impurities of polytheism. Did he overthrow Christianity in Syria, in Africa, in Spain?—no, Superstition only; for Christianity had died away from those countries long before.

A respect for man, for nature—for God, a respect not characteristic of the frenzied zealot, was shown in the injunction so strictly laid upon the Moslem armies—not to destroy the fruits of the earth—not to disturb the labours of the husbandman—not to cut down the grateful palm or the olive—not to poison or to stop the wells—to spare the old and the young—the mother and her babes, and in a word, to abridge war, as far as might be done, of its horrors. In reading these military orders, and in following the march of the caliphs who received them, it is impossible to exclude from the mind the recollection of wars waged by Christians—most Christian kings, not against distant and equal foes, but upon their own unoffending and helpless subjects—wars which left nothing behind them but smoking ruins and a blood-sodden wilderness. Call Mohammed fanatic or impostor; but language wants a term—or if it might afford one, the rule of Christian propriety forbids it be used, which should fitly designate the Philips, the Ferdinands, the Louises of our modern European history.

The Caliphs possessed an incalulable advantage, as compared (for example) with the leaders of the Crusades, in not being the tools or agents of a sacerdotal class; but in uniting in their single persons every office that naturally commands the submission of mankind. The combination of the regal or patriarchal, the military and the sacred functions, in one office, whatever inconveniences it may have entailed, yet served to attemper and to invigorate each. The same venerated personage—now calmly administering justice as civil chief—now fired with valour and at the head of armies; and now—strange spectacle, in the pulpit, enforcing the principles and duties of religion, would be likely, in recollection of his alternate characters, to exercise the first office with at once a religious impartiality and a martial firmness—the second with humanity, and the third with a liberality of feeling larger than belongs to the mere ecclesiastic, and borrowed from the sentiments proper to the king and the captain. At the same time the people would be apt to look—to their civil Chief with a religious affection, to their General with the confidence of faith, and to their Teacher as to one whose words carried all the authority which Heaven and earth together can confer.

If Christianity be not answerable, as certainly it is not, for the arrogance and the crimes of princes and prelates bearing Christian titles; so neither should we call in question the religious system of Mohammed on account of the horrors and devastations that attended the Tartar conquests of a later period. This rule of equity kept in view, we have to look simply to the Koran and to the general conduct of its early promulgators.

And after every due extenuation has been admitted, nothing can be said but that the martial zeal of the Moslem was an egregious fanaticism. The rise and the characteristics of this vehement impulse is a proper object of curiosity.

In not generating a pure and universal philanthropy, Mohammedism was not worse than other false religions;—and in this respect it was not better. Notwithstanding its just praise of teaching, and teaching with much clearness and energy, the great and first principle of Theology, it quite failed of producing that unrestrained good-will to man which is the natural consequence of love to God. To profess to love God, while on any pretext we entertain a rancorous contempt of our fellow men, is the most enormous of all inconsistencies. No ingenuity of the theologian can make it seem reasonable that those, however depraved in faith or manners, toward whom the Universal Parent, as Creator and Preserver, is showing kindness, and whom He loads daily with his benefits, should be regarded by the true worshippers of God with a bitterness which God himself does not display. Men who, like ourselves, are inhaling the vital air—are enjoying animal existence—are receiving nourishment from food—are sleeping and are waking refreshed from their beds, such, whatever may be their errors or their crimes, are manifestly not yet shut out from the pale of the Divine Indulgence:—GOD has not yet cursed them:—how then can *we* dare anticipate His wrath? The feeling that would prompt us so to do, or the dogmas that would justify such a feeling, must be hideously false and wrong. Yet this capital flaw attached from the first to the religion of the Prophet.

A knowledge of God is found to avail little apart from a knowledge of ourselves, and unless some genuine emotions of contrition have broken down the pride of the heart, the abstract truth of the Divine Unity and perfections seems only to inflame our arrogance, and to prepare us to be inexorable and cruel. So it was in the system of Mohammed;—it had no true philanthropy, because it had no humiliation, no tenderness and penitence—no method of propitiation.[*]

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[*] Certain zealous—should we say *jealous* divines of our own age and country—have seemed to think Christianity safe only when Mohammed was crushed under the weight of their anathemas. This mode of feeling one does not so much wonder to meet with among those whose position placed them in actual rivalry with the Moslem faith. It is quite natural to hear a Spaniard—a Spanish priest—an inquisitor, speak of Mohammed as—enganador del mundo, Profeta falso, nuncio de Satanis, el peor precursor del Antichristo, cumplimiento de todas las heregias, y prodigio de toda falsidad; or to say all in a word—un demonio encarnado.—*F. J. Bleda, Historia del Falso Profeta Mahoma.* The same writer, Inquisitor as he was, does not wonder that pestilences, and earthquakes, and atmospheric prodigies attended the birth of an impostor who was to propagate his religion by violence, and to persecute the Church! The Church, at least the writer's Church, amply took its revenge in the same kind.

[†] The perusal of Mohammedan history has a useful tendency in breaking down the prejudice which leads us to appropriate the common virtues to certain modes of thinking. Genuine piety demands indeed *a genuine belief* as its source and support. But those excellencies of conduct and character which may exist apart from Absolute Truth are to be met with all the world over; and certainly the Moslem nations have produced their share of shining examples. That mixture, of crimes and virtues, which belongs to history generally, is met with as well in Ferishta as in William of Tyre.

[‡] As in chaps. 48 and 49.

[§] Chap. 9.

The Koran does indeed teach and inspire a profound reverence toward God; and it has actually produced among its adherents in an eminent degree, that prostration of the soul in the presence of the Supreme Being which becomes all rational creatures. But at this point it stops. Moslem humiliation has no tears; and as it does not reach the depths of a heartfelt repentance, so neither is it cheered by that gratitude which springs from the consciousness of pardon. No sluices of sorrow are opened by its devotions;—the affections are not softened:—there is a feverish heat among the passions, but no moisture. Faith and confidence toward God are bold rather than submissive, and the soul of the believer, basking in a presumption of the divine favour, might be compared to the scorched Arabian desert, arid, as it is, and unproductive, and liable too to be heaved into billows by the hurricane.

No other religious system has gone so far in quashing that instinct of guilt and shame which belongs to man as a transgressor, and which impels him to look for some means of propitiation. The divine favour is secured by the Koran to whoever makes hearty profession of the unity of God and the apostleship of Mohammed. Almsdeeds, punctuality in devotions, and above all, valour in the field, exclude every doubt of salvation. No sentiment found a place that could open the heart to the upbraidings of conscience. Islam is the Religion of Pride;—the religion of the sword.[†]

We should not omit to notice the contrast which presents itself between the Moslem and Christian systems on this capital point. All religious history may be challenged to produce an exception to the rule, that the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of sins is the only one which has generated an efficacious and tender-spirited philanthropy.—It is this doctrine, and no other, that brings into combination the sensitiveness and the zeal necessary to the vigour of practical goodwill toward our fellow men. Exclude this truth, as it is excluded by sceptical philosophy, and then philanthropy becomes a vapid matter of theory and meditation. Distort it with the Church of Rome, and the zeal of charity is exchanged for the rancour of proselytism. Quash it, as the Koran does, and there springs up in the bosoms of men a hot and active intolerance. The Christian (and he alone) is expansively and assiduously compassionate; and this, not merely because he has been formally enjoined to perform the "seven works of mercy;" but because his own heart has been softened throughout its very substance—because tears have become a usage of his moral life, and because he has obtained a vivid consciousness of that divine compassion, rich and free, which sheds beams of hope upon all mankind.

The correspondence is natural and real, though it may not be obvious, between the notions entertained of the joys of heaven, and the conceptions that are formed of the world of punishment;—the latter article of belief takes its quality inversely from the former. Is it not seen in every country that the palace and the dungeon are correlatives? Wherever the one is filled with extravagant and shameless debauchery, the other is found to be furnished with racks, and will be the abode of forgotten despair. And so the sensualities of Mohammed's paradise are borne out by parallel horrors—gross and barbaric, which, in the speciality of the description given of them, could not fail highly to inflame the malignant passions.[‡] This irritating influence reached a pitch of frenzy upon the field of battle; for there the question of salvation or damnation lay on the ground between the marshalled armies, to be fought for and carried by the stronger arm. Never perhaps in the history of mankind have the appalling ideas of the invisible world so much and so distinctly mingled with the fury of mortal strife as in the instance of Moslem warfare. To the eye of the Saracen the smoke of the infernal pit appeared to break up from the ground in the rear of the infidel lines, and its sulphurous steam obscured the embattled field. As the squadrons of the faithful moved on to the charge, that pit yawned to receive the miscreant host; and in chasing the foe, the champions of God and his prophet believed that they were driving their antagonists down the very slopes of perdition. When at length steel clashed upon steel, and the yell of death shook the air—the strife was not so much between arm and arm, as between spirit and spirit; and each deadly thrust was felt to pierce the life at once of the body and of the soul.

Hatred, which is softened by contempt toward a fallen and unresisting foe, is embittered by the same feeling so long as opposition is offered. To respect our adversary is to admit those sentiments of generosity which sprang from the interchanged sympathies of virtue; but to loathe him, is to resent his hostility as an impudent presumption that assails our personal honour. The Arabian armies, after the Peninsula itself had been conquered, scarcely encountered an enemy that they did not look upon with a just disdain. The prophet had already told them that misbelievers were dogs;—and every excursion they made beyond their native deserts served to verify his words. The human race had become in that age effeminate and debauched in an unexampled degree. Superstition, with its idle solicitudes, its mummeries, and its despotism, had at length thoroughly worked itself into the mind of the (once) Christian nations, both of the east and west.[*] The profligacy which attends a decaying empire, and the hypocrisy of monkish virtue had joined together in the work of debasing and enfeebling every principle of human action. The common sense and the virtue proper to that "common life" against which all the doctors of the Church, during four centuries, had inveighed, and from which they had effectively removed every corroborative and elevating motive, had disappeared; no healthy mean, no sound and solid foundation remained to support the social structure: The objects that met the eye in the countries swayed by the Byzantine emperors were the cowled tenants of the monastery—the debauched retainers of palaces, or the faithless and insubordinate soldiers of the mercenary legions.

When the princely men of the Arabian desert, great as they were in a steady physical courage—great in a condensed and sententious energy of understanding, and great in simplicity of manners—a simplicity not rude but poetic; when these herosborn, broke their limits and trod the open world, their feeling must have been like that of a veteran garrison which, having believed itself to be hemmed in by superior forces, at last descends from its citadel, and in scouring the plains and woods around, meets only with frightened herds and flocks. To dispossess nations so unworthy of the bounties of nature, to overthrow governments so corrupt; and especially, to rid the world of superstitions so absurd and foul, might seem to be a work worthy of the servants of God.

The martial fanaticism of the Saracenic armies presents a contrast on almost every point, if compared with that of the Crusaders. Both in the elements and in the circumstances, these religious enterprises are dissimilar. The zeal of the Moslem armies was a passion for proselyting the world; that of the Crusaders was a mixed sentiment, drawing its force from historic recollections, from the desire of revenge, from the influence of superstition, and from grosser reasons of cupidity and ambition. The Caliphs waged war upon Religious Error—wherever found; and the task they undertook was to vanquish the souls of men, and to drag them captive to the throne of the True God;—the intention of these chiefs, though misinformed, was elevated and comprehensive. But the Crusaders (so far as their motive was strictly religious) thought only of a local conquest, and of a definite triumph:—give them but possession of a certain cave in the suburb of an unimportant dilapidated town, and they wished no more. Moreover the enterprise to recover the Holy City, though aggressive in its aspect, was also in a sense defensive, for not merely did the Christian nations seek protection on behalf of their pilgrims, but desired to regain an inestimable possession which Christendom, by every claim of history and of feeling, might challenge as its own.

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[*] The phrase "God will favour the true believers and forgive their sins," very often occurs in the Koran. But the doctrine of pardon, and the feelings connected with it, are nowhere expanded or defined. Final salvation turns entirely upon personal merit; see chap. 23. At the last day, "they whose balances shall be heavy with good works, shall be happy: but they whose balances shall be light, are those who shall lose their souls, and shall remain in hell for ever." Repentance, in the sense of the Koran, means turning from idolatry to the true faith, see chap. 9. Or if, as in chap. 4, the word be used in a broader sense, yet is the range allowed to contrition very limited. Nothing like a system of propitiation is contained in Mohammed's theology.

[†] "O prophet! God is thy support, and such of the true believers who follow thee.—O prophet! stir up the faithful to war: if twenty of you persevere with constancy, they shall overcome two hundred," &c. *Koran*, chap. 8. "Verily God loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array." Chap. 61.

[‡] An adduction of the passages may be well excused.

[*] Mohammed, it is certain, drew his knowledge of Christianity and of Christians chiefly from the neighbouring country—Egypt, where perhaps more than any where else superstition had vilified humanity, and had converted every principle of religion into a preposterous folly. The conquest of Egypt fixed upon the minds of the Caliphs their contempt of the professors of the Gospel.

In attendant circumstances also the two enterprises greatly differed. As the one was an emanation from a centre over a wide surface, and the other, a rushing in from a wide surface toward a single point, so the characteristic of the first is the grandeur of simplicity; that of the second, the magnificence of accumulation. There was a harmony, sublime though terrible, in the early diffusion of the religion of Mohammed :—the high-minded and never-conquered Arab—the same being in all ages and climates, and much less liable than other men to admit modifications of his opinions or manners from foreign sources, presented himself haughtily on the frontiers of every land—Africa, Spain, Persia, India, China, and in the same stern and sententious language summoned all men to surrender faith, or liberty, or life.

But the Crusades poured a feculent deluge, upheaved from the long stagnant deeps of the European communities, upon the afflicted Palestine. The dregs, the scum, and the cream of the western world—its nobility and its rabble, in promiscuous rout, flowed toward the sepulchre at the foot of Calvary. The Saracenic conquests might be compared to a sunrise in the tropics, when the deep azured night, with its sparkling constellations, is almost in a moment exchanged for the glare of day, and when the fountain of light not only darts his beams over the heavens, putting the stars to shame, but, with a tyrannous fervour claims the world as his own. The Crusades might be better resembled to the tornado, which, sweeping over some rich Polynesian sea, and rending up all things in its course, heaps together upon a distant shore the confused wrecks of nature and of human industry.

The motley host that dragged its length across the plains of the lesser Asia was not more various in its blazonments and banners than were the motives of the crowd ; and the many-coloured embellishments of the enterprise as they glittered in the sun under the walls of Nice, or of Antioch, might be regarded as symbolizing the heterogeneous impulses that had brought so many myriads from their homes. But the accessory motives, whether of the chiefs or the rabble, do not belong to our subjects ;—the spirit of adventure, the secular ambition, the cupidity, or the sheer superstition are to be set off as accidents merely of that genuine infatuation which, at intervals during nearly two hundred years, convulsed the European nations.

If there had been no crusade in the age of ignorance, would there have been one in the age of knowledge ? We dare not affirm such a conjecture to be probable; and yet would not grant it to be altogether groundless. The folies, the miseries, and the ill success that attended the endeavour of the European states to possess themselves of a land in which they had every right sentiment can confer, have branded with reprobation an enterprise that otherwise might have seemed not unreasonable, even to the men of more enlightened times. Let the case be stated abstractedly. That the most powerful nations of the world—a great community of nations, professing the same faith, should patiently see, on their very border, a land every foot of which had become memorable by association with the events of their religion, trodden down by an inimical superstition, while themselves were barely indulged with leave of setting foot upon it, is a fact that would not have been thought probable ; and which, we almost believe, would not to the present time have been endured, if the phrenzy of the twelfth century had not affixed an indelible contempt upon the project of reclaiming the birth-place of Christianity for Christendom.

Had there been no crusade in the twelfth century, there might then we imagine have been one in the seventeenth :—not, assuredly, in the nineteenth ; for Christianity at the present moment, although it commands too much regard, and is too well understood to allow of its giving sanction to religious warfare, yet is far from supporting that once powerful feeling which made the sacred sites objects of impassioned curiosity. The very reverse was true in the age of Urban II. Too little understood in its spirit and maxims to repress the enterprise, Christianity nevertheless then held an undisputed sway over the imaginations, the hopes and the fears of the mass of mankind throughout Europe. The idea of a conquest so desirable being once presented, nothing could be more natural than that the crusading zeal should flame out, and burn from year to year with a constant intensity. This ardour was in fact not to be quenched until a long series of unexampled miseries and misfortunes had rendered the design of maintaining the Christian power in the East hopeless. If the war had been so conducted as to have ensured early success—and success was at one time by no means impossible,—the history of all nations must have taken a different turn, and Asia, perhaps, and Europe might, after a while, have met in emulous friendship upon the spot which nature has marked out as the true metropolitan site of the world.

The fanaticism of the Crusades cannot be deemed any thing more than an out-burst of that exalted and imaginative superstition which had become ripe in every country of Europe. The military sentiment moreover, had then reached a pitch which demanded opportunity to spend itself; and the two vehement principles—the religious and the military, being alike under the control of the sacerdotal order,[*] nothing else could well happen than that some enterprise of conquest, directed and incited by the ministers of religion, should engage the energies of men. Perhaps the Church could not at all have retained her power over the western nations in the quickened condition they were just entering upon, if she had not at that very moment put herself at the head of the ruling passion of the age.

How far the Chiefs of the Church discerned her critical interests when the enterprise was first started, it is impossible certainly to know. But that the Crusades became at length a matter of policy and calculation at Rome, is abundantly evident. Still the genuine fanaticism continued to mingle itself, as it readily does, with sinister and mercenary views ; and pontiffs and monks, without losing sight of those palpable objects which ordinarily ruled their conduct, surrendered themselves heartily to the current of the general enthusiasm.

In each succeeding Crusade there appears to have been, on the part of the hierarchy, less of the pure fanaticism of the enterprise, and more of political calculation ; until at length the latter element had so nearly absorbed the former, that the Church could no longer even feign the zeal requisite for exciting and maintaining the ardour of the people. It was just in this languishing state of the crusading sentiment that a new virulence was shed into it by Innocent III. who finding that the effigy of the SARACEN would no longer serve to set the vindictive passions of Europe in a flame, substituted that of the HERETIC ; and forthwith Albigenses, not Moslems, became the victims of the martial frenzy of the catholic world.

Already we have found occasion to regret that men who stood confessed as the intellectual leaders of the age in which they lived, and who, by right at once of ecclesiastical rank, of personal character, and of real mental power, enjoyed almost an unlimited influence, did not stop to ask whether the actual course of human affairs, and the tendency of opinions and practices was indeed good and rational, or preposterous and fatal. Were any such censorial function exercised by the ruling minds of every age, and were there a court of public conscience, wherein right and wrong, on a large scale, should be calmly examined, not only might single flagitious acts be prevented ; but the insensible progression of degeneracy might be retarded ; and even a happy return frequently made to the path of reason and virtue. In casting the eye over the busy scene of European affairs in the twelfth century, it is natural to ask if the great community of the western nations did not furnish at least some one eminent spirit, capable of applying the simple rules of Christian ethics, and the plain maxims of common sense, to the project of the Crusade. Or allowing the infatuation—plausible as it certainly appeared, to take its course unchecked at the first, and to run itself out through a full fifty years, was it not natural that the few accomplished spirits of the age should at length have brought the entire folly under review, and have stepped forward to disenchant the nations ?

For performing such a work of reason and charity, whom better should we look to than to Bernard of Clairvaux ? Is his personal ability to discharge such an office questioned ? It was personal ability, unaided by adventitious means—it was mere power of mind and the momentum of individual character that raised him to a position, in the European community, of more extensive influence than any five human beings known to history have occupied. A simple monk, and then as abbot—emaciate, demure, downcast in look—a mere shadow or apparition of humanity, who, if seen in the choir among his companions, would have attracted no eye—this Bernard had come to such authority that he spoke law in the ears of sovereign pontiffs—made princes tremble, or rejoice, and so ruled the waves of the popular mind as to be able to raise or allay the storms of national tumult at pleasure. True indeed it is that no mind, how energetic soever, could have acquired or sustained any such power in an age of intelligence. It was the superstition of the times—at once profound and vehement, which afforded means and opportunity for the exercise of an autocracy of this sort. Yet assuredly he who could actually win and hold it, must be regarded as no ordinary being. And although the age was blind, credulous, and infatuated, Bernard reared his influence, in the main, not by cajolery and imposition, but by those arduous and genuine methods which an upright mind has recourse to.—Learned and laborious; self-denying, calm and disinterested, copious and accomplished, and, need it be said, eloquent, he could well support in personal intercourse with men of any rank, the reputation which he possessed by common fame. If in any thing his celebrity rested on fictitious pretensions, he might without hazard have renounced whatever was unsubstantial.[*]

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[*] The ecclesiastics who attended the Crusades were not on every occasion able to hold that supremacy at which they aspired. A notable instance of their failure occurred immediately upon the capture of Jerusalem. Huict iours apres la prince de Hierusalem les princes chrestiens tindrent conseil pour eslire un chef d'entr'eux, contre le vouloir des Evesques qui vouloient premierement faire eslection d'un Patriarche, et par icelluy Patriarche estre esleu et sacre apres un Roy, neantmoins en fin fut esleu de la pluralite le duc Godefroy, lequel ils menerent et presenterent au sainct sepulchre, avec Hymnes et Cantiques, donnant louange a Dieu.—*Cronique de Normandie.*

Might not then this potent monk, who had fair opportunity of gathering up the lessons furnished by the history and calamities of the first Crusade, have discerned and have asserted truth and morality, as applicable to such an enterprise, and so have saved myriads of lives, and have prevented innumerable crimes? Alas, instead of thus standing in the breach, and effecting peace between Europe and Asia, St. Bernard, with the Gospel on his lips, incited again the western nations to make a furious assault upon their brethren of the East: and in so doing became actively the author of incalculable miseries and bloodshed!

However little analogy there may appear to be between our own position in the nineteenth century and that of the preachers and leaders of a Crusade in the twelfth, it may prove not uninstructive to examine somewhat more closely the remarkable instance before us.

The violence of rude minds spends itself soon, and commonly includes the means of its own correction. But when measures essentially unjust and absurd are promoted by men who, having under command their own passions, are able at leisure to work upon the passions of others—when the tones of moderation and the stores of learning are employed for perverse uses—it is then that the mischief spreads and endures. Peter the Hermit was indeed author of one Crusade; but could never have excited another. St. Bernard, who, with supercilious brevity[†] alludes to his predecessor as an extravagant fanatic, not merely kindled the Crusade of 1148, but gave so powerful a sanction to the desire of conquering the Holy Land, that without unfairness, the luckless expeditions which occupied the next century may, in great part, be charged to his influence.

If those of the epistles of St. Bernard which relate to the Crusade, and if his Exhortation to the Knights Templars, could be read without knowledge of the specific intention, or without recollection of the historical facts whereto they relate, one might easily believe that the project in question was one fully recommended by wisdom and benignity, and sanctioned by Religion. How sedate and measured is the language—how temperate the incitements—how discreet the particular advices—how full-fraught is every page with the serenity, the forethought, the circumspection becoming a chief!—and how copious is the adduction of Scripture! almost every sentence revolves upon a text:—the sighs of piety rise in fumes from every paragraph—ejaculatory prayer inspirits many a sonorous period. Yes, here we find the very substance of fanaticism quite stripped of whatever one would call fanatical; and graced too, by whatever appears wise and devout. Already we have turned aside to contemplate an instance of the madness of asceticism, gavely mantled and philosophic, in the person of the Cappadocian primate; now we have before us a form not less philosophic, or celestial;—it is that of the seraphic, the politic, and the accomplished Bernard—chief patron and mover of the madness of religious military ambition!

Those who will say that illusions and infatuations of this elaborate order, tranquilly affecting the very elements of the character, belong only to ages of mental slavery and superstition, and are not now to be looked for as possible, assuredly have something yet to learn of the philosophy of human nature; and, not improbably, are themselves the victims of some similar deep-spread error. St. Bernard, calmly seated in his cell—the Gospels open before him, and with the events of the first Crusades fresh in his recollection, thought that nothing was more praiseworthy or pious than to lash the passions of the western nations to a new fury for exterminating the infidel power in the East.[*]

That identity of sentiment, and even of language which characterises the same fanaticism under circumstantial differences, it is curious and instructive to notice. Mohammed doubts not a moment the lawfulness of propagating the true faith by the sword:—the very same plenary conviction runs through the pages of St. Bernard. The prophet of Mecca says—Fight for God, and he will pardon all your sins, and infallibly give you the delights of Paradise. The monk of Clairvaux, on behalf of the Church, and in her name, assures to every Crusard a full remission of all sins, and the blessedness of a martyr, beyond doubt, if he fell in the holy war.[†] To be slain, says the saint, is to benefit yourself;—to slay, is to benefit Christ! Impartially balanced, whom shall we first excuse, or whom rigorously condemn? The one, by violence and carnage would fain vanquish the world to God: the other, by the like means, thought to achieve a revenge for the Church, and to effect a clearance of a single superstition from a single spot.[‡] Both egregiously misunderstood the Divine Character; both frightfully abused the language and the motives of religion:—the difference is only in the terms and style, and in the magnitude and grandeur of the project.

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[*] Not the slightest historical difficulty attaches to the great mass of Church wonders. Folly, fraud, and preposterous credulity are stamped upon them in the plainest characters. The perplexity arises in those few exceptive instances in which men of sense (although superstitious) and men whose honesty and piety, in the main, we cannot readily grant to be questionable, acted a prominent part in the drama of miracles. Not that this perplexity at all implies evidence to which we should listen in favour of the miracle itself; for this is altogether wanting; but a real enigma presents itself when we endeavour to set an esteemed and respectable name quite free from the charge of collusion with knaves. St. Bernard—if we take the word of his biographers, wrought many more miracles than Paul probably had done. And it appears from certain expressions in his letters and tracts that he did not disclaim the reputation of a wonder-worker. His personal credit is therefore implicated in the business. We must at present leave the riddle as we find it; only saying that Bernard's real and indubitable merits were such as might well have borne the deduction of all the prodigies with which his encomiasts have burdened his fame.

[†] Fuit enim in priore expeditione, antequam Jerosolyma caperetur, vir quidam, Petrus nomine, cujus et vos (nisi fallor) sæpe mentionem audistis. Is populum qui sibi crediderat, sólum cum suis incedens tantis periculis dedit, ut aut nulli, aut paucissimi eorum evaserint, qui non corruerint, aut fame, aut gladio.—*Ep.* 363.

[*] Though carried away by the specific fanaticism of the Crusade, St. Bernard did not forget mercy and justice in all instances. In several of his epistles he decisively condemns the violences of which the Jews were at that time the victims. Audivimus et gaudemus, ut in vobis ferveat zelus Dei: sed oportet omnino temperamentum scientiæ non deesse. Non sunt persequendi Judæi, non sunt trucidandi, sed nec effugandi quidem.—*Ep.* 363.

[†] Habes nunc fortis miles, habes vir bellicose, ubi dimices absque periculo: ubi et vincere gloria, et mori lucrum. Si prudens mercator es, si conquisitor hujus sæculi; magnas tibi nundinas indico; vide ne pereant. Suscipe crucis signum, et *omnium pariter*, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceris, indulgentiam obtinebis. Materia ipsa si emitur, parvi constat: si devoto assumitur humero, valet *sine dubio* regnum Dei.—*Ep.* 363. The English barons, (*Ep.* 423,) are told by St. Bernard that the messenger he had despatched would not only explain the business of the Crusade at large, and narrate what had been effected, but exhibit to them—largissimam veniam quæ in literis domini Papæ, super eos qui cruces susceperunt, continetur. The Book, de Laude Novæ Militiæ, ad Milites Templi, exhibits, page after page, elevated and impassioned religious sentiments, thick-set with Scriptural quotations, and the whole purport of this eloquence is to stimulate the murderous passions of mankind. The lawfulness of the enterprise, and its merit, and the certainty of salvation to those who should fall in the attempt, are every where, and in the boldest terms, affirmed. Securi igitur procedite milites, et intrepido animo inimicos crucis Christi propellite, certi quia neque mors, neque vita poterunt vos seperare a caritate Dei, quæ est in Christo Jesu; illud sane vobiscum in omni periculo replicantes: Sive vivimus, sive moimur Domini sumus! Quam gloriosi revertuntur victores de prœlio! quam beati moriuntur martyres in prœlio! . . . Miles, inquam, Christi, SECURUS INTERIMIT, INTERIT SECURIOR. Sibi præstat cum interit; Christo cum interimit! This might well be given as a pointed version of more than one passage in the Koran: so like is fanaticism to fanaticism, all the world over.

[‡] Commota est et contremuit terra, quia Rex cœli perdidit terram suam, terram ubi steterunt pedes ejus. Inimici crucis ejus . . . . officinas redemptionis nostræ evertere moliuntur, et loca Christi sanguine dedicata profanare contendunt. Præcipue autem illud Christianæ religionis insigne, sepulcrum, inquam, in quo sepultus est Dominus majestatis, ubi facies ejus sudario ligata est, omni nisu nituntur evellere.—*Ep.* 423.

The eloquence of St. Bernard was every where triumphant. France and Germany listened in rapture to his sermons: England[*] yielded to his epistles: Europe again drew the sword, and devoted herself to God, vowing to crush his enemies.[†] Moreover the faults and precipitancy of the former expedition were prudently avoided in this:—the counsels of the preacher, as well as his declamations, were duly regarded.[‡] Visions and miracles, also, not a few,[§] sanctioned the zeal with which the preacher had inspired princes and knights. Even to think ill success possible was an impiety. Heaven audibly blessed the enterprise, and assured a prosperous issue![‖] Luckless confidence! the intentions of heaven in this, as in so many other instances, had been utterly misinterpreted. Disaster attended the expedition throughout its course, and a failure in all its objects disgraced its conclusion. But it is unjust, say some of the contemporary religious historians, to affirm that St. Bernard's Crusade, though calamitous to the eye of sense, produced no fruits, such as might be held to redeem the saint's reputation;—for how many thousand soldiers of the cross did it send with a prosperous gale to heaven, to claim the promised rewards of martyrdom![¶]

This ingenious solution of the perplexing event did not satisfy St. Bernard himself. After declaring with a piety we should admire, that he would rather himself sustain in silent patience the reproaches of the profane, than that the glory of God should be assailed, and would think himself happy to serve as "the shield of God," receiving in his person every shaft of the adversary; he labours to find cases parallel to his own among the histories of the Old Testament:—he obliquely refers to the miracles wrought by him in attestation of the Predication of the Cross; and then, as the last and best recourse, alleges the inscrutable profundity of the Divine Providence, which, as he scruples not to affirm, often leads men on only to disappoint and thwart them; and commands that to be done which it intends to frustrate! [**]Alas how much, even by the religious, is the Divine Providence outraged, and the Divine attributes vilified! Every thing is understood sooner than the simplest principles of morality and religion. We passionately plunge into enterprises that are wholly unjustifiable or absurd—enterprises clearly incompatible at once with the dictates of common sense, and the precepts of the gospel. What may be wanting on the side of reason we largely supply from the stock of faith:—texts and fervours fill out the bubble of our confidence. But in due season the folly bursts:—natural causes produce natural effects:—the seed we had sown springs up in its proper kind. How reasonable, then, and how becoming would it be to retract our presumption, and to confess our fault. Instead of admitting any such pious ingenuousness, we fretfully talk of the unfathomable depths and the inscrutable mysteries of the ways of God! and sum up the matter perhaps, as does St. Bernard, with a grossly misapplied text—"Blessed is every one that is not offended in Him,"—as much as to say, God's ways are such that it is a vast merit not to resent them![*]

Of the second crusade to the Holy Land the Abbot of Clairvaux was personally the author. Another far more murderous, and more fatally successful, may justly be attributed, though indirectly, to his influence. About half a century after the death of their Founder, the Bernardins, with the zealous Arnold Amalric at their head, and too well authorized by the language and conduct of their spiritual father, charged themselves with the business of assembling the catholic world for the extermination of the heretics of Languedoc. With how much of horrid glory these labours were crowned, the histories of the times attest. The Romanist of the present day confides in the truth of the miracles recorded to have been performed by St. Bernard;—indeed he cannot question them without discarding at the same time the whole of that evidence upon which his church rests her pretensions as the perpetual organ of Christ on earth.—But now it was on the credit of these very miracles (should we not rather with Paul call them "lying wonders")—it was on this warranty expressly, that the preachers of the Albigensian Crusade incited that detestable expedition, and justified the massacres and tortures that attended its course. With the maxims of the New Testament before him, is there then nothing that should stagger the faith of the Romanist in these blood-stained prodigies? If the direct and immediate use to which they were applied was carnage, rape, and unutterable ferocities;—if the clew of miracle runs throughout the story of abominable murder, shall a man who owns common powers of reason and conscience, swallow, with a blind voraciousness, at once the wonders and the murders; or shall he do so, and claim to be any longer respected among Men and Christians?[†]

The fanaticism of religious war has seldom if ever been graced and recommended more remarkably than in the instance of the canonized hero of France, whose disasters and death may be said to have brought the crusading enterprise to a close;—for that which the magnanimous Godfrey began, the saint-like Louis concluded. The extant effigies of this good and valiant prince so well correspond with his recorded actions, that we cannot but look upon them as authentic.[*] What mildness and dignity—goodness, humility, and yet fire and strength beam from the countenance! It is a face which for suavity might belong to the most refined ages;—a face shining with a religious elevation seldom indeed exhibited in the series of royal portraits. And such in truth was Louis IX. Disinterested to a fault in his conduct toward neighbouring powers;—a peace-maker, and an arbitrator inflexibly just. Industrious in the discharge of public business, lenient and moderate in exacting dues, accessible and gracious to the poor:—firm toward the proud and powerful. Irreproachable in private life—temperate and chaste. And withal, a warrior of no mean reputation—justly admired as well on account or his personal valour, as of his conduct in the field:—chivalrous in the best sense of the term; and pious in a sense at which the severity of modern notions must not cavil.[†]

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[*] The Epistle just quoted, was addressed to the English Barons, and the abbot does not omit the blandishments that might conciliate the parties. Et quia terra vestra fœcunda est virorum fortium, et militari juventute referta; decet vos inter primos, et cum primis, ad sanctum opus accedere, et armatos ascendere ad serviendum Deo viventi.

[†] The apologist of St. Bernard may allege that he acted on this occasion in obedience to the sovereign Pontiff, Eugenius III., in writing to whom, on the subject, he says—De cetero mandastis, et obedivi. Yet even this same pope was his creature: he goes on to declare the success of his labours.—Et fœcundavit obedientiam præcipientis auctoritas. Siquidem annunciavi et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum. Vacuantur urbes et castella, et pæne jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres virum unum, adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris.—*Ep.* 247.

[‡] Beside other instances of prudence, St. Bernard gave proof of his good sense in utterly declining the honour of leading in person the Crusade. His fanaticism savoured far more of the cell and the pulpit, than of the field.—Quomodo videlicet in Carnotensi conventu (quonam judicio satis miror) me quasi in ducem et principem militiæ elegerunt: certum sit vobis nec consilii mei, nec voluntatis meæ fuisse vel esse. . . . Quis sum ego, &c.—*Ep.* 256.

[§] . . . . nimirum, says the Saint's Notary, cum aliquando vigenti, seu etiam plures ab incommodis variis sanarentur, nec facile ab hujusmodi dies ulla vacaret.

[‖] Fanatics may safely enough perform miracles—among their followers; but they commit a fatal blunder when they turn prophets. It was here that St. Bernard made shipwreck, and on the very same rock his imitators in every age have split. The infatuations of the present day are meeting a like fate.

[¶] Nec tamen ex illa profectione Orientalis Ecclesia liberari, sed cœlestis meruit impleri et lætari. And was not the lot of those who survived and returned to sin, more lamentable than that of those qui in fructibus pœnitentiæ purgatas variis tribulationibus Christo animas reddiderunt?—*Vita. S. Bern.* l. iii. c. 4. If the Crusade effected no visible good, yet did it secure the salvation of a multitude of souls, says the Abbot Otho; while another writer assures us, on infallible testimony, that a multitude of the fallen angels were restored on the occasion!

[**] See Epistle 288, and especially the Apology he addressed to the Pope, *De Consideratione*, l. ii. c. 1. Scorners asked for evidence that the Crusade was from God. Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam, *parcendum verecundiæ meæ.* Responde tu pro me et pro te ipso, secundem ea quæ audisti et vidisti; *aut certe secundum quod tibi inspiraverit Deus!* . . . . Etsi necesse sit unum fieri e duobus, malo in nos murmur hominum, quam in Deum esse. Bonum mihi, si dignetur me uti pro clypeo.

[*] . . . . hoc abyssus tanta, ut videar mihi non immerito pronuntiare beatum, qui non fuerit scandalizatus in eo.—*De Consid.* l. 2. c. 1.

[†] An inconsistency not easy to adjust, belongs to St. Bernard's statements of the duty of the Church towards heretics. In some places he seems to disallow measures of violence; while in others he plainly recommends the use of force. These two points at least are pretty certain: 1st. That whatever he might say or sanction in compliance with the practices of the age, or in submission to authority, his personal or original dispositions were not of a ferocious kind; but the reverse: and 2d. That whatever his personal dispositions might be, he had become so thoroughly the slave of the Romish despotism, that he held himself ready to promote whatever it approved and enjoined. So it is commonly that men of mild tempers are employed by the arrogant and the tyrannous as their fittest tools in giving effect to oppressive or sanguinary acts. In commenting upon Canticles ii. 15. "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes:" this Father observes, that the *little foxes* are insidious heresies, or rather the heretics themselves, and adds, Capiantur, dico, non armis, sed argumentis, quibus refellantur errores eorum: ipsi vero, si fieri potest reconcilientur Catholicæ;—this is all very well:—the Church says, Capite eas *nobis*, catch them *for us*. Yet his doctrine in other places is of a different sort. With a slippery ambiguity of phrases, he gives room for the use of the most extreme means—approves *the zeal* of those who, in tumultuous fury had fallen upon heretics; though he will not advise the deed;—factum non suademus;—but concludes that the sword is to be employed against those who persist in propagating their errors.—*In Cantica, Serm.* 66. But in an epistle to Hildefond, count of Toulouse, whom he accuses of favouring the heretics of his states, all the truculent rancour of the genuine churchman flows forth; and in addressing the clergy of the province after his return, he seems quite to pant from the labours of extermination; and thus concludes his advices.—Deprehensi sunt lupi . . . deprehensi, sed non comprehensi. Propterea dilectissimi, *persequimini* et *comprehendite* eos: et nolite desistere, donec PENITUS DEPEREANT, et diffugiant de cunctis finibus vestris, quia non est tutum dormire vicinis serpentibus.—*Ep.* 242 *ad* TOLOSANOS, *post reditum suum.* Such are the strains of ecclesiastics, even some of the best of them, when irritated by opposition. The reader will not fail to notice the indulgent distinction which the good abbot observes between wolves and foxes. In the sense of Bishop Fouquet, the men, women, and children of a city belonged indiscriminately to the former class, if heresy was harboured at all among them.

What then does our hero want—unless it be that integrity and vigor of reason of which the superstition of his age had cashiered him? If one might bring St. Louis into parallel with the statesmen and warriors of classical history—an Epaminondas or Timoleon, a Scipio or a Marius, though he claims over them the advantage of some higher sentiments and purer morals, he must yield to them all the prerogatives of that erect position of the soul which belonged to them (although superstitious in their way) as exempt from the humiliation inflicted by sacerdotal despotism. The Grecian and Roman public worship stood subservient to the civil and military powers of the state; while that of the Christian nations (of the middle ages) not merely usurped every kind of influence, but with the arrogance fitting infinite pretensions, trod the very souls of men in the dust. Strong emotions of shame and indignation spring up in the mind—shame for the degradations of humanity, shame for the abused religion of Christ, when one suddenly turns from the sculptures that have brought down to our times the forms of the Grecian chiefs, and inspects the mosaics, the parchments, the painted windows, and the bas-reliefs, in which the magnanimous Louis is shown, stripped to the waist like a vagabond thief, and patiently receiving from the hands of emasculate monks the discipline of the whip! Or shall we contemplate the monarch of France—not only king, but soldier and statesman, followed by the bevy of his court, and a swarm of ecclesiactics, on the road before Sens, pacing the rugged ground barefoot, on his way to meet—was it some delegate from the upper world—some minister of heaven before whom mortality must tremble, and the pride of kings fall in the dust?—No—nothing but a relic, and this relic, *not a relic;* but the palpable work of monkish knavery.[‡]

Far from being a farcical or a politic compliance with the usages of the times, these acts of devotion were, on the part of Louis IX. unquestionably the result of his sincere and profound convictions. So likewise were his Crusades;—the infatuation had thoroughly worked itself into his soul; and every part of his conduct in the two disastrous expeditions—the one to Egypt and Syria, and the other to the African coast, exhibits the resolution, the consistency, and the greatness which distinguish vigorous minds when ruled by some single and paramount motive. This motive was, in many important respects, unlike that which had impelled the Crusaders of the preceding century. The course of events had insensibly given to the oriental war another and a new character. With Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, and Tancred, the project was aggressive and spontaneous; but after the Christian powers had made a permanent lodgement in Palestine, and naturalized themselves there, it became at once a duty of humanity, and a demand of public justice to defend the oriental colonies. Accordingly we now hear much more than at first, of the obligation to protect and to *rescue* the afflicted Christians of the eastern church; and it is this plea, rather than any motive of a fanatical or superstitious kind, which was employed in the time of St. Louis to quicken the zeal of princes and adventurers.[*]

In this light mainly did the French monarch regard the expeditions he conducted; and it would be harsh indeed to affirm that those attempts might not appear to him in the fullest degree justifiable. And moreover, as the final motive had gradually become of a different sort, so were the immediate excitements very unlike that which impelled the earlier invasions of the Holy Land. *Then* the torrent of war poured on directly to the revered centre of devotion. Although the route was unavoidably circuitous, still the line of movement tended always towards the sacred sites. The enthusiasm of the enterprise mounted up therefore at every step of the march; nor did it abate until the soldiers of the cross had waded through rivers of Moslem blood in their way to the foot of Zion.

But how much must the crusading zeal have sunk, and how much must it have mingled with secondary motives, when, instead of rushing on to the endeared and outraged city of human redemption, the crusards had first to assail the enemy in some quarter far remote from those spots; for instance, along the banks of the Nile, or upon the burning sands of the Numidian coast, and fifteen hundred miles from the Holy City! and as the impulse was by this means slackened, so probably room might be left for emotions of a better and a calmer sort. This was certainly the case with the French king. The superstitions of his times apart, for which St. Louis was not responsible, his last hours exhibited whatever is becoming to the faith and temper of a dying Christian.

As well royal pride (if any sparks of such a feeling lingered in the bosom of this religious king) as the ordinary excitements attendant upon a martial enterprise, were fallen at that moment to the very lowest ebb. After winning some laurels of little value, the crusaders, at the season of insufferable heat, had encamped upon the desert within sight of Tunis. But they had scarcely began to rest when pestilence broke out, and threatened to leave the residue of the army at the mercy of an infuriated foe. One of the first to fall was the son of the king—designated from his cradle to sorrow.[†] Over his grave Louis himself sickened, and his frame, already wasted by a long course of austerities, at once gave way. Earthly hopes of every kind were waning fast. This second expedition, which should have redeemed the calamities of the first, it was now certain must be frustrated:—even whether space would be secured for giving Christian rites to the dying and the dead was doubtful:—whether a wreck of the flower of France would return to tell the tale of disaster seemed uncertain. Horrors thickened on every side; and worse horrors impended. But though the earth itself should remove, and the foundations of things sublunary be broken, the dying monarch admitted no despondency:—the surrounding gloom did not darken his soul. His energies as a man, his solicitudes as a king, his affection as a father, his zeal as a Christian, were not relaxed. Whatever the exigency of the time demanded to be done or arranged, he completed. His last acts as a sovereign were directed to the long desired object of reconciling the Latin and Greek churches; and having surrendered his kingdom, with wise and pious advices, to his son, he closed his eyes on worldly pomps, in calm, if not assured hope of entering, in due season, upon the joys of eternity.

So is the grace of heaven wont to relieve the darkest histories of the follies and crimes of nations, by unsullied instances of piety and goodness.

The rule of analogy leads on by natural transitions from scene to scene, making it necessary to traverse the order of Time. Commencing with the most complete instance of spontaneous or aggressive religious warfare, we have passed to those enterprises that were of a mixed kind, and have followed them until they assumed a defensive aspect. We start anew then from this point to contemplate the memorable example of a nation gathering its strength to a convulsive and frenzied effort for the rescue of its ancient and impassioned religious hopes.

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[*] Several portraits of St. Louis, and some of them well executed, are extant (or were so before the revolution) in the Churches dedicated to him, as well as in MSS. These are to be seen in Montifaucon's Antiquities of France.

[†] Louis IX. succeeded his father in 1226, and was only in his fourteenth year, and subject to the queen mother, when he acted his part in the Abominable conduct of the Church and Court towards Raymond VII.

[‡] St. Louis, receiving the grace of penitence, is one of the subjects represented upon the windows of the vestry of St. Denis. Baldwin II. Latin emperor of Constantinople, in acknowledgment of the French king's bounties to the Christians of Palestine, sent him—the crown of thorns, which had been preserved in the imperial palace; but which the Venetians had lately held as a pledge for a loan. Louis discharged this debt, and received the sacred treasure. Single thorns broken off, were forthwith conferred upon several of the Churches and Abbeys of France.

[*] We must revert to St. Bernard to do him the justice of saying, that, even a full century before the time of Louis IX. the plea of relieving and defending the Syrian Christians was employed as an auxiliary motive for undertaking the Crusade. Tempus et opus est existimo ambos educi in *defensionem* orientalis ecclesiæ.

[†] John Tristan, born in Egypt, at the time of his father's captivity.

As the terrible catastrophe of the Jewish city and people is fraught with horrors beyond perhaps any other scene of history, so did the sentiments then called up—the fanaticism of national pride, reach a height to which no parallel can be found. An examination of the moral condition and political circumstances of the Jewish community at the time is quite necessary if we would either read the dismal story with intelligence, or afford to the infatuated sufferers that measure of sympathy which they may well claim. And with this view it is moreover indispensable that we should dismiss, for a moment at least, those special feelings with which, as CHRISTIANS, we are accustomed to contemplate the vengeance that overtook the betrayers and murderers of the Lord, and the obdurate enemies of his gospel.

Yet is it difficult to disengage the mind from those impressions which give to the events of the Jewish war their supernatural character; in truth, this stamp of extraordinary interposition is imprinted upon every transaction of the time: the rebellion itself—the madness of the endeavour, on the part of so feeble a state, to resist the undivided force of the Roman empire—the pertinacity of the resistance—the frenzy of the intense feuds, and the delirium of the last struggle, bear the marks of a judicial abandonment: while, on the other side, the singular conduct of the Roman authorities, as well as many incidents of the siege and capture of the city, exhibit visibly—must we not admit, the irresistible control of a hand from above. Looking upon the city, overshadowed by the bursting cloud of fate, the seals of Divine wrath are seen upon its palaces; and one believes to hear the sullen thunder that announces the departure of Jehovah from the ancient place of His rest. Or turning toward the encircling armies, the Roman banners appear to bear an inscription, bespeaking Titus as the minister of the predicted wrath of God.

It need not be feared lest, while affording in this instance a due commiseration to an unhappy people, we should make ourselves sharers in their peculiar guilt. Every reader of Jewish history learns to distinguish between the *ordinary* and the *theological* aspect of the calamities that have followed the race. Who that has the heart of a man hesitates to take part with the persecuted Israelites against the inquisitor; or who would stand aloof a moment, if an occasion offered for defending him from the wanton ferocity of the feudal baron or the Romish priest? And yet these very sufferings, and all the miseries that have pursued the people in the lands of their dispersion, are as truly a retribution from heaven of their national unbelief, as were the famine, the pestilence, and the carnage that attended the overthrow of Jerusalem. If it be lawful to think and speak with indulgence and compassion of the Jew of the tenth and fifteenth centuries, it is so to feel the same in regard to his ancestor of the age of Vespasian. Do we want a sanction for sentiments of this kind?—we receive one that is absolute and conclusive from the example of the Messiah himself, who when, with prophetic eye, he beheld the city as if then torrents of blood were pouring down from its gates, "wept over it;" and without forgetting its crimes, lamented its miseries.

The fanaticism which came to its paroxysm in the Jewish war demands to be traced in its growth, and watched in its several stages of enhancement. To do so is nothing more than an act of justice toward the fallen people; and moreover the subject has (as we shall afterwards see), a special and very important bearing upon a question which arises concerning the influence of the Mosaic and prophetic dispensation in forming the national character.

After a schooling of almost a thousand years (from Moses to Daniel), a discipline in which was mingled every means of grace and judgment; yet attended with only partial or temporary success, the Hebrew people had at length firmly embraced—never again to lose it, that first lesson of theology which it was the main design of the Mosaic institution to convey. Ever propense to the degrading service of fictitious divinities while secluded among the glens of Palestine, and while their obedience might have insured their peace, the nation, when at last transported to the very Pandemonium of idol-worship, sickened, as in a moment, of its inveterate error, and with a sudden and final revulsion of heart, learned to loathe the very names of the gods of the nations. Singular revolution!—the Jew in Babylon, while losing the ancient and sacred language of his religion—the language of the law and the prophets, and while acquiring in its stead a dialect which, according to the ordinary course of human affairs, should have infected him more deeply than ever with polythetic notions, learned the true sense of Moses and the prophets! Thus, in forgetting the letter of Scripture, he got possession of its spirit.

Become at length devoted and sincere worshippers of the God of their fathers, and punctilious observers of the ancient ritual, and now restored to their city and land, it seemed as if the Jewish people was setting out under auspicious circumstances to run that course of national obedience and consequent prosperity which should render it a visible and perpetual witness in the eye of all nations for a pure theology. Now were bright predictions to be fulfilled, and now was the world to admire a people loved of God—a royal priesthood—an exemplar of wisdom, virtue, and felicity!

So it might have been thought; but the hour was come for an occult law of retribution—a latent principle of the spiritual economy, to take effect upon the chosen race. Those who, age after age, had contemned the Divine promise of temporal prosperity as the reward of religious obedience, and had so long and so perversely "sinned against their own mercies," were now to be dealt with on a different rule—a rule which drew its reason from higher purposes than heretofore had been regarded. The Jewish people were indeed at this time willing to maintain the honours of Jehovah; and they were allowed to do so:—yet it must be under the condition (for the most part) of tribulation and oppression. The economy of earthly benefits which had remained in force under Solomon, Asa, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, was superannuated, and was displaced by an economy of motives of a more elevated order. Antiochus is suffered to try the faith and constancy of those whose faithless fathers had been given into the hand of Assyrian and Babylonian oppressors.

This change in the character of events cannot be contemplated without perceiving that the dawn of a day of immortal hope was just then breaking upon the mountains of Judæa; a precursive trial was therefore to be made of that higher order of things, and of that more perfect discipline wherein the welfare of the soul was to take precedence of that of the body—the spiritual to be preferred to the natural—and Eternity to be more accounted of than Time.

A marked, and a correspondent change took place at this era of Jewish history in the sentiments of the people, and especially of their chiefs. Instead of talking exclusively (as heretofore) of immediate and political deliverance, and of national aggrandizement, they mixed with such secular hopes, views of a more refined and prospective sort. They had gradually learned to look through the dim shadows of death for the rewards of piety;—they turned their eye from the hills of Palestine, and with a steady courage endured torments and met death—that they might obtain "a better resurrection"[*] Not a less remarkable revolution of feeling was this than that of their final abandonment of polytheism. It was in truth a progression of the national mind; and a progression that involved the remote and universal destinies of the human family; for in the history and fate of the race of Abraham the history and fate of all nations are bound up.

The acquisition of the belief of a future life, and of its infinite rewards and punishments as a popular dogma, deepened and expanded to an immense extent the range of the religious emotions. The Jew of the Asmonean era had become capable of sustaining a part of spiritual heroism such as his ancestors of the time of David had never thought of. The "mighty threes"[†] of that pristine age were indeed valiant as warriors, and faithful too as champions of the God of Israel; but Judas Maccabeus, his companions and his successors, drew the motives of their constancy from considerations far more recondite and potent; and they fought and bled not merely as soldiers, but as martyrs."[‡]

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[*] 2 Mac. vii. [†] 2 Sam. xxiii.

[‡] The spirit of the Jews of this period, and their religious opinions, are to be learned much better from the two books of Maccabees, than from the polite pages of Josephus, who takes vast pains so to dress up the homely piety of his ancestors in hellenic phrases, as should render it offensive to his Gentile friends and readers. The simple language of faith and pious hope—hope of a better life, the learned author of the Antiquities translates into the dialect of Grecian philosophy and Grecian heroism. This is especially to be observed in the speeches of the Jewish worthies. With no other materials than what he obtained from the books of the Maccabees, he expands and embellishes the simple, affecting, and vigorous expressions of devout patriotism which he there found, and is fain to pre-

It was natural, as this expansion of the religious notions of the Jews took place under circumstances of extreme national trouble, and reached its maturity while they were struggling for their political and religious existence, that it should bring with it those tumultuary feelings which are provoked, as well in vulgar as in noble minds, by witnessing wanton violations of sacred things, persons, places, and usages. During the three centuries preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and while, with transient intermissions, this nation of true worshippers was contending against the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian kings, or fretting under the pressure of the Roman power, there was going on a slow accumulation upon the national mind of those emotions—intense, profound, and ungovernable, which, after many a portentous heave, at last burst forth and spread an universal ruin.

But this progression of religious feeling passed beyond its sound state; the ripening reached corruption. The people, while they firmly retained whatever was acrimonious in their national ideas, and whatever might engender spiritual arrogance, cast off those purer and nobler sentiments that had once imparted to their character the dignity and moderation of true virtue. Thus, although their external allegiance to Jehovah, the God of Abraham, remained irritably steadfast, and although they haughtily challenged every point of honour that belonged to them as the only depositaries in the world of an unsullied religion, they renounced those expansive sentiments, so frequently introduced by the prophets, which have a benign aspect toward all the families of mankind.*

Nor was this all—though indeed it might have been enough; for the zealot nation, scrupulous practitioners of whatever in the Mosaic institutions tended to insulate them from the community of mankind, loaded those institutions with offensive exaggerations; and moreover to a great extent superseded the genuine precepts of the Pentateuch by a comment and tradition abominably perverse. So it was that the whole repulsive rigidity of sectarism wrapped them about as a garment; while they held few or none of the compensations of a purer morality. At once, and in an extreme degree, sanctimonious and debauched, the Jews (of the Christian era) were in that very state which, more than any other, is liable to pass into violence. Who so furious and rabid as the scrupulous, immoral religionist, heated by a sense of injury and insult?

One element more, and only one remained to fit the Jewish people for the terrible part they were to act in bringing on the catastrophe of the state. This was the spirit of faction, and this they had addmitted to the full. The rise of the rancour of religious strife is a subject too extensive to be entered upon in this place; but it is one that might well claim deliberate attention; and the more so, because these virulent and peculiar feelings which seemed for the first time to break out upon human nature about a century before the birth of Christ, have ever since (and to the present day) kept their place, and have had a great share in determining the course of events throughout Christendom. At present it may suffice to advert to the fact that, at the time we are speaking of, the bosom of almost every Jew, besides the common malevolence or murky pride which then characterized the race, harboured a still more definite and vivid animosity against some rival party: each mind, while revolving around the one gloomy centre of national feeling, revolved also about the centre of its sect. Unhappy people, thus to exist and move in an element of hatred, at once diffusive and condensed.†

Such were the pungent sentiments which prepared the Jewish people for the horrors of its catastrophe. Then there was added to these feelings a specific and extraordinary excitement, which gave intensity to every passion of a political or religious sort. This was the fond, and now desperate expectation of the appearance of their Messiah.

The two principles, namely, the belief of a future life, with its rewards and punishments, and the hope of national deliverance and universal empire under the conduct of the promised Son of David, had kept pace one with the other, and both had gradually become more and more distinct, had mingled more in the popular sentiments, and had settled into familiar forms of expression, so that what, in the remoter times, was a mystery, or an esoteric doctrine—conserved by seers, and hidden under symbols, had now reached the populace, and was in every mouth. The hope of redemption under the Messiah, which existed in a warm and natural state at the time of the advent of Him who was indeed the Lord's Christ, underwent a pernicious revulsion from the disappointment that ensued when the Son of Mary was rejected. Pious desire turned then into a wild and frenzied wistfulness—the prey of every delusion. The articulate language of prophecy—the awakened expectations of mankind at large, and the portents of the times, all concurred to fix, beyond mistake, the then passing years as the destined era of deliverance.—Scripture and the comments upon it, marked almost the moment,—while the events of the age, the balancings of human affairs, declared the times to be fulfilled. Yet these years hastened on, and no Saviour; no Saviour from Gentile tyranny appeared. In the interim the sacrilegious foreign power advanced every day nearer and nearer to the sanctuary of God. Unutterable profanations had been threatened, and even perpetrated: but a little more, and the very heart of the Israelitish polity must receive a fatal wound. Yet the heavens were not rent; Jehovah and his Anointed stood afar from the help of his inheritance. Must it not be to try the constancy of Israel to the extremest point, and to enhance the arrogance of the oppressor to the highest degree; so that, on the one side, the coming deliverance should be the more welcome, and on the other, the vengeance so much the more signal? Doubtless God would, at the last, visit his chosen people.—Suddenly, and in the blaze of his power would he descend to his temple, unfurl on the heights of Zion the Banner of his love and wrath; and thence advancing, followed by the tribes of Jacob, would go forth, King of kings, to trample on the necks of all mankind.*

Fond, and yet not—as it seemed, irrational hope! Proof could be advanced in support of every portion of this vast conception. No expectation comparable to this; none so great, so bright, and at the same time so *distinct*, had ever been indulged by any people: no analogous instance stands upon the records of history: an ambition so dazzling was known only to the Jew, and this hope had been rendered the more vigorous by compression; the weight of all visible probabilities weighed it down; nothing less than the Power of Rome, with all her legions, bore upon the expectation of Israel; and yet did not crush it. Judæa against the world: no, rather God and his Messiah, against the potsherds of the earth!

Often must it have happened to the haughty Jew to gaze, in sinister contempt, upon the military pomp of the Empire (at Rome or in the provinces) and to meditate the hour when all this splendour should fade before the throne and car of the

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sent his readers with rhetorical harangues, after the fashion of Thucydides. The same intention is copiously displayed in the Book of the Government of Reason.

* Josephus, who never forgets his solicitude to propitiate the Roman government, and to conciliate Gentile readers, takes pains to conceal that contempt which his countrymen indulged toward the polytheistic world. He even denies in a formal manner that the Jews allowed themselves to condemn or ridicule other modes of worship. "For my own part, I do not bring into question other men's religious practices. In truth, it belongs to us as a people to preserve our own usages;—not to inculpate those of other nations. And our legislator expressly forbade our either ridiculing or defaming those whom the nations around us regard as divinities."—*Against Apion*, b. 2. This was a bold assertion, and one which his adversary might have easily refuted. Are not the gods of the heathen contemptuously handled by David and the prophets? and are not the worshippers of stocks and stones declared to be stupid and absurd? This scorn of idols and idolators had increased, not diminished, among the Jews.

† When he refers to the factions that distracted the Jewish people, Josephus employs the strongest terms which language affords.—"One might justly say sedition grew upon sedition; or the state might be compared to a rabid beast that, in want of sustenance from without, rends and devours its own entrails." *Τί τηλικοῦτον*, exclaims the historian, *ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθας ὑπὸ ‘Ρωμαίων, οἳ σου τὰ ε'μφυλια μύση περικαθαροῦντες εἰσῆλθον.*

* Josephus, from obvious motives of policy, draws a veil over the subject of the hope his countrymen entertained of a Prince and Deliverer who should rule the world. To have given its just prominence to this theme would have been highly dangerous both to himself and to his people. His allusion to it is brief and cautious, and is accompanied by a comment designed to exclude all suspicion.—"But what chiefly incited the Jews to the war was *an ambiguous prediction χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος*, found in their sacred writings, the purport of which was, that, *about that time*, some one of their country should rule the world. This prediction they appropriated to their own race; and many of their Rabbis were led astray by the interpretation. In truth the oracle pointed to Vespasian, who was declared Emperor in Judæa."—*De Bello Jud.* L. VI. c. 12. If this were indeed the "chief incentive" of the war, it doubtless held a much larger place in the sentiments and harangues of the people and their leaders than appears from the narrative of the historian. Josephus knew more of this "ambiguous prophecy," and of its mighty influence over the national feelings, than he thought it prudent to avow.

Messiah. Yes, many a time had he brooded upon the thought that Rome and her pride should ere long lie in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem; and suppliants from the capitol kiss the feet of the princes of Zion!

How then shall we measure the desperation of the rage when a hope so ancient and so vast was drawing to its crisis? At length a terrible surmise stole upon the dismayed heart of the people; that the very foundations of their belief were illusory! The dark consummation which this wretched people, now hemmed in by an irresistible enemy, had to fear, was not the famine and thirst of a siege, or massacres within their walls, or the carnage to be expected from the irritated legions; it was not the overthrow of their city, the ruin of their temple, the devastation of their land, the extinction of the race; a worse catastrophe was before them: nothing less than a plunge into the bottomless gulf of atheism: it was the death of a nation's soul that was at hand. If indeed at the last the promise should fail, if the Gentile sword should be suffered to cut off root and branch of the people of Abraham, what then were the Scriptures; what Moses and the Prophets; what Sinai and its thunders; what the long series of signs and miracles which had conveyed to this people, and to this alone, a genuine faith in one God? By a false concatenation of inferences, the religious convictions of the Jewish people, the whole of their belief of things unseen, was made to hang upon the event of the siege of the holy city. Let but the abominable signals of the Roman legions be planted upon the walls of the temple, and then Israel, carrying with him all his hopes—the anticipated splendours of time, and the glories of eternity, must leap from the height into the shoreless abyss of despair!

Under the pressure of emotions so supernatural and extreme, if more could have been endured by man than was then suffered, or more effected than was performed, it had actually been sustained and done. The feeling of the people was far more profound than that it should measure itself against any pains or dangers mortality can undergo. The visible and sensible woe of the siege did but faintly symbolize the convulsive anguish of every Jewish heart. It was as when a guilt-stricken wretch approaching his last hour, though torn by the pangs of death, forgets the wrench of bodily pain in the torment of the soul;—the writhing of the limbs, the contortions of the features, the livid hue, the glare of the eye, the sighs, the groans, are imperfect expressions only of the misery and terror of the spirit.

To attribute an absolute authenticity to the long and elaborate speeches which the Jewish historian puts into the mouth of the chiefs of the factions would be idle; and especially so where, according to his own account, all or most of those who were actually present on the occasion soon afterwards perished. Nevertheless there is a sense in which these harangues deserve attention; for Josephus, familiarly acquainted as he was with the sentiments of his countrymen, and with their style of thinking, no doubt adhered to dramatic truth in composing these orations, and would assign to the speakers language proper to the character of the persons. Although graced with not a few Grecian turns, the matter of these compositions is unquestionably national. Nay, it may be granted as probable that broken portions of an actual address, on some signal occasion, were reported, and had come to the knowledge of the historian. By the same rule it is acknowledged that while the speeches of Roman Generals and Senators, as given by Livy, are Livy's speeches, they may still be regarded, although fictitious in a strict or historical sense, as authentic and characteristic examples of Roman feeling.

With this caution in view, it is a matter of some curiosity to examine the harangues of those of the Jewish leaders who survived the destruction of the city, and whose fate it was to receive in their persons the last strokes of Roman vengeance. Supposing it to float somewhere between truth and fiction—true in elements—fictitious in form, the address of Eleazar, chief of the Assassins, to his companions, when shut up in Masada,* and unable longer to hold out against the Romans, may be adduced as a highly characteristic exhibition of the ultimate, or fallen and melancholic stage of martial fanaticism. With the extinction of the specific hope whence it had sprung, the heat and vivacity of the feeling had passed away, leaving only its desperation:—the fury is gone, but not the folly. The once boisterous passion assumes even something of the serenity of good sense; but yet entirely wants the consistency of true wisdom. So terrible a commotion of the soul of a people could not instantly subside; and a while after the roaring of the storm is hushed, the billows continue to fling their huge masses sullenly upon the shore.

The secular hope of national deliverance and military glory was that which had inspired the constancy of the people up to the moment when they beheld their temple in flames; but then, of necessity, their ill-placed confidence dissolved. It was that very temple which should have received the Messiah:—that building, as they firmly believed, no power in earth or heaven could overthrow; for it was destined to endure to the consummation of all things. But the temple was now actually levelled to the ground; the people's hope disappeared also, and with it, as we cannot doubt, the religious faith of multitudes of those who perished in the carnage that followed. In that last hour of anguish did not many a warm Pharisaic heart become suddenly cold with Sadducean despair? Yet others there were whose feelings underwent a revulsion, and in whom, when the worldly seduction had lost its power, the better religious sentiment would regain its influence. So (if we may regard as in any sense genuine the last and fatal discourse of Eleazar) was it with that desperate leader.

"Such, brave comrades, such is our immemorial resolution, that to God alone—the true and righteous Lord of men, homage is to be rendered; and that neither from the Romans, nor from any other earthly power, is servitude to be endured. The day is now come in which we are called upon to seal our profession by our deeds; unless we be ourselves unworthy of that profession. And this is certain, that if the servitude we have in past times submitted to was grievous, what awaits us, should we fall alive into the hands of the Roman, will be aggravated by intolerable torments. Were not we (the Sicarii) the first to revolt?—are we not also the last to resist? I hold it then to be a special grace of Heaven, to us accorded, that we possess as we do at this time, the means of dying honourably and free, while others of our nation, betrayed by their fallacious hopes, enjoyed no such option.

"No one can now doubt that to-morrow's sun must see this fortress in the hands of the enemy. But there remains to us the undisputed choice of a noble death; and a death in the arms of those most dear to us. No, ardently as he desires to take us alive, he is as unable to deprive us of this choice, as we are to resist him in the field. Resist the Roman in the field! no, this we should long ago, and from the first of our revolt have understood, when peradventure it might have availed us to know it, that the Divine irrevocable decree has sealed our destruction as a people. The Jewish race, once so dear to God, He has consigned to perdition. Do we want proof of the fact; let us look to the site of the sacred city, at this moment smoking in its ruins, and strewed with the bodies of thousands of the people.

"And now, my companions, indulge not any such presumption as if we, who hitherto have escaped the common ruin, were not sharers in the common guilt; and might yet evade the universal sentence that is to annihilate the race. Look about you, and see how God himself has been stripping us of the vain hope we had clung to. What avails us the possession of this inaccessible fortress? what the abundance of provisions, and our ample stock of weapons? God's outstretched arm has rent from us our fond conceit of safety. Think you that the flames yesterday, which at first bore upon the enemy, did of their own accord suddenly turn round upon our newly-raised defences? No, this reverting fire was blown by Almighty wrath—the punishment of our presumption; and we find that the vengeance of God, provoked by our sins, is more inexorable than even the malice of the Romans.

"Already therefore doomed, as we are, by God—let us die:—die—our wives exempt from abuse—our children unknowing bondage; and then, these delivered by our hands, we shall have only to discharge, one for another, a generous office and mutually ensure the death and sepulture of freemen? Our treasures we will consume. How will the Roman vex to be defrauded at once of our persons and of our wealth; both of which he thinks his prey! Yes, but we will leave him our stock of food—an evidence that we were not urged by famine, but that from the impulse of a steady purpose, we had preferred death to slavery."

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* A precipitous and strongly fortified height, overlooking the *northern* extremity of the Dead Sea. The Maccabees first, and afterwards Herod, had constructed on this hill-top what was deemed an impregnable fortress. As such it had been always held by the latter in a state of readiness to serve him as a place of refuge in the event of a rebellion.

Thus, says the historian, spoke Eleazar.[*] But many of his auditors quavered. Some indeed met the ardour of their chief with a kindred resolution, and would at once have given it effect. Others, held by the tenderness of nature, and gazing upon their wives and children, doomed thus to die, burst into tears, and refused assent to the fatal resolution. The leader beheld with anxiety their trepidation, fearing lest it might shake even the more courageous, and disappoint his design. As if inspired with high thoughts, his eyes fixed, and in energetic tones, he again addressed the crowd, bringing before them the brightness of immortality.

"Was I deceived then in believing that the brave had rather die than live dishonoured? Comrades, do you fear to die even to escape evils worse than death? In an extremity like this ye should neither hesitate, nor want a prompter. But let me remind you of that which from childhood we have learned—which our fathers and the sacred writings teach, and which our ancestors have so often authenticated by their deeds—that it is life, rather than death, which should be thought of as calamitous.[†] Death, is it not the liberator of souls? does it not dismiss them to the pure abodes where none of the ill chances of mortality can enter? So long as we are bound to this mortal frame, and liable to the evils it inherits, our life is but a death. Oh unworthy alliance of the divine essence with a fabric that must die? Organ of the soul's power and will, yet does the body weigh it down to earth, from which freed, it soars to its native region; regains a blessed and unbounded liberty, and like God himself, evades the sight of mortals. Yes, unseen does it enter the body; and unseen depart—a pure and unmingled essence; yet potent—the cause of life, and itself immortal. Witness the independence and activity of the soul in sleep, when discharged for a while from the warfare of flesh, it enjoys its proper delights, and taking the privilege of its affinity to God, freely pervades all places, and even penetrates futurity!

"With what reason then can we fear to die, who court the refreshment of sleep? Preposterous surely for those to grudge themselves perpetual freedom, who prefer liberty to any other of the goods of life? This readiness to put off mortality we, as Jews, ought especially to exhibit; or if indeed we must go to learn such a lesson from strangers, let us look to those Indian sages who loathingly live a while to fulfil the purposes of nature, and hasten to die that they may shake off the ills of animal existence. None hinder them in their purpose; none lament their exit; but rather account them happy, and commit to their hand epistles of love to their kindred in the skies. Gladly do they ascend the pyre where all the grossness of the body is to disappear. Shall we then—better taught as we are than they, be less prompt to urge our course to immortality? This were indeed a shame.

"But even if we had been taught to think the present life the chief good, and death the greatest evil, it would still be certain, that, placed as we are, we should manfully meet our fate; since, as well the will of God, as the necessity of the moment, commands us to die. Believe it, countrymen, that long ago heaven sealed the fatal decree which none of the Jewish race can evade, and which consigns us—guilty as we have been, to utter extinction. Our nation has fallen, not by the power of Rome—not even by our errors in conducting the war; no, a stronger hand has crushed us—we perish beneath the stroke of the Almighty!

"Time would fail me if I were to recount the many signal instances in which, contrary to all probability, and even against or beyond the intention of our enemies, we have fallen the victims of Divine vengeance. Or when any of our race has escaped immediate carnage, who would not deplore their lot as far more grievous; who would not rather die than endure what such have suffered? Some, torn of the lash; some, tormented with fire; some, half eaten of beasts, and rescued, to be thrown to them alive for a second repast! Or were they permitted to live? yes, but only to be made the sport of their adversaries. How do those now desire to die who are yet compelled to breathe!

"Alas! where now is that city of ours, the mother-city of Juda,[*] where—with her many circling ramparts—her lofty towers and castles; where, filled as she was with the means of war, and crowded with mayriads of valiant men, eager to defend her! What has become of the city which we fondly believed to be the abode of God? Rased to the ground? nothing now marks the spot where once stood Jerusalem; nothing but the tents of her destroyer! Ah, and you may find there, as relics of the Jewish people, some miserable ancients, seated in the dust; or a few women, reserved to dishonour.

"Which of us then, even if he could do so unhurt, should endure to behold another sun? Who is there so false to his country—who so imbecile—who so chary of life, that does not vex to have survived so long as this? Would we had all died rather than have seen the Holy City rased by the axe of the enemy—and the Temple, with horrible impiety, upheaved from its foundations! Our souls, indeed, have lately been fed by the generous hope of speedily avenging the fall of our city upon the foe.[†] But that hope now vanishes, and leaves us no option: let us rush then upon an unsullied death. Let us have pity upon ourselves; upon our wives; upon our children, while yet we have the power to do so. Death indeed all must undergo; but not injuries, bonds, insults;—or not unless our cowardice drives us to meet these greater evils. And what evils are they? Elate with confidence, we at first defied the Roman power: once and again we have scorned the proffered terms of our exasperated enemy: dare we think then of his rage if he takes us living? Wretched shall the younger of us be whose strength lasts out longer torment! wretched the elders who have no power to sustain the trial! One shall see his wife led away to suffer violence; another, with his arms bound, shall hear the cries of a son, vainly imploring a father's aid. No, this shall not be:—now, now are our hands free; now are our swords our own: let them then do for us the kindly office! Free from the thrall of our enemies, we die; free with our wives and children, we launch from life. Our law enjoins the deed; our wives and our children implore this grace at our hands; God himself throws the necessity upon us. The Roman would fain prevent it, and is all alarm lest any of us should perish before he can scale our defences. We hasten then to offer to him, instead of his desired revenge, amazement at the boldness of our death."

All started up as if seized with frenzy, or possessed with demons, to give instant effect to the advice of their chief. Each man embraced his wife, his child, and in the midst of fond kisses, his arm unknowing what it did, gave the fatal plunge. Each thought a moment of the miseries from which that stroke redeemed his loved companion and progeny; and all, without exception, dared the horrid act. Pitiable fate of men to whom it seemed the least of evils thus to make a carnage of their women and babes! The husbands and fathers, feeling as if every moment they now survived was an injury done to the dead, hurried on what was yet to be effected. Fire was put to whatever the fortress contained. Ten of the survivors, chosen by lot, fell upon their companions: every man in dying embraced the bloody remains of his own. One then chosen from the ten, slays the nine, and he, taking a last look around to ascertain that the work of death was complete, rushed on his sword.

There is yet a form of popular fury which ought here to find a place, although its peculiarity may seem to disconnect it with any other kind. We mean the atheistic fanaticism when it affects a community, and impels it to assault every mode of worship with intent to exterminate religious profession. Of this dire infatuation modern times have given us an example—the first in the history of mankind; may it be the last!

Atheism, when it spreads among a people in the form of an active and positive opinion—vauntingly professed and eagerly disseminated, is something very different from ordinary irreligion, or reckless and profligate impiety; and it will

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[*] The historian's method of expanding immensely his materials, is shown by a comparison of the succinct speeches reported in the Book of Maccabees, with the elaborate orations that embellish his work. In the present instance a license of abridgment and compression is freely used, the result of which may perhaps be a nearer approach to historic truth. So long a discourse as that which Josephus attributes to Eleazar (occupying five folio pages) would certainly not have been uttered or listened to, under such circumstances.

[†] If this speech be regarded as nothing more than the composition of Josephus, it will not the less serve to prove a fact, important in its bearings—That a distinct belief of immortality—a belief far more distinct than appears on the face of the canonical prophetic writings, had long been entertained among the Jews, and had constituted a main article of that body of tradition, which, rather than the Scriptures, governed the opinions, the sentiments, and the practices of the nation.

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[*] Philo, *Legat ad Caium*, well calls Jerusalem, not the metropolis of one land, Judæa only, but of many.

[†] . . . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἐλπὶς ἐβουκόγησεν :—a highly significant phrase.

be found to display each well known characteristic of a virulent religious creed: it is in truth nothing else than a *heresy;* and the proselyting Atheist, how much soever his pride may resent the imputation, is a mere zealot; yes, and a zealot surpassing others in blind malignancy. Is the bigot religionist dogmatical, acrimonious, impudent? is he a demagogue, and a noisy predicator of monstrous paradoxes? Just such is the Atheist. And if the one readily seizes the occasion to act the persecutor, and to dip his hands in blood, so, as we have found, does the other.

An opinion that attaches only to scattered individuals, displays nothing more than a sample of its genuine properties: but let it affect large masses of a people, or take possession of a community, and then its real qualities come into play. Every age has produced a few petulant sophists, who would fain persuade themselves and the world that they had at length rid their natures of the very rudiments of belief, and that they held nothing to exist which could not be handled and seen, tasted or smelt. But an affectation so extreme does not readily overthrow the common sense of mankind at large; nor would it ever do so without the aid of peculiar and accidental incitements of a political kind. In fact all imaginable forms of monstrous error had been turned up in the chances of four thousand years before this of national Atheism—more monstrous than any, made its appearance. That the great body of an instructed people should yield itself a prey to the madness of Atheism, and should deliberately endeavour to rear the social structure upon the site whence every vestige of worship and religious fear had been removed, was indeed a novelty that would not have been reckoned among things possible, or in any degree likely to take place.

Yet the French revolutionary frenzy actually reached this pitch; and it is well remembered what was the temper of this last prodigy of the human mind, when it burst the shell. Its parents had announced that it would be rational, just, and moderate, as the beautiful creature of Philosophy; but it instantly proved itself to be rabid and blood-thirsty like an offspring of the Furies? As the Atheism of the philosophers would not have spread over the land, unaided by political impulses, so neither would the political passions that attended the course of the revolution, alone have sustained, and for so long a time, that sanguinary exasperation which raged through France year after year; and in fact the massacres and the executions of the republican era were, in almost every instance, hurried on by an embittered hatred of whatever appertained to religion: legions of blasphemy were inscribed on all the banners of blood. The civil war was a crusade against God; and those who at the commencement had professed it to be their ambition to blot out the name of Christ, were borne along by the impulse to which they had yielded, and could not stop until they had spent all their spite in the endeavour to dethrone the Most High.

We need only change the phrases current among the populace, and substitute one set of emblematic embellishments for another, and then the horrid scenes of the French revolutionary civil war are repetitions, on a larger scale, of those exterminating frenzies that so often have desolated the fair provinces of that country. A super-human spectator of terrene affairs—ignorant of the dialect, and of the circumstantials, would quite have failed to distinguish the bloodshed and devastations of one era from those of another; and far from suspecting that the truculent savages of the Revolution were the disciples of philosophers, might have deemed them only superstitious friars, and templars, of a new and more intolerant order.

The authors of this confusion discerned, just in time, the jeopardy into which they had led the country:—they hastily retraced their steps, and so mankind lost the benefit of the spectacle which must soon have been witnessed if the Intolerance of Impiety had been left to run its round. Leave was given to the Maker and Ruler of the Universe to resume his place in the fears—though not in the affections of the people; for it had been found that without the stay of religion the social machine could not safely perform its movements. The public heralds therefore proclaimed anew the Eternal; and leave was granted, to the credulous at least, to expect a future life, and to fear retribution.

The lesson perhaps may long serve the European nations, and no second attempt be made of a like kind. Yet what has once happened must no longer be spoken of as utterly beyond probability. This assuredly ought to be confessed, on the ground now of actual experiment, that if in any instance the ordinary or common and sensual impiety of the mass of mankind comes to be quickened by a stirring spirit of disbelief—if the irreligion which hitherto has been sluggish or frivolous, kindles into a petulant bigotry, and utters itself in acrid blasphemies; and especially, if the same atheistic zeal lurks in the bosoms of the upper classes, and ferments at the centre of government—then little will be wanted to put these forces in movement, or to direct them against the institutions and the parties that uphold the worship of God. A slight and accidental political excitement would be enough to bring on the crisis. Whenever—if ever—such a train of events shall in any country have room, it will be seen that, if Popery be a bad instigator of the malignant passions of the people, Atheism is a worse; and that the fanaticism of impiety should be dreaded even more than that of superstition.

The history of modern Europe, and of our own country especially, would have afforded many, and striking examples of that order of Fanaticism which brings the military and religious sentiments into combination. The instances are present to the recollection of every reader. And beside that a universal enumeration could subserve no important purpose, and would fill volumes, some of these cases are of that ambiguous and perplexing kind, which a writer may well desire to evade, rather than meet the dilemma of either giving a sanction to what it would be unsafe to approve, or of sternly condemning what we ought not to think ourselves competent to adjudge as altogether immoral. Moreover, other cases of this order involve the political and religious prejudices of existing parties; and are not to be spoken of without kindling the embers of faction. To call the originator of this or that body—a fanatic, would be, according to the interpretation of some, to become the champion of the opposite system of opinions. Or to brand with the same epithet the leaders on both sides, would be to wound (and still more deeply) the fond predilections of all. There are pages of our British history—English, Scottish, and Irish, which will need to be written anew, when our religious factions shall have come to their end.

SECTION VIII.

FANATICISM OF THE SYMBOL.

The arduous part of our subject now meets us. In reviewing those phases of error which have long ago passed away, we occupy a vantage ground, and may at leisure measure the proportions of the distant object. But every circumstance of the inquiry is of another sort when it is the extant form of religion which comes to be examined, and when what we should calmly and impartially speak of, are practices, opinions and modes of feeling, regarded as excellent, or leniently dealt with as venial, by our contemporaries—our friends—our coadjutors—ourselves.

It were an arrogance in any man to assume that he can exercise an absolutely impartial judgment concerning the things of his own age. No human mind has ever reached such serene elevation. If the characteristic and prevailing errors of the day have been discerned by here and there an individual, himself has not escaped that depressing influence wich attends a long-continued and anxious meditation of objects that show a frowning face to whoever refuses them his homage. Conscious then of a disadvantage not to be avoided, and careful to maintain that modesty which the knowledge of it should engender, we may yet advance, enheartened by the anticipation of an era, perhaps not very remote, when the religion of the Scriptures, having at length passed through the cycle of its degradations, shall, without any more hindrance, bless the human family.

In contemplating the errors of past ages, no point more important presents itself, nothing which should so fix our attention as the fact that certain extravagant modes of feeling, or certain pernicious practices—the offspring of an active and virulent fanaticism, have, after a while, subsided into a fixed and tranquil form, such as has allowed them to win the approval and to secure the support of the calmest and most enlightened minds; and so to be transmitted through successive ages—accredited, unquestioned, admired. The turbulent stage of fanaticism would do the church little harm if it were not succeeded by a tame and moderate fanaticism—seemingly wise and temperate. The parent in these instances is an ephemeron; but the progeny has had a longer term than that of the phœnix. The rugged surface of our globe, such as it is seen among the Alps or Andes, imposes awe, as if those stupendous piles of primeval rock, capped with the snows of thousands of winters, were the very symbols of protracted unchanging duration—or of eternity itself; and yet is it not true that the huge masses owe their stern grandeur and their lofty pride to terrible powers of commotion?—these mountains were upheaved when our world was in her fit of boisterous frenzy—when convulsions shook her centre. Instead then of regarding the now motionless forms as emblems of repose, we should deem them rather the relics and the portents too of confusion.

Nothing, or nothing favourable, should be inferred on the behalf of any system or constitution of things from its present tranquillity, or from the moderation and the wisdom that invest it; or from the accidental benefits which it may claim to have produced. The blackest superstitions have shown an exterior mildly magnificent: the extravagances of personal torture have worn the garb of seraphic piety: the Fanaticism of intolerance has shown in combination with great qualities; and the zeal of military proselytism has made alliance with substantial virtues. There is nothing, then, to wonder at if even genuine piety and the brightest personal excellence are found to exist under a state of things which owes its origin to an impulse essentially fanatical. The question is always, not whether accomplishments and virtues and piety exist within this or that system; but simply—whether the system itself be good or evil.

The Fanaticism of the Symbol—or a malign and turbulent zeal for the honour of a creed, supposes, of course, the possession of a written and authoritative canon of faith. But then this rule has to be interpreted; and the interpretation, in each instance, insensibly draws to itself those profound emotions which the sacred importance of the canon calls into play.

It does not appear that sectarian rancour, in any distinct form, had shown itself before the time when the Jewish prophetic economy having been sealed, and the written Testimony of God consigned, in a defunct dialect, to INTERPRETERS, a field was opened to diversities of opinion, each of which challenged to itself entire, the prerogatives that attach of right to the original document. From the period when exposition of Scripture became the business of a class of men, the Jewish community parted into sects which, in an exasperated condition, were the main causes of the ruin of the state, the destruction of the city, and the dispersion of the race.

In this instance what we assume to have been *new* in the history of human nature, was not the existence or the breaking forth of the diversities of opinion; for these have disturbed all countries in all ages; nor was it the alliance of certain modes of thinking on abstract subjects with temporary and political interests; for nothing has been more common than such associations. But the novelty was precisely this—that the tremendous weight of God's sanction—truly believed to belong to the Canon of Faith, was claimed by each party in behalf of its special exposition of the rule. So fatal an assumption effected a firm coalescence of every religious sentiment with the passionate workings of self-love, pride, jealousy, and the sense of personal and corporate welfare.

Within the circle of these feelings every proper element of Fanaticism finds room, and no species of Fanaticism has been altogether so compact or so permanent. The other kinds (as we have seen) have had their hour and have vanished; this has settled down upon Religion—documentary religion, as well in Europe as in Asia, and now in America, and has become the inseparable condition of all forms of worship.

We say every proper element of Fanaticism displays itself in the Fanaticism of the Symbol. As for example:—The Divine Being, when so outraged as to be made the patron of a virulent faction, appears to the votary altogether under a malign aspect, and can no more be thought of such as He is. Again, the irritation excited by opposition in matters of opinion, when heightened by a vindictive forethought of future judgment, brings with it the most peculiar species of misanthropy known to the human bosom; and an arrogance too, that far transcends other kinds of aristocratic pride. With an anathematizing Deity—an anathematized world, and himself safe in the heart of *the only Church*, the zealot wants nothing that can render him malign and insolent.

Mere diversities of opinion by no means necessarily involve virulent or acrimonious sentiments. Sad indeed would it be if Christian amity, and that true unison of hearts and hands which the church should exhibit, could not be hoped for until an absolute uniformity of notions and practices is brought about; for it is plain that so long as one mind possesses more native power and more accomplishments than another, there must be inequalities of knowledge, and varieties of apprehension. Nothing less than the imparting of omniscience to every human being could remedy the inconveniences that arise from this source. Nor in fact are such differences ever found to throw a cloud over private friendships, or to disturb the harmony of general society, while angry exaggerations and the swellings of wounded pride are avoided.

There can therefore be no need whatever that, as a resource against the evils of sectarian virulence, we should either throw ourselves into the arms of Church despotism, and renounce the liberty of reason; or give way to the relaxation and the apathy which would render us altogether indifferent to truth and error. This indeed were miserably to degrade human nature, and to quash its noblest ambition. We subtract the premium from mental industry, we remove the crown from the goal on the course of knowledge, when we discourage the zeal with which vigorous minds pursue Truth. How should mankind ever emerge from barbarism, or how free themselves from the tyranny of superstition, if the first lesson we are to teach them is, that error has no noxious quality, and truth no prerogative?

To affirm or to insinuate that a just and accurate knowledge of Religion avails little to our welfare, is not only a rank absurdity, but must be regarded as a pernicious tampering with that fatal insensibility which, alas, envelopes human nature. Instead of teaching the indifferency of opinion, rather let every man's anxiety to obtain *for himself* the inestimable pearl of genuine knowledge be stimulated to the utmost; and then, not only will this jewel be individually secured, but the strange illusion will be broken up whence fanatical zeal takes its rise.—Strange illusion indeed, which impels a man who has bestowed little or no industry upon the business of seeking truth for himself, to use efforts so prodigious for forcing it upon others! An anomaly surely is this in the common law of self-love. But the temper and conduct of the zealot are made up of inconsistencies. It is, he says, the well-being of his fellow men which incites his endeavours; and yet nothing in his style or mien bespeaks philanthropy. A disposition the very reverse of good-will one would assuredly assign to him. Besides; while thus anxious to hear a faultless creed uttered by all lips, this champion of the faith walks up and down in a much corrupted world, scarcely heeding the many grievous degradations under which humanity is suffering. His eye can glare upon wretchedness and upon vice in their most melancholy forms—and forget what it sees. Nay, into the cup of human woe he can himself pour the bitterest ingredients; he can afflict his fellow men with the whip, with the brand; he can cast them into dungeons, and leave them there to die in the pestilent damps of his charity; all this he can do, and still persuade himself that it is zeal for God and love to man which prompts his labours.

Thus absurd is the human mind when fairly surrendered to religious delusions. The power of the infatuation in these cases seems to result from a combination of the opposite feelings belonging to full persuasion and secret misgiving. The controvertist owes the heat of his zeal as well to firm conviction as to a mistrustful anxiety concerning the truth of his dogmas: and the faith and the doubt are alternately attached to the authoritative document of his belief, and to his special interpretation of it. It is this very oscillation of the mind which produces the turbulence of his emotions. If the imagination be liable to high excitement from a pressing sense of the reality and the impending nearness of the objects that engage it, this excitement may be furnished either by a vivid faith in the original CANON, or by confidence in the CREED that has been derived from it. Then—as fear and jealousy bring the irascible passions into play, these will not fail to take occasion from—the obscurity of the subject in dispute—from the cogency of an opponent's argument—from a conscious incompetency to deal with matters so difficult, and not least, from those qualms which follow a too highly stimulated exertion of the faculties.

In matters of belief, and especially when the powerful motives of religion take full possession of the mind, we involuntarily lean very much one upon another. This social instinct is perhaps stronger than is ordinarily supposed; and it is very likely to be lost sight of where the prevalence of angry passions appears to deny its existence. And yet it is in those very instances most intensely at work. Man proves himself to be constituted for society, as well by his hatreds as by his affections. Amid the dimness and the intricacy of the present scene, wherein Truth evades pursuit, and Error uses a thousand artifices to get herself courted, the perplexed spirit fondly looks for a numerous companionship in the path it takes. Our belief, and the comfort of belief, mount with the tens, and hundreds, and thousands, that are seen to be joining us on the road:—we cannot believe alone; and our doubts too are in the power of others. To assail our convictions is not merely to wound our self-love, and to irritate our pride, but it is to withdraw something from the interior warmth and vigour of the soul. Without formally confessing it as a fact, that an antagonist has robbed us of our assurance—for the contrary would be affirmed, our feelings are the same as if we had been despoiled of that precious possession; and these feelings prompt us not merely to resent the injury, but to recover the property lost.

Putting out of view then certain accessory motives which will presently claim to be mentioned, the zealous champion and propagator of a Creed has an interest to promote that deeply engages his passions. Pride and secular advantages out of the question, it is a matter of sincere anxiety with him to secure, to maintain, and to extend the pale of his party. He looks aghast at the danger of being deserted, or of seeing a host on the opposite heights. No endeavours are too great therefore which may arrest defection while it is small and feeble. Under the pressure of this solicitude it is no wonder that the defender of the Creed should avail himself of the extreme means of persuasion. Or if measures of violence are not at hand, he snatches up the weapons of spiritual hostility. And first, a strenuous endeavour is made so to identify the special interpretation with the Authoritative Canon of faith, as that whoever impugns the former shall stand declared—the enemy of God. Instead of for a moment admitting the reasonable and modest supposition that the Interpretation may perhaps contain more than the Canon will support, and that therefore caution should be used in doling out anathemas, every artifice of an elaborate sophistry is employed to keep such a supposition out of view. Nothing less than the peculiar exigency of the occasion could drive the zealot into so egregious a dogmatism, for he feels that if he were to give ground but an inch, he must forfeit his usurped right to fling the bolts of heaven. If the Interpretation be not indeed divine, it is merely human—a simple opinion; and if so, must be submitted to the common conditions of argument. The headlong champion would not go so far as he does, if he knew how to stop short, or if there were any middle ground. It may well be believed that, in many an instance, the acrimony and the blasphemous arrogance of sectarists have scandalized even themselves in their more sober moments.—But what could be done?—As well surrender the controversy and confess defeat, as relinquish the right to curse in the name of God. This right laid down, and how meagre, how cold, how powerless a thing is the argument, reduced to its naked merits! The punishment affixed by the laws of the moral world to the first offence of entertaining malignant exaggerations, is the necessity it involves of running on to still worse excesses. Once madly insult reason and charity, and we are abandoned, perhaps for ever, by both.

The transition is rapid and almost involuntary from the first stage of fanatical intemperance to its last:—the ground in these regions is precipitous, and whoever leaps, leaps into an abyss. The facility with which a specific gratification may be procured is a main circumstance in giving impetuosity to sordid desires: for while it is difficulty that enhances the nobler passions, it is facility that enhances the baser. So, especially, does it happen with rancorous and vindictive emotions. Only allow them a ready means of reaching their consummation, and they rush on ungovernably. Now the peculiarity of the position which the religionist occupies, offers always to his hand the most tremendous missiles revenge can covet. On the field of common life many obstacles happily stand in the way to prevent the completion of an angry resolve:—the dark purpose of the moment postponed, dies away, and is forgotten. But it is not so in the spiritual world. The revenge which the irritated zealot meditates is ready—it is safe, and it is ample:—how then should it be foregone? He has only to mutter perdition—and the stab is given. A murky revenge analogous to this of the religionist has been common among barbarous and superstitious hordes. The malign sorcerer—intimate of demons, thinking himself full fraught with venom borrowed from the infernal world, is well content to dart a look only at his enemy; sure that the mere glance of the evil eye of hatred would in due time take effect—that the florid cheek must fade—the strength decay, and the victim fall.

Yet Conscience claims her hour with all men, even the most debauched; and it must especially be so with those whose habits make them conversant with the divine rule of morality. Such, although every day indulging the darkest malignity, are continually reading that "whosoever hateth his brother is not of God." They may abstain from distinctly bringing the criterion home upon themselves; and yet are fain to have recourse to pleas that are intended to parry the condemnatory inference from the rule. The pretexts of zeal are many:—and if, as we have seen, tormentors, murderers, devastators of kingdoms, can quote chapter and verse in justification of their barbarities, those who only curse, but do not kill their opponents, may easily do the same.

Many, as is evident from the peculiar character of their devotional sentiments, have taken a somewhat more circuitous, but a still more effectual method for lulling conscience, and for turning aside from themselves the rules of charity. This method has been (alas the inconsistencies of human nature!) so to cherish the fervours of piety, and so to straiten the pattern of their external behaviour, as should seem to remove all suspicion of the genuineness and elevation of their personal religion. By amassing to a prodigious height the evidences of sanctity, a commensurate licence has been obtained for the indulgence of hideous passions. A man who every day ascends the mount of ecstasy, and holds intimate converse with heaven, surely should not be called in question, when he comes down to earth, on account of an inexorable or vindictive temper! Examples of this very sort are abundant (and some have already been referred to) on the pages of Romish pietism; and we may find on the calendar men whose breath was pestilence, whose every word was a fiery bolt, persuading themselves and their admirers that they enjoyed celestial favours, such as Gabriel and Michael might envy! To assume that the accident of a protestant creed quite excludes any parallel enormity, were indeed to be blind. What we are now speaking of is—human nature, and the mysteries of its delusions; not the question of transubstantiation, or of the pope's pretensions.

Among those who make themselves conspicuous as the chiefs and leaders of the fanaticism of dogmas and creeds, many marked distinctions, arising from natural temper, might be pointed out; but it must suffice here to mention the two orders of character that stand foremost. These are—The Despotic and the Ambitious.

There have been Bajazets and Zingis Khans on the field where the quill is the only weapon that is wielded. But how difficult is it to analyse satisfactorily the emotions that constitute the lust of power where nothing that is secular or tangible—nothing that is intelligibly advantageous—nothing that makes a man richer or better, is to spring from the attainment of his purpose! While the earlier and immature stages of a dominant passion retain many alliances with other motives, and are found to be mixed up with various ingredients, so as to afford several points of connexion, whence they may easily be traced to their sources, and brought to view; it is the characteristic of the *last stage* of such passions that, having let go every such alliance, they become inexplicable, and defy scrutiny: a simple element admit of no analysis. The passion that has at length made itself exclusive master of the breast, closes the avenues, and enjoys its solitude. Thus it is with avarice. So long as any one purpose for which money avails is kept in view, we may conceive of the miser's avidity: but after every ordinary desire has been excluded and renounced, the love of hoarding can be described only as an insanity, to which it is vain to apply the principles of reason. When the wretch, shutting out the pleasures of life, its pride, and its hopes, clasps his shapeless bags as a sovereign good—we lose hold of him—the last link of human sympathy is snapt, and he seems to go adrift from his species.

A similar mystery belongs to the lust of power in those cases where it prevails exclusively of the hope of secular or palpable benefits accruing to the individual. The passion which leads a man to subjugate kingdoms is intelligible; but how shall we explain the feeling that makes a man pant to bring the realms of mind under bondage, and when it is not himself that is to enjoy the homage of the vanquished world? Now it is a curious fact, that the individuals who have exhibited in the extremest degree this species of insatiable arrogance have themselves occupied a subaltern position in the hierarchy or polity to which they rendered their services; and have not shown any very active personal ambition, as if the attainment of visible supremacy had been their ultimate motive.

Minds in an eminent degree fervent and energetic never occupy the common ground of vulgar interests: their native region is a higher one—or a lower; and although they may seem to be busy, and perhaps are so, with the ordinary concerns that fall under their management, these palpable elements are but so many ciphers of a more important intellectual process that is going on: the matters handled are dice, by means of which a great game is played. Such spirits, conversing with the ideal rather than with the actual world, see every thing in symbol. The revolutions and advancements, the perils or the increase of a hierarchy, mean, to such, more than can be given account of in common modes of computation. While the poet descries on the face of nature the types of a world of unsullied beauty, and while the metaphysician gathers from the things around him nothing but abstract truth, there is a class of men whose conceptions of ideal perfection turn upon order—government, and the unison of wills. Add to this peculiar intellectual taste a haughty asperity of temper, and bring the individual to his position within some vast edifice of despotism; and he will exhibit the singular passion we are speaking of. Or shall we adduce an actual instance, and name the learned, irascible, dogmatic Jerom? All his great merits duly admitted,[*] and in truth Jerom stands unrivalled in his age, both for accomplishments and force of intellect, it can yet be no injustice thus to point him out as a proper specimen of that theological despotic temper, which, irrespectively of personal advantages or aggrandizement, impels a man to refuse to others the liberty of thought and utterance, and which would, if it were possible, impose eternal silence upon the world of mind—so that all should bow, not indeed to himself, but to the authentic standard of belief which he admires and defends.

With the fairest opportunities again and again presented to him of ascending to whatever position he might please of ecclesiastical greatness, and of grasping the fattest things of the Church, this extraordinary man broke away from the world, and from the pontifical court, and freely, and without affectation, took up his abode in a narrow cell at Bethlehem.[†] If at length a little sphere of personal influence gathered about him, it was by no efforts of his own that he thus came to be courted as chief of a community.[‡] Jerom was, in the most complete sense—an intellectualist: it cost him nothing to tread the pomps of the world under foot. Few perhaps have relished with a keener taste the delights of a literary course. Upon the books and parchments that crammed his cloister he gazed, pen in hand, with fond and greedy satisfaction; the king of Babylon looking down from his gardens upon the gilded roofs of palaces, all his own, might have thought himself less happy.[§]

Yet Jerom wanted, not only the serenity of the Christian temper, which may render a man happy in seclusion, though conscious of powers that might enable him to shine in the first ranks of life; but even that philosophic placidity which belongs to the genuine lover of physical or abstruse science. He was the Theologue—and the word is designation enough. So long as there might be heard, from any quarter of the wide world, a dissentient whisper—a breath of opposition to the authentic decisions of the Church, no rest could be enjoyed, and no mercy could be shown: the gainsayer must be crushed. "Never have I spared the heretic," is the boast of this doctor, "but have always reckoned and treated the enemies of the Church as my own."[*]

None could dispute Jerom's merit in this instance.[†] Was there any where displayed a disposition to call in question, even in the most modest style, the immaculate creed or the faultless usages of the Church? Jerom started up from his pallet, and with the iron rod of his merciless eloquence pursued the offender from side to side of the empire; from Egypt to Britain; from Syria to Spain; from Numidia to Gaul.[‡] It is edifying to follow this defender of a perfect Church on those peculiar occasions in which the whole forces of his mind are employed—not to sustain some one of the capital principles of faith—nor some article of discipline apparently good and sanatory; but a confessed and egregious abuse; an abuse against which moderate and reasonable men had already raised their voices; an abuse to which public opinion was then actually administering a partial remedy; an abuse moreover, which presently afterwards the very chiefs of the Church themselves found they could no longer uphold, and were compelled to denounce. It appears that scandalous irregularities had long attended the nocturnal services, or vigils, with which certain festivals were honoured. Yes; but the usage was "a venerable" one; it had been authenticated:—The Church—the Church approved it:—popes pronounced it good: but more than all, a bold and contumacious dissident had come forward to impugn it. The night vigils therefore, with all their debaucheries, were to be valiantly maintained, and maintained too by the most inexorable ascetic of the age! Amazing solecism! this doctor, who would himself cheerfully have burned rather than sanction the marriage of a priest, is now heard pouring execrations upon an opponent whose extent of crime was to assert on the one hand the lawfulness of clerical matrimony, and to deny on the other the expediency of promiscuous nocturnal assemblages in churches![§]

Athanasius, with a magnanimity that has extorted praise even from Gibbon, suffering, preaching and writing in defence of a doctrine that constituted the very foundation of the Christian system, is well entitled to indulgence if at any time the heat or the anxieties of a momentous controversy lead him into intemperance of language. But what indulgence can be due to the despotic Jerom, whose arrogance bursts all bounds on an occasion in which a wise man would either have silently listened to rebuke, or have candidly and openly admitted the propriety and seasonableness of his opponent's objection?

An important lesson might be gathered from a review of the circumstances of each of the controversies in which this learned writer engaged; but we must at least pause a moment upon the one carried on against first, Jovinian, and then Vigilantius.[‖]

If any such exchange were practicable, we might well consent to throw into the gulf of oblivion one of the most voluminous of the Fathers—even Jerom himself, as the price of recovering an authentic statement of the opinions and arguments of these two early dissidents, of whom in fact we can now learn nothing more trustworthy than what a good catholic of Spain or Ireland may know of the doctrines of Luther and Calvin by the favour of his priest. That they were men of unblemished faith and piety, as well as of vigorous understanding, cannot be absolutely ascertained, nor are even their specific opinions to be clearly determined. Contumelious exaggeration swells every sentence of the passages in which their opponents depict them.[*] It may however be inferred pretty clearly that the one, as well as the other, inveighed against each of the principal superstitions of the times;—especially against the vow of virginity, and the merits of monkery—the mediation of saints—the worship of relics, and the usage of promiscuous vigils. It seems also that the absolving power assumed by the clergy, and the secular usurpations of the hierarchy were called in question by them. No valid suspicion attaches to the proper orthodoxy of these men;[†] but it is plain that the assault they made, though directed against single points only, or adjuncts of the faith and practice of the Church, involved inseparably the fate of the entire edifice of Religion—religion such as doctors and monks have made it. Every thing must have fallen to the ground—the polity, the creeds, the power of Rome, the monasteries: not a stone could have been left upon another, if Jovinian and Vigilantius had succeeded in awakening the *people* of Christendom from their trance, and had brought emperors and secular men of rank to listen to them favourably. Had these Reformers led back the minds of men to the Scriptures, and to the simplicity of faith and the soundness of morality—the horrors of more than a thousand years of superstition might have been saved.

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[*] The power of miracles was not reckoned among this saint's endowments, and it is singular that few men of superior understanding made any boast of the sort. Erasmus balances the disparagement ingeniously:—Quod si cui nihil absque miraculorum portentis placere potest, is legat Hieronymianos libros, in quibus tot pene miracula sunt, quod sententiæ. No attention is due to a spurious Life of Jerom, in which miraculous powers are largely claimed for him.

[†] Jerom's accomplished biographer (above quoted), will not allow the stupid monks of his own age to suppose that this illustrious man—monk as he is called—led a life in any sense like their own—cæremoniis obstrictam. And he subjoins an animated description of the ancient monastic institute—its liberty, its elevation, its purity. Such, we grant, it might be when a Basil or Jerom presided; but assuredly not so when the feeble and the fanatical were left to themselves. Let Palladius bear witness.

[‡] Though ordained Presbyter, and nominally charged, as Sulpitius testifies (*Dialog.* I.), with the care of the Church of Bethlehem; he held office under the stipulation that he should not be burdened with the pastoral duties. His only external care seems to have been that of the consciences of the ladies who put their spiritual interests under his direction. Of the mode in which he acquitted himself of this duty the Epistles to Marcella, Eustochium, Paula, &c. give evidence. It should be added that not the slightest suspicion attaches to Jerom in these instances. Those who would indulge railleries on the occasion prove that they judge of the characters of men by the rule of their own vulgar knowledge of human nature.

[§] A great part of his patrimony Jerom expended in the collection of a library, which his writings prove to have included the principal literature of the age. These, purchased at Rome and in Egypt, he carried with him when the second time he abandoned public life and retired to Bethlehem.

[*] Procœm. adversus Pelagianos.

[†] Erasmus in one place seems to deny Jerom's acerbity of temper, and appeals to certain mild expostulatory epistles addressed to his friends. But the proof of a man's disposition is to be gathered from his behaviour towards his enemies. Yet the same writer on another occasion says, speaking of his controversial and apologetical pieces—In utroque vehemens et acer Hieronymus, ut nonnullis parum memor Christianæ modestiæ videri possit. But, says he, it is not to be wondered at that a man of so pure and holy a life should show some impatience toward gainsayers.

[‡] He protests however that it was Error, not Men, that he hated. Aut certe, si in errore voluerint permanere, non nostram culpam esse, qui scripsimus, sed eorum, &c. His opponents attributed the warmth of his zeal to envy—Ego solus sum, qui cunctorum gloria mordear: et tam miser, ut his quoque invideam, qui non merentur invidiam!

[§] The candle-light processions and nocturnal services which formed part of the ceremonial of the Church, were, like very many of its pomps and superstitions, adaptations only of idolatrous practices which it was found more easy to transmute than to abrogate. The Paschal vigils were the Thesmophoria, under a change of names. Who shall say whether decency has been most violated by the worshippers of Ceres, or the observers of candlemas! The derivation of the nocturnal illuminations from Egypt to the Grecian worship, and the adoption of the custom by the church, is traced at length by Ciampinus, *Vetera Monimenta*, Pars I. p. 190. Eusebius tells us that splendid illuminations were employed by Constantine as a means of bringing over the populace of Byzantium to Christianity.

[‖] Jerom does not abstain from the pun which the name of his opponent so naturally suggests.—"*Vigilantius?* no, call him rather *Dormitiantius.*"

Alas! another destiny awaited the nations. The Church had reached, at the close of the fourth century, the edge of a steep; but it yet stood upon ground whence a return was practicable. Learning and intelligence were widely diffused; and of the aliment of knowledge there was no dearth: a seal had not yet been set upon the volume of Scripture. The separate existence and independence of the Eastern and Western—the Greek and the Latin Churches, secured, or might have secured, an asylum to liberty. Indications too may be discerned of the fact, that although high personages and dignitaries and eloquent writers, held together, and understood their common interest, there were individuals—perhaps multitudes, who were far from assenting to the superstitions of the age, and who, with the scriptures in their hands, dared to doubt, though hardly to speak or act.[‡]

The regeneration of the Church was in that age hypothetically possible, and actually attempted; yet it utterly failed. The men whose intelligence and expansion of mind should have taught them to listen to reproof, and who should have entertained—if it had been but for a moment, the suspicion that the course of things might be unsafe—these, with a headlong intemperance, rushed upon the objectors, and triumphed. Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerom, the three illustrious leaders of the age, joined their giant strength, and gave to the Church the plunge which sent it down to the abyss. Whatever of degrading superstition, whatever of sanguinary fanaticism, whatever folly, whatever corruption, whatever cruelty belonged to the religious condition of Europe under the sway of Hildebrand, may be assigned (as a true consequence) to the part taken and the course pursued by the great men we have named: the fate of mankind through a long night of ignorance and malign tyranny was sealed when Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerom, combined to crush dissent. Shall we apportion the blame among the three? If it were attempted to do so, a distinction, often requisite, must be made between personal criminality, and the actual ill consequence of a fatal course of conduct; for while it is Jerom who must bear almost alone the blame of indulging a despotic and malignant temper, it was the opposite qualities of Augustine—his mildness and his piety, that gave to his influence a permanent efficacy. Mankind would have sickened at the arrogance of the one, if the other had not stood by his side. The bishop of Milan perhaps should take station between the two.[*]

Fanaticism, as we assume, combines always malign and imaginative sentiments, and in some instances the former, in others the latter, predominate. Thus, in the case of the despotic champion of existing establishments, the darker ingredient prevails over the brighter, or quite excludes it. But with the ambitious propagator of novel dogmas, or the factious chief of a sect, the imaginative element is ordinarily paramount; and it is not until after the temper has been impaired by exposure to irritation that the irascible and vindictive passions take the lead in the character. The religious demagogue is at first an Enthusiast only, and rises to fanaticism upon the winds of strife. Moreover the natural progression of his sentiments involves another unfavourable turn; for the public course he pursues, and the emergencies which, as head of a party, he encounters, present many occasions wherein neither his enthusiasm nor his fanaticism—neither poetry nor tragedy, will bear him clear of the perplexing embarrassments that surround him. He has recourse therefore to guile; and from that fatal moment every sentiment assumes a new relative position, or itself undergoes transformation. It is as when a single drop of some potent essence is suffused in a chemical compound; what just before was colourless, or of a brilliant hue, is now, and in a moment, turgid; the splendour of the rainbow is gone; an earthly feculence clouds the liquor; heat too is evolved, and noxious fumes rise from the surface.

The despot remains nearly the same from the commencement to the close of his career; for pride and hatred are steady qualities, and arrogance is stagnant. But the demagogue, or factious leader, passes through three stages of character at least; and when he come to the goal is often hardly to be recognized as the being who started. The despot, too, is very nearly thes ome personage under every diversity of ecclesiastical system. But the sectarist or schismatic receives a specific character from the circumstances that surround him, and from the qualities of the body from which he breaks off. This accidental influence may be either for the worse or the better; and in truth when the body is in an extreme degree corrupt, and the objection insisted upon by the separatist is in the main reasonable, we cannot be justified on the ground merely of some extravagance or vehemence of conduct, to designate the objector as a fanatic. A man who takes up a righteous cause may speak or act fanatically, and yet well deserve our respect and gratitude. He alone should be called fanatic, whose course of conduct was at first prompted by impetuous passions; and who throughout it, shrinks from the calm ordeal of reason.

Protestantism has been reproached on account of its fruitfulness in factions: the same reproach unquestionably attaches, and in an equal degree, to the ancient Church, and especially in the era of its highest secular prosperity. But the Church of Rome boasts of her unity; and she may be allowed to do so. Not now to mention the terrible means she has employed to quash rising schism, we should bear in mind that main principle of her polity which has left a wide field open always to spiritual enterprise and ambition. Protestant Churches have failed to calculate upon certain unalterable tendencies of human nature, and have made no provision for giving vent to exuberant zeal. The very same minds which, during the first four centuries, or among ourselves, would have headed a faction, and given their name to a hostile and separate communion, have, under the fostering care of the Papacy, lent their extravagance to the Church itself, and have proved its most efficient supporters.

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[*] Ais Vigilantius *os fœtidum* rursus aperire, et *putorem spurcissimum* contra sanctorum martyrum proferre reliquias.

[†] Jerom, in his Catalogue of Church Writers, assigns Vigilantius a place among heretics, *only* on the ground of his opposition to the points above mentioned: had his orthodoxy been assailable, there is no doubt we should have heard of his delinquency.

[‡] The frequency and the seriousness of Augustine's references to the heresy of Jovinian prove that it had spread to an alarming extent: the same may be gathered from the anxiety of Jerom. The former, *De Bono Conjugali*, and *Retract.* b. ii. c. 22, says—Joviniani hæresis sacrarum virginum meritum æquando pudicitiæ conjugali tantum valuit in urbe Roma, ut nonnullas etiam sanctimoniales, de quarum pudicitia suspicio nulla præcesserat, dejecisse in nuptias diceretur. Although repressed by the Church, the monstrous doctrine continued, it is added, to be whispered and insinuated during several years. Jovinian himself was exiled to the island of Boa—a rock on the Illyrian coast, where he died:—such was the tolerance of the fourth century!

[*] Jerom had much more to do with these dissidents than either Ambrose or Augustine. The bishop of Milan, in an epistle to pope Syricius, reporting the result of a council of seven or eight bishops, held there for the condemnation of certain heretics, assures his holiness of their perfect concurrence with the papal court:—Jovinianum, &c. &c. quos Sanctitas Tua damnavit, scias apud nos quoque, secundum judicium tuum, esse damnatos. All were no better than Manichees, whose impious doctrine—clementissimus exsecratus est imperator (Theodosius)—and whose sectators had been expelled from Milan.

The allusions made by Augustine to Jovinian are in a somewhat better style; and it appears from them that his opinion was formed upon hearsay. See *De Pec. Merit. et remis.* b. iii. c. 7, and *De Nupt.* b. ii. c. 5; where we learn that Jovinian had first dared to call Ambrose—Manichee—the common epithet then of theological contempt, and flung from side to side like *Methodist* or *Calvinist*. Taking Augustine's own account of the matter, as stated a little further on, in the same treatise, it must be granted that Jovinian had some reason on his side when he charged the Church with favouring Manichæism by her idolatry of virginity. To the same purport see *Contra duas epist. Pelag.* b. i. c. 1. *Contra Julian.* b. i. c. 2.

Either as Founder of a new order, or as Regenerator of an old one, energetic and ungovernable spirits saw before them at all times an open field. It is true that a curbing hand was held by the popes upon this species of ambition; yet the restraint was not more than enough to enhance, by difficulty, the passion for enterprise. The young and frenzied devotee, after astounding the monasteries of his native province by unheard-of severities—by portentous whims—by wastings, whippings, visions, ecstacies; and after imposing upon his superiors an unfeigned terror by turbulences of behaviour—always thoroughly catholic, and therefore so much the more difficult to be dealt with, obtained their ready leave (with flaming credentials in his hand) to beg his way bare-foot from Spain, France, or Germany, to Rome. At the foot of the Sovereign Pontiff he threw himself in the dust—prostrate, body and soul:—there he wept and raved his season:—already he had vowed himself the "dauntless Chevalier of the Virgin," and only waited permission to fight her battles, and those of the Church, under sanction of its Head. During the weeks or months of suspense, his austerities and his pretensions roused a hundred jealousies among the comers and goers of the papal court: feuds and seditions made a perpetual din under the windows of the Vatican; and it seemed as if all the demons had flocked together to thwart if possible the holy purpose of the new adventurer, from whose hand they expected many a terrible buffet. At length the Holy See, having proved the constancy of the candidate; or shall we rather say, having ascertained that his frenzy was of the sort which, though it might be managed, could not be repressed, and glad to rid itself of the importunity, granted the desired sanction, and signed the Brief.*

The Founder or the Reformer, now big with a licence that would reach all extents of absurdity, paced his way back—patrician mendicant! to his native mountains. Monasteries spring up about him in each cleft of the rocks:—his rule attracts every moon-stricken brain of the province; and in a year or two he moves about, the admired patron of insanity—far and near. Such, in substance, has been the history of scores of adventurers who, had it been their ill luck to be born on protestant ground, could have done nothing more illustrious than give an ignoble name to an ignoble sect—have troubled their own age by angry divisions, and have conferred upon three centuries after them, the burden of some hard-to-be-uttered epithet of faction.

Deprived of its monkish apparatus (considered only as a means of drawing off restless ambition) the Romish hierarchy could not have stood its ground so long. Only let us follow up to its consequences the supposition that it had had, age after age, *to contend* with the dauntless spirits that originated or restored the several orders—with St. Dominic, and St. Francis; with St. Bernard, with Loyola, and with De Rance; in that case it had long ago been rent and scattered to the winds.

So far as considerations of this sort should be allowed to influence spiritual affairs, the question would deserve to be entertained, Whether a permanent and readily available provision should not be made within the arms of a protestant church for giving a range to those extraordinary dispositions and talents which in all times make their appearance, and which, if not preoccupied, do not fail grievously to trouble the community that neglects them.

Fanaticism, we have said, has first an active or turbulent, and then a settled and moderated form; for that which begins with inflammatory symptoms, subsides into a chronic derangement. In its earlier state it attaches chiefly to minds of inferior quality; but in its latter it insidiously invades the most generous, vigorous, and accomplished; and from these it draws a thousand recommendations that ensure to it credit and perpetuity. So was it (as we have seen) with the frenzy of asceticism, which, after raging among the vulgar—the Anthonys and the Symeons of Egypt and Syria, became epidemic in the high places of the Church, and overpowered the sense and piety of Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, Jerom. So again the fanatic cruelty of intolerance, at first entertained only by the basest natures, crept at length upon the noble; and a Ximenes is seen to take up the tools of a Torquemada. And so with the fanaticism of religious war; where Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless led the way, Godfrey and Louis follow, with Bernard as their guide.

The very same kind of progression has had place, and even with worse consequences, in the history of the Fanaticism of dogmas and creeds. The authors and prime agitators of controversy—the men whose plebeian names descend as an obloquy to after ages, have (with a few exceptions) possessed but a poor title to celebrity; and, apart from the turbulence of their tempers, or their insatiable ambition, could never have attracted the attention of mankind. But the agitation so engendered spreads; and at length none can well avoid ranging themselves on this side or on that of the question: great talents and solid virtues are drawn into the vortex; and so it happens that, while the ostensible mischiefs of strife—the rancour and the violence of the feud are moderated, its essential evils are deepened, and rendered permanent. A christian country, or a community, is in this manner cast into a factious condition, and in that state abides age after age.—But factious religionism, how much soever it may have been tamed and curbed, will not fail to be encircled by wide spread impiety, and infidelity, as the direct effects of the scandal of division. Factions, moreover, benumb the expansive powers of Christianity, and prevent its spread. They create too a universal confusion, entanglement, and perversion of religious notions. No inquiry can be calmly prosecuted, no results of solitary meditation can be safely reported, nothing can be looked at in its native form, so long as the jealousies and the interests of eight or ten ancient and corporate factions spread themselves over the field of theology. Even those few insulated articles of Christian belief or speculation, or of abstruse science, which have not been claimed by party zeal, are often found to alarm the wakeful fears of this or that guardian of sectarism, merely because the method of argument which may have been employed in such instances, is foreseen to have a bearing upon matters that are to be held inviolable. The opinion in itself may be innocent enough; but the logic that sustains it is dangerous. Better then quash at once the suspicious novelty, which, though it may be good and true, is not momentous, than favour it, and so open the door to no one can say what innovations!

So poor, so timid, so feeble, so inert, so grovelling, so infatuated is the human mind! Truth, which alone can be permanently advantageous, and which alone can reward labour or compensate losses, is looked at and listened to with eagle-eyed alarm; nor is entertained until she has protested, ten times over, that she means to rob us of nothing we dote upon.

Less than two hundred years ago—even so late as the close of the seventeenth century, this very same sectarian infatuation, this fanaticism of the creed and symbol, enthralled the physical and abstruse sciences, throughout Europe. No process of nature, no mechanic law, could be investigated or discussed apart from the interference of the fierce jealousies of rival schools. A chemical mixture could not change from blue to red, from transparent to opaque—an apple could not fall to the ground, nay, the planets might not swing through their orbits, without kindling angry feuds in colleges. Not only was the method of obtaining knowledge utterly misunderstood; but it was not believed, or not felt, that Knowledge is always the friend of man, and his coadjutor; Error his enemy. This degraded condition of the human mind was at last remedied by nothing but the bringing to bear upon the Metaphysic-Physics of Des Cartes and Aristotle, a method of reasoning so absolutely conclusive that resistance was found to be useless. Prejudice and antiquated jealousy did not freely yield themselves up and dissolve:—they were undermined, they fell in, and were seen no more.

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* The career of Ignatius Loyola combines, in the most complete manner, all the proper elements of ambitious sectarian fanaticism; and a well written life of this illustrious founder might subserve other purposes than that of exhibiting the folly, knavery, and superstition, that are encouraged by the papacy. We much need—protestants as we are, to have placed before us, and for our instruction, those vivid instances of delusion and extravagance which the annals of the Romish Church so abundantly furnish. Whoever has closely and calmly watched the growth and maturity of fanatical illusion in the case of certain noted individuals that still figure on the stage of ghostly ambition, must have become convinced that nothing but accidents and names—costume and phrase, often distinguishes canonized from uncanonized heroes. Might it be hoped that the parties themselves, or at least their well-read chiefs, would look into the glass of history, and catching there their own resemblances, draw an inference of incalculable importance! Would any one who retains a particle of good sense or sober Christian feeling wish to find that his public course has been, in its essential motives, and in very many of its circumstances, the counterpart of that of men whose names are signalized as the spiritual fathers of innumerable cruelties, impostures, and corruptions? Let Gonzales and Ribadeneira be read and digested by any who, while panting for the notoriety of miracle, are forgetting truth, honour, reason, faith, virtue.

This deliverance of Philosophy—a very recent deliverance, though effected within a particular precinct of inquiry only, rapidly extended itself over the entire field of the sciences. Whether or not immediate success attended the pursuit of knowledge, every thing was scouted but its attainment. The scientific community blushed at the fond folly of ranging itself under rival leaders;—it coalesced as one body or phalanx, advancing under one banner.

Can it be conceived of as a thing even possible that pure reason should have had sway in philosophy so long as the interests of sects were to be cared for? Those two powers, Truth and Party, were not in fact contemporary scarcely a year: or contemporary only as Night and Day are so, through the hasty moments of twilight. Indeed the mere existence of factions in any department of opinion, is a conclusive proof that the method of inquiry, in that department, has not yet been found; or at least is not generally understood.

Causes which need hardly be specified, have hitherto excluded from the precincts of Theology the reform that has spread through every department of natural science. The dogmatic fanaticism which raged at the time of the Reformation, passed down uncorrected upon the political and ecclesiastical constitutions of the northern nations of Europe, and especially upon those of England, and it now firmly grasps the religious commonwealth. The violence of religious strife has indeed long died away; or it breaks out only for a moment; but no relief has yet been administered to the settled ill consequences of that delirium. So far as we are religious at all, the English people is a nation of sects, and our theology is necessarily the theology of faction. Not a false theology—thank God; but a theology that is confused, entangled, and imperfect, gloomy; a theology which, while it abundantly breeds infidelity among the educated classes, fails to spread through the body of the population, and but dimly, or only as a flickering candle, illumines the world.

The recent consolidation of religious liberty, while it may fairly be hailed as an auspicious event, and likely to bring about at length the disappearance of faction, is utterly misunderstood by those who regard it as equivalent to the emancipation of Christianity. Far from being the same thing, this overthrow of ecclesiastical despotism has, in its immediate effects, as was natural, highly inflamed the sectarian sentiment, or has given it a new birth. The exultation of the triumphant party, and the discontent of the defeated party, have, in different modes, infused an energy into the virulence of both, which seems not unlikely to prolong the existence of our absurd divisions, perhaps a fifty years.

A happier destiny may sooner break upon us! But whether it does or not, it is certain that an unobtrusive power has been some while at work beneath the entire ground of our sectarian edifices—a power which must (unless arrested) inevitably in the end bring them down to the abyss. The philosophy of the schools sunk to rise no more when the true method of science gained its first indisputable triumph. But although the same method is not formally applicable to theology, yet the *principle* of it is so, and is actually in its incipient stage of application—or perhaps has gone a step beyond that stage.* The art of criticism and the true logic of Interpretation must restore to the church (under that guidance which is never denied when ingenuously sought) the pure meaning of Scripture. The charm that cements petty communions will then dissolve; the excellence of Truth will be felt, and the fanaticism of dogmas will die away, when all men learn to hold in contempt every thing in religion, but the ascertained sense of God's Revelation. Diversities of opinion must indeed remain so long as there are differences of intellectual and moral power; but these will engender no heat, and will produce no divisions, when all minds shall be moving on toward one and the same centre.

It would not have been anticipated as possible, that among those who reverenced the Scriptures, a superstition such as that of the papacy should at all have had existence. But history, in two many instances, and in this, contradicts reasonable calculations, and shows that the perversity of man may thwart every beneficient provision of heaven. In like manner it might have been thought that the internal constitution of the Inspired Volume, as well as its express precepts, would have precluded the factions that have rent the Church in every age. It has not been so; nevertheless this internal constitution well deserves our attention. It is only while we distinctly regard it that we can see in a proper light the folly of those disorders which fill out the volume of Church history.

Let it then be assumed that two main purposes were to be secured in giving a written rule of faith to mankind, namely, first, an infallible conveyance of that Principal Sense of Revelation which is essential to genuine piety; and secondly, such a conveyance of the adjunctive or secondary portions of religious truth as should render despotic determinations on the one side, and scrupulous schisms on the other, manifestly unreasonable. We have to see in what manner both these ends are provided for by the actual constitution of the canon of Scripture.

It is saying little to affirm that no composition, whether historical or didactic (if the language in which it is written be understood) fails to convey to readers of ordinary intelligence the Principal Intention of the writer, unless indeed he himself be wanting in sense, or designedly conceals his meaning under ambiguous or enigmatic terms. This is plainly implied when it is granted that language is a good and sufficient means of communication between mind and mind. To affirm any thing less were to stultify humanity, and to break up and derange the entire machinery of the social system. All men might as well become anchorets at once, if indeed language is found to be a fallacious medium of intellectual exchange.

And what is true of oral communication, is true also (with a very small deduction) of written communication. Moreover what may be affirmed concerning the written conveyance of thoughts among contemporaries, becomes liable only to an inconsiderable discount, when we have to do with the writings of past ages. This discount is much reduced if the composition in question forms part of a vast collection of contemporary literature. As it is certain that men must be fools or knaves when permanent misunderstandings arise among them in regard to the *main intention* of their personal communications; so is it certain that the principal scope of a book, ancient or modern, is always to be known where both writer and reader are ingenuous.

Nothing less then than an extreme perversity of judgment, such as renders the powers of language nugatory, can, in any case, give rise an entire misunderstanding of an author's principal sense. Admit only these ordinary conditions—that the writer was honest and of sound mind—that he was master of the language he employs, and that he made it his serious business to convey to his reader in the best way he could, certain capital articles of information—historical or moral, and then it follows, without an exceptive case, that his meaning on those prime articles is readily attainable by whoever himself owns common sense and a competent acquaintance with the writer's languge. To take apart, for example, any one of the canonical writers, it is absolutely certain that the leading facts or dogmas which he means to teach, stand upon the surface of his composition. Has disagreement arisen in regard to these main facts or dogmas?—

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* Many more talk of the Baconian method than seem to be masters of it; or than have probably ever read ten pages of the Novum Organon. The assertion may be hazarded that, even in the walks of physical science, multitudes of those who are pretty well versed in the actual products of the modern philosophy, have not a conception of the *principle* of investigation as set on foot by Bacon. This ignorance is still more prevalent on the side of Intellectual, Ethical, and Theological Science. To speak only of the latter, it is deemed a thoroughly Baconian process to adduce, in series, all the texts that bear upon a certain article of faith, and at the end to sum up the evidence. This is called Induction. But now if we look a little closely to the method and principle of interpretation, as applied *to each passage*, we shall find that the prime maxim of the dogmatic and scholastic divinity, which demands that every thing should be judged of according to The Analogy of Faith, and nothing admitted which cannot be reconciled thereto, or which may by inference give countenance to a known heresy, rules throughout. This surely is not to *learn* from prophets and apostles, but to *teach* them; and it is precisely the method which swayed so long the dark realms of pseudo-philosophy. In theology we have the *forms* of the inductive method often where there is little or nothing of its substance. A good work would it be to deduce from the Novum Organon those capital and universal principles which are indeed applicable to Intellectual and Sacred Science. Etiam dubitavit quispiam potius quam objiciet, utrum nos de naturali tantum Philosophia, an etiam de Scientiis reliquis, Logicis, Ethicis, Politicis, secundum viam nostram perficiendis loquamur. At nos certe, de universis hæc, quæ dicta sunt, intelligimus.

nothing less than the egregious wilfulness of the human mind can have caused it.

On the ground of the admitted principles of language and of historic evidence, any one of the Gospels, with the Acts, and any one of the larger epistles, would amply and indubitably have handed down to us the SUBSTANCE of apostolic Christianity. If it be not so—a thousand tomes cannot do it. If it be not so, we might stand by with indifference and see another Amrou throwing his brand upon a pyre that should contain every existing relic of antiquity.

But the Divine indulgence has far exceeded necessary bounds in affording to mankind the materials of sacred knowledge. No parsimony is to be complained of on the part of the Instructor: nothing is wanted but ingenuousness in the scholar. The great articles of belief and duty have come to us through the instrumentality of nearly forty writers, to each of whom was allowed his entire and undisturbed *mental individuality*—his personal temper and taste, his own stlye, both of sentiment and of language, together with whatever speciality, either of sentiment or of language, he might draw from the influence of time and country. Each writer, while the track of his thoughts is steered by an unseen hand, moves on in a spontaneous course. Can any provision be added to this arrangement which should promise to exclude the possibility of a failure in transmitting the elements of religious knowledge? Let it be imagined that, out of the forty, two or three, or even seven, were obscure, abrupt, elliptical, mystic: yet all will not be so: for one whose style is emblematic or difficult, there will (on common principles of probability) be five that are natural and perspicuous.

But we have asked for another security against failure in the conveyance of the main points of religion; and we find it in the fact that this congeries of witnesses has been drawn, not from one century, but from the course of fifteen. Whatever diversity time can impart is by this means included—so broad is the base of that pyramid which was to stand through all ages, pointing man to the skies! Are we then to be told that what prophets and apostles believed, and what they taught to their contemporaries, and what they intended to transmit to posterity, comes down to us under an impenetrable obscurity? No miracle would be so hard of belief as this.

It need not be added that the correlative security of ancient versions and interpretations, in endless abundance and variety, surrounds these documents of our faith, and every way precludes the chances of capital error in relation to the principal sense of the whole.

There is an infirmity of the mind which impels us, on many occasions, to overlook or distrust those special circumstances whereon our welfare really depends, while we anxiously search for provisions of safety that either are utterly unattainable, or that would be pernicious if possessed. How often have feeble minds (and perhaps some strong minds) wished that a perpetual miraculous interposition had been accorded, such as should have exempted the Inspired Writings from the accidents and ordinary conditions that attend other compositions, and that affect ancient literature in the course of its transmission from age to age. Given at first by supernatural means—why has it not been accompanied and preserved by miracle through the periods of its descent to our times?

Need we reply—because it is from these very diparagements (if such they should be deemed), that are to be gathered the best evidences of the genuineness of the document itself. And it might be added—because the accidental difficulties or obscurities that belong to the Scriptures in common with all other literary remains of antiquity, have a direct tendency (if we will but admit it) to disturb and put to shame the senseless superstition—the doting upon particles, and worshipping of iotas, which makes duty and faith to hang upon this or that etymology or syllable.*

Of all impracticable miracles (if the solecism may be pardoned), the most impracticable and inconceivable would be that which should exempt a mass of ancient writing from those accidents whence ambiguity or difficulty of interpretation, in single instances, arises. Any such interposition, to have been effectual, must not only have extended through the original document, imparting to each sentence, phrase and word, an insulated perfection, and imbuing each verse with a sort of phosphorescence; but must have pervaded all times and places, guiding the hand of every drowsy copyist, and inspiring every translator. Nor would even this have been enough; for the miracle, to have subserved any practical purpose, must have reached as well to the reader of Scripture, as to the writers and transcribers:—all minds must have enjoyed the very same measure of native power—must have possesed the same preparatory knowledge, the same simplicity of purpose, the same temper, industry and power of retention. First the book a perpetual miracle; and then every reader a prophet! The simpler method surely would have been for a voice to have sounded incessantly from the sky, repeating every hour the monotony of truth!

The Divine machinery is of another sort; and our gratitude, informed by reason, should follow the steps of that wisdom which adapts common instruments as well to extraordinary as to ordinary occasions; and so adapts them, as to include various ends in one and the same system of means.

Do we possess the rational satisfaction of perusing the history of our Lord's ministry in the words of four writers? Yes, but this important advantage is taxed with the inconvenience (if such it be) of presenting frequent diversities of circumstance, order and phraseology. Now can we really wish that the evangelic records had been so exempted from the operation of ordinary causes as would have been requisite for excluding every diversity? Are we willing that these, the most important of all historical compositions, should forfeit the *special characteristics* that mark them as original and genuine writings, for the sake of our being saved the infirm disquietudes of a superstitious temper? Those who will, with a blind and perilous pertinacity, rest their belief upon a verbal exactitude, meet a proper rebuke when they find that evangelists and apostles, with the freedom that is natural to truth and honesty, are negligent of matters that in no way affect the vast affairs committed to their trust. If critics are sometimes frivolous, the Apostles were no triflers.

Who—or who that understands and respects the laws of testimony, does not gladly turn from secondary evidence, though more methodical and perspicuous, to original evidence, even though charged, as it almost always is when genuine, with incompleteness in the details, with apparent inconsistencies, and with a hundred unexplained allusions? The compiler of history is an INTERPRETER of the story: not so the contemporary and original narrator of facts, who seldom or never turns aside from the vivid objects that fill his mind, to provide for the ignorance, or to prevent the cavils of posterity. Unless we be slaves of superstition, we shall then hail with pleasure those very imperfections (imperfections they are not) which mark the canonical books—historical, didactic and epistolatory, as unquestionably genuine. Thankfully shall we embrace those obscurities which are the seal of truth. Deprived of its difficulties, every well informed mind would be staggered in admitting the Bible to be what it professes.

And yet from this distinctive glory of the documents of our religion are drawn, by the superstition and the overweening dogmatism of zealots, endless occasions of strife. That abrupt form which belongs to original evidence, is a rock whereon wranglers of every age have split. Some usage—some circumstance or ceremonial, infinitely trivial, but which a compiler of history might probably have supplied or explained, is left open to conjecture in the apostolic record. Alas the lamentable omission! Why did the inspired writers grudge us the single decisive particle which must have excluded doubt? So does the zealot repine in secret over the sacred page. But in public he loudly denies any such deficiency of evidence in reference to the disputed point. Among his followers, and in presence of the simple, he becomes hoarse in protesting the demonstrable certainty of his assumptions. Language, he assures us, has no means left for making plainer than it is, what was the apostolic usage in this matter!

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* It is perhaps quite unnecessary to point out the conspicuous distinction between an overweening zeal for this or that interpretation of single passages or phrases—and the laudable endeavour of the critic to ascertain, first, the *real text* of an inspired writer; and then the actual sense in which his words were understood by the persons to whom they were addressed. We have affirmed above, that the Scriptures, like all other rational compositions, will not fail to convey their principal sense to every ingenuous mind, *if the language in which they were written is really and fully known to the reader.* Now the important labours of the Biblical critic are directed to this very purpose of putting the modern reader (so far as is possible) into the position of the ancient reader. Dogmatic interpretation should not—cannot reasonably commence, until the language, with all its essential proprieties, is brought under our falimiar cognizance. If there be any usage of words, any principle of construction, any special sense of terms, the knowledge of which is important to an exact grammatical rendering of the sacred text, the utmost diligence should be employed in fixing beyond doubt the rule, with its exceptions. When erudition has done its utmost on such occasions, it has done nothing more than bring our modern mind into contact with the mind of the writer. Thus, for example, the inestimable labours of Bishop Middleton, and others, have just served to annul the disadvantage of receiving the testimony of the apostles on the most important doctrine of the New Testament, through the medium of a dead language. The critic, in such a case, and so far as his labours extend, resuscitates the Greek of the apostolic age; and gives us the benefit of listening to the living voice of Paul, Peter and John. Preposterous then, as well as illiberal, is the objection of those who endeavour to evade the force of irresistible evidence by saying that the doctrine of the article is a trivial matter.

A signal advantage it is that the Scriptures (of the New Testament especially) have traversed the wide and perilous waters of Time, not on one keel only, but a thousand. No ancient text has been so abundantly secured from important corruption as the text of the New Testament: in the present state of critical science, who entertains a doubt of its substantial integrity? But the consequence, the inevitable consequence of this multifarious transmission of copies has been the origination of innumerable verbal variations. Here again the superstition which dotes upon jots and tittles, is broken in upon. Heaven has treated us as MEN; and it supposes that we shall prefer what is truly valuable to what is trivial. We receive a most important confirmation of our faith; but are denied the fond and idle satisfaction of posessing a Text for every particle of which, and for the position of every syllable and letter, Divine authority might challenged. Are we still disquieted and discontented? It is manifest then that our estimate of what is desirable differs widely from that of the Author of Revelation. HE has bestowed upon us the better and the greater advantage; we fretfully demand the less.

Entertainment (and instruction too) might be drawn from an exhibition of certain instances in which, if we had actually possessed fewer means of information than we do, we might have pronounced decisively upon points that are made questionable by the additional evidence. If one apostle only had spoken, we should have been free to dogmatize stoutly; but two have glanced at the matter; and we are plunged into doubt! Sometimes, as we have seen, the sacred writers say too little; and anon too much! The very copiousness of our means of knowledge deducts in such cases from our certainty; that is to say, it disturbs the presumption of ignorance and baffles the arrogance of bigotry. Are there those—one might almost believe it from their temper, who so love darkness rather that light, that they would willingly surrender the three testimonies, or the five, which bear upon a controversy, so that they might, with unrebuked fervour, assume and assert their factious opinion?

While it is certain that the Scriptures will, like all other rational compositions, convey their principal purport to every ingenuous mind, it is not less certain that these books, in common with other remains of ancient literature, must present thousands and tens of thousands of questionable points, critical, historical, or dogmatic. On this ground industry and erudition find their field; and what labour can be more noble or more worthy than that of endeavouring to fix or to elucidate the sense of writings in which (beside their unparalleled merits as human compositions) are imbedded the inexhaustible treasures of heavenly wisdom! How honourable are our modern Christian Rabbis employed in bringing to light, from day to day, some hitherto neglected particle of the "true riches;" and how thankfully should we—the unlearned, receive these products of the diligence of our Teachers! One might properly notice here the benificent provision made for perpetually supplying new matter of instruction to the Biblical teacher, so that the zest and expectation of the taught need never become languid. Sacred Science, in all its departments, having been diffused miscellaneously through the substance of a volume so large as the Bible—and an ancient volume too, the time will perhaps never come (certainly it has not yet come) in which it might be said that the sense of every portion has been determined.—All would be well if the simple principle could be remembered—That although the perfection of knowledge in matters of religion is an object of the most worthy ambition to every Christian for himself, something immensely less than the perfection of religious knowledge is all we are entitled to demand from others as the condition of holding with them Christian fellowship.

The vexatious question of Terms of Communion presents one of those instances—and there are many such, in which, while formidable difficulties attach to the THEORY of the affair, none whatever, or none that are serious, are found (unless created) to belong to the PRACTICAL OPERATION. Science often stands embarrassed, where Art moves on at ease. Science is indeed the proper mistress of Art; nevertheless she should have discretion enough to be willing to receive lessons of homely dexterity from her menial. Men of speculation are always splitting upon the reefs in these shallows. Presuming that the *Abstract* is always purer, and of more avail than the *Concrete*, they reform—not for the better, but the worse; and, impatient of ideal faults, plunge themselves and others into real and fatal perplexities. How often does the unthinking artisan employ simple expedients which the philosopher could never have taught him; and actually carries his work triumphantly through theoretic impossibilities, and how often, in the business of government, does common sense, with ancient usage as its guardian, prove itself a vastly better mistress of affairs than abstruse calculation.

A Consistory of Divines might spend a century in digesting, first a profession of faith, and then a code of morals and a rule of discipline, such as should stand as a universal law of Church communion. In the mean time a Christian society fraught with the vital principle of piety, and faithful to itself, and to its trust, far from awaiting impatiently the result of the conference, might rather hail demur after demur, and fervently hope that the sittings of this Sanhedrim of Christendom might be protracted to the consummation of all things. Nothing that is truly important need be foregone until the creed and code should be brought to perfection; nothing that we need sigh for would be conferred upon us by the boon when at length it should be granted.

The question—How may the Church be preserved from desecration?—if propounded in cases where nothing exists that is indeed holy—nothing but the rites and semblances of Christianity, is one which may well be reserved for an idle day. And no such question need be discussed at all where the religion of the New Testament—its faith, and its morality, actually subsist.

The distinction between Christians and others is obvious—or obvious enough for the practical purposes of ecclesiastical government, if looked at in the concrete, and under the daylight of common sense; but it quite eludes research if submitted to analysis. The *living* are never much at a loss in recognizing the *living*; and no artificial process will avail to enable the dead to exercise any such discriminative office. Is it demanded to frame a creed and a rule by the due application of which secular men—frivolous and perfunctory, shall be able to keep charge of the fold of Christ, and to open and shut the doors of the Church? Absurd problem! Idle endeavour! The CHURCH wants no such rule, and needs no such guardianship; and a better employment may easily be found than that of sitting a watch and putting a seal at the mouth of a SEPULCHRE!

The duty of those, whether they be the few or the many, to whose hands are entrusted ecclesiastical powers, is not that of a Rhadamanthus. Responsibility does not stretch beyond natural powers, and it is quite certain that men have no power to search each other's bosoms; nor should they think themselves charged with any such endeavour. The pretender and the hyprocrite belong always to the Divine Jurisdiction; the Church will be asked to give no account of them so long as they successfully conceal the fatal fact of their insincerity. The exceptive case of the hypocrite therefore excluded, not a shadow of difficulty—of *practical* difficulty, attends the discharge of Church guardianship. Let but a community, whether more or less extended in its sphere, be pure in manners—PURE, not *sanctimonious;* let the Scriptures be universally and devoutly read by its private members, and honestly expounded by its teachers; and in this case it will be very little annoyed by the intrusion either of heretical or licentious candidates. A Church of this order offers nothing which such persons are ambitious to possess: they will stand aloof. Tests will be superseded; and the rod of discipline brought out only on the rarest occasions.

It is the heat of controversy between sect and sect, that ordinarily generates the malevolence which (according to our definition) is essential to fanaticism, and which distinguishes it from enthusiasm. Yet there are cases where, without this extrinsic excitement, modes of opinion such as must be deemed extravagant, have assumed a gloomy and irritated aspect. Instances of this sort have of late abounded, and some reference to them seems proper.

A singular revolution has marked the progress of religious sentiment among us within the last few years; and it is this, that while the tendency to admit enthusiastic or fanatical sentiments belonged, till of late, almost exclusively to the lower and uneducated classes, it has recently deserted the quarters of poverty and ignorance, and taken hold of those who are clothed in purple, and frequent palaces. The fanaticism of Want, and the fanaticism of Plenty, though identical in substance, naturally differ much in form. The characteristics of each are worthy of notice.

We know and think far too little of the feelings that are working in the bosoms of the abject and wretched poor: if we knew and thought more on this subject we should look with dread and wonder at the placid surface which, in common, the social mass exhibits. The personal endurance of famine, cold, and discomfort, from day to day, and the worse anguish of seeing these evils endured by children, breeds a feeling which, did it but get vent, would heave the firmest political edifices from their foundations: but the writhings of tortured hearts are repressed, diverted, and only on rare occasions burst forth in tumultuous acts. With many, indeed, all sentiment and moral consciousness gives way under the pressure of woe; or is dissipated by debauchery:—the soul sinks even below the level of the wretchedness of the body: hope, the spring of life, long ago took her flight, and is totally forgotten: every ember of joy and virtue is quenched.

But with some of the Pariah class (numerous in every community) enough of the remembrance of hope survives to impart sensitiveness to despair. The poor man, though he feels every day that he has given ground a little in his combat with Want, and must renew the strife to-morrow with wasted strength, and from a worse position, and although, when he throws himself on his pallet, he knows that the Misery that haunts his hut does not sleep while he sleeps, but will be busy from the evening till the morning, in sapping the broken fabric of his comfort; although he knows and feels this, yet the faint conception of a happier lot still haunts him, and he asks—Might not I also be blessed? If he does not distinctly expect a reverse of his doom, he still meditates the abstract possibility of an amended condition. He is like the shipwrecked mariner who takes his seat day after day on the highest point of his rocky prison, and from sun-rise to sun-set, peruses the horizon, not certain but what a sail may appear, and may make toward the islet of his despair. Such things (let us believe it) are felt and born by myriads near us, even while we are gaily gliding from scene to scene of gain or festivity!

It is upon elements like these that political agitations work; and our amasement should be, not that once and again in the course of years tumult and outrage break forth; but rather that the public peace is so seldom violated; and that when disturbed, any bounds are set to the vindictive passions of the million who have so long suffered in silence.

Experience has abundantly proved, even to the conviction of irreligious statesmen, that the influence of religious motives upon the lowest rank—taken at large, is decisively favourable to public order, and is the most powerful prop of civil government. None now call this capital political truth in question, but those—the few, whose enormous usurpations are of a kind that can be secured only by imposing brutalizing degradations upon the helot class. None now deny this first axiom of political science—that religion is the bond of peace; none deny it, we say, but the Planter and his Patron.

The cases are very rare in which a just and patriotic government (or even a despotic one) might not calculate its security by the rule of the amount of religion among the labouring population of the country. There have been momentary exceptions; but they are quite intelligible, and when properly understood confirm the rule which makes it the interest and duty, as well of the legislative as of the administrative powers, to maintain, and to extend, and to invigorate, by all proper means, the Public Religion.

The fanaticism of poverty, which only under very unusual provocations takes a political turn, or threatens civil institutions, somewhat more frequently offers itself to view within its proper circle of religious sentiment. The Gospel is the chartered patrimony of the poor; and to affirm that the motives of religion, as they bear upon the cares, privations, and contempt of a low condition, ordinarily pass into a malign state, would be the same thing as to deny the divine origin of this Gospel. The contrary is most decisively the fact. The partial evil has existence only when the theology that is promulgated among the people is of a murky and arrogant kind; when one set of ideas singly, and those of the least benign, is presented to the mind of the people; and when, either by abstruse dogmas, or by rigid and repulsive usages—by the monotonous assertion of mysterious exclusive privilege, and by a stern, scrupulous, and sanctimonious discipline—a discipline more careful of faith than of morals—it is only by such means, that the melancholy impatience belonging to social degradation and distress, gives a dark colour to the poor man's piety.

Those will be at no loss in verifying or in rebutting our present allegation, who have been personally conversant with the religious sentiments of the lower classes in certain departments of our ecclesiastical commonwealth. To such might be recommended an inquiry of this sort, namely—How far those forms of doctrine among us which tend to favour malign spiritual arrogance, and which confessedly are of ambiguous moral tendency, and how far certain strait and abhorrent rules of communion, and how far an excessive leaning to the democratic principle in the management of Church affairs—a leaning wholly incompatible with pastoral independence, how far these evils—*if they any where exist*, savour of what may be termed plebeian fanaticism.

But the favourites of Fortune, as well as her outcasts, have sometimes their Fanaticism: there is a sleek and well-bred religious delirium, as well as one that is rude and squalid.

Christianity rarely affects the opulent and the noble, except during disastrous epochs; or in those gloomy hours of a nation's history, when all things earthly are in jeopardy. It would seem as if nothing else than the most vehement agitations could be enough to dispel the illusions that beset luxury and honour. Be this as it may, the coincidence of causes deserves to be taken account of, which, in such seasons of fear and tumult, affords to the Christian of elevated rank a necessary counterpoise for his religious emotions, and tends to impart soberness to his piety. This indispensable counterpoise is furnished to Christians of lower station by the cares and labours of vulgar life. But the perils and vicissitudes of a revolutionary era bring home to the patrician orders a sense of the precariousness of earthly good such as, during the tranquil flow of events, they are hardly ever conscious of. At these times a difficult part is to be performed, and dangerous measures are often to be attempted, which fully engage every energy of the soul. It is then that public persons are thrown upon their principles, are compelled to look to the ultimate reasons of their conduct: and are in fact taught certain severe lessons of virtue, such as are never dreamed of in the summer seasons of the world's affairs. It is at such times that religious sentiments, if they exist at all in the bosoms of the great, are brought into act, and are, by that means, preserved from exaggeration.

This general order of things being kept in view, we may the more readily understand the somewhat singular appearance which serious piety has assumed of late in a portion of the upper classes of England. The time we have lived through has indeed been a season of momentous change, and has furnished excitements of the most unusual kind. And yet, to the people of the British Islands, the throes of the world and the sanguinary convulsions of the nations, have offered a Spectacle, rather than an arena of action and trial. During a full forty years, the English have stood crowding their cliffs in mute astonishment, and have gazed upon the distant prospect of blazing palaces, or demolished thrones—of embattled fields, or of cities deluged by civil feud;—they have caught the muttering thunders of war and revolution; but still have been able to turn the eye homeward, and have seen the smiling serenity of order and plenty spread over all their land. We have indeed entertained momentary alarms, and have groaned under burdens; but have hardly been called to meet the brunt of danger:—the stress of affairs has not lain upon us, so as to engage the higher virtues.

The excitements of an era of commotion have been felt;—yet apart from its proper correctives. The spread of religious feeling among the rich and noble may fairly be attributed (in measure) to the salutary impression which the magnitude and portentous aspect of events has made upon all minds. Yet it has been an *impression* without a *conflict*—an awe, but not an exercise. There has been no arduous part to perform, no sacrifice to make, no privation to be endured. All this while the religious nobles have reclined upon a couch as soft as that of the irreligious noble; the silken banner of their ease has floated in a summer's sky:—they have fared as daintily, and have been served as sumptuously, as if their portion were all in this world:—they have undulated from theatre to theatre of pious entertainment, and have met acclamations and smiles; yet nothing has compelled them to act or to suffer like men.

There can be little room then for surprise if the result of this peculiar conjunction of influences has been to give play to exorbitances of opinion, and absurdities of conduct, among those of the rich and noble who have admitted religious impressions. Some, we cannot doubt, the ferment of whose piety has brought our Christianity into contempt, would have honoured their profession of it by exhibiting the courage and devotion of confessors, had public events been of a kind to lead them into any such arduous sphere of action: these persons have been fain to yearn for miracles in easy times, that offer no crowns of martyrdom.

Religious sentiments in a highly excited state, and not counterpoised by the vulgar cares and sorrows of humble life—not taught common sense by common occasions, is little likely to stop short at mere enthusiasm:—the fervour almost of necessity becomes fanatical. The progress of the feelings in such cases is not difficult to be divined. That sensitiveness to public opinion, and that nice regard to personal reputation, and that keen consciousness of ridicule, which belong to the upper classes, and upon which their morality is chiefly founded, tend, in the instance of the pious oligarch, to generate vivid resentments when he feels that, having over-stepped the boundaries of good sense and sobriety, he has drawn upon himself the public laugh. The intolerable glance of scorn from his peers, to which he has found himself exposed, must be—not retorted indeed—not avenged; but yet returned in some manner compatible with religious ideas. It is at this very point of commuted revenge that fanaticism takes its rise. Interpretations the most excessive, expectations the most dire, comminations the most terrible, and a line of conduct arrogantly absurd, set wounded patrician pride again upon its due elevation—repair the damage it has sustained; and surround it with a hedge of thorns.

If (national prejudice apart) it may be said that the English character possesses a peculiar nobleness; and if it be true that the English aristocracy stands foremost as by emphasis the aristocracy of Europe; and if moreover it may be believed that Christianity has a stronger hold of the English than of any other people, may not a time reasonably be looked for, when the special excellences of the national character, illustrated by rank and high culture, shall admit (without taint of fanaticism) the elevating influence of unfeigned piety, and so shall exhibit to the world, under the very fairest and the brightest forms, the true magnanimity of virtue.

To what extent the advance of Christianity among the nations has been obstructed by the absurd or the hostile form into which it has been thrown by its professors, none can presume to determine. None know how many perplexed and hesitating minds, distracted with doubts, have received their final and fatal shock from the spectacle of folly, pride, and strife which the Church has exhibited. None can calculate what might have been achieved by the zeal and energy that have been consumed in dissentions, or quashed by despotism. Much less can any mortal dare to surmise how far the outraged clemency of heaven has, by these same means, been averted altogether from the theatre of human affairs, so that blessings have been withheld—the efficacious influence denied, and the world abandoned through long ages, to its melancholy course of superstition and of crime!

The dependency of cause upon cause in the vast and occult machinery of the moral system, lies far beyond the reach of human curiosity. That day must be waited for which is to reveal the springs of the movements that now meet the eye, and perplex our meditations. But might not a time come when those who readily confess themselves to sustain as Christians, a responsibility toward the world at large, and who are even forward in claiming their several shares of this responsibility—when such, pausing a moment on their course of zealous enterprise, shall, with an ingenuous dread of meeting at last the Divine reproof instead of approval, set themselves to inquire whether the Christianity they are sending from land to land, is not loaded with some fatal disparagement, such as forbids its wide extension?

But it is asked—who is competent, or who commands the means of regenerating our ecclesiastical existence? Where rests a blame, of which no man has the power to rid himself? The answer to such an inquiry is not difficult; for the individual culpability which rests upon Christians, living under a corrupted or perverted state of things, is that of resisting the appeals of common sense. The personal guilt is that of harbouring fond predilections, and of jealousy quashing any course of inquiry that is foreseen as likely to bring sectarian interests into jeopardy. The personal blame is of the very same kind that attaches to the maintenance of other species of vicious infatuation. If the actual amount of this criminality be small in the instance of the untaught and the unthinking multitude, it reaches a height we will not estimate, with the few whose duty it is to care for, and lead the many. Thus it has been in every age. Evils grievous in themselves, and frightful in their ultimate consequences, have been palliated by those who should have checked them; have been admired, or have been cloaked; have been trumpeted, or have been excused; but never honestly and unsparingly dealt with.

No principle of morals can be more unsound than that which would excuse a man from guilt who cares not to rid himself of prejudices or of scruples that are ruinous to his fellows. If we do not owe the cultivation of common sense to ourselves, we assuredly owe it to those around us. No man can play the fool without peril to his neighbours; and when the Christian does so, he flings perdition on every side of him.

Those questions of ecclesiastical polity (if such there be,) which involve real difficulties, and which wise men might hesitate to touch—uncertain and complicated as are all human affairs, may well be reserved until other points have been disposed of that demand nothing but the putting in force of the plainest principles of reason and piety. Who shall say how much light would suddenly come in upon the obscurer matters, if once the simpler were taken out of the way?

To adduce the specific instances, and to deal with them equitably, would consist neither with the limits nor the purpose of this volume. It is principles only we have to do with; and in the establishment of general truths, must still adhere to the rule of drawing examples from the remotest quarters. In closing then this section, let a single instance, illustrative of the purport of it, be glanced at.

The ancient Church might stand excused from the blame of defending, with too much acrimony, the great elements of Christian faith, assailed as they were by a hundred heresies, audacious and absurd; and let indulgence be afforded in relation to those divisions in matters of discipline which might fairly perplex honest minds. We look now to instances of that sort which entailed extreme contempt upon Christianity, and sullied all its glory, for the sake of pertinacious scruples ineffably trivial. If the case adduced be thought altogether without parallel in modern times, let it be rejected as impertinent.

Be it imagined that the accomplished author of the treatise "on the Sublime," hitherto imperfectly informed of the Christian doctrine, and doubtful of its claims, had at length resolved to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with a religion which was then spreading through all parts of the world, and spreading in defiance of imperial edicts and popular fury. The philosophic Longinus has learned in a vague manner that the Christians profess the hope of a glorious immortality—that they hold elevated opinions concerning the Divine nature, and that they treat with derision the idle mythologies and immoral superstitions of all nations;* and he is told that this system is affirmed to have been imparted immediately from God. He expects then that whether the alleged revelation be true or false, it will offer nothing but what is momentous and simply great:—he is justified in expecting nothing else. While he yet revolves his purpose of inquiry, there falls by chance into his hands an epistle addressed by a distinguished contemporary—a Christian bishop, to a colleague. The writer, known to him already by common fame, stands entitled on every ground to respect. Head of the Alexandrian Church, and therefore second to few or none in official importance, a man of extensive learning too—no barbarian; but versed, like himself, in the poets, orators, and philosophers of Greece:—a man of tried integrity, who had endured severe sufferings and banishment in defence of his faith; a man moreover of settled moderation, and calm judgment, one who was appealed to by all parties as umpire. Such was Dionysius of Alexandria; and as such, not improbably, might he have been known to his contemporary, Longinus.[*]

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* Juvenal and Lucian had led the way in the work which the Christian writers achieved, of consigning the Grecian mythology to contempt. Popular veneration toward the gods had almost entirely been loosened by railleries which drew their irresistible force from common sense. When the Christians brought the heavy arms of pure truth to bear upon these decayed absurdities, the victory could not be long doubtful. The Church at this time commanded the services of many writers qualified by vigorous talents, wit and extensive learning, for the part assigned them. Some of the pieces then produced with the design of exposing polytheism to merited contempt, are of the highest merit. Such for example as—the admirable and erudite work of Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, addressed to the Antonines:—The *Oratio ad Græcos* of Tatian:—The caustic *Irrisio Philos. Gentil.* of Hermias, which, though aimed at the philosophic sects, went also to undermine the popular superstitions. Justin Martyr claims a distinguished place in the list, especially on account of his excellent Parænetic to the Greeks. The *Admonitio ad Græcos* of the learned Clemens Alexandrinus is of great value, and contains a fund of various erudition. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, takes his part in the same labour. Tertullian mightily assails the folly and impurity of the popular worship; and not least is the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. These, and other erudite and eloquent labours of the early church, which no doubt highly conduced to the ultimate triumph of the Gospel throughout the empire, merit more than admiration—PERUSAL.

If then indeed Christianity be a sublime doctrine, if it be a revelation of future life; if it be a philosophy imparted by God himself to man, it must dignify its adherents, it must embue them with a grave and manly reason, it must exempt them from the servile and childest superstitions that enslave the vulgar. Fraught with these proper anticipations, the philosophic inquirer opens the letter of the Alexandrian prelate.[†] Although not qualified justly to estimate those expressions of meekness and simplicity which present themselves on the face of it—a style so unlike that of the schools, his candour is conciliated by the modesty of a man whose station might have rendered him arrogant.[‡]

"Dionysius to Basilides, my beloved son and brother, and colleague in the Lord—greeting. You wrote to me, my faithful and learned son, concerning the hour at which fasting should cease in celebrating the Paschal solemnity. You report that certain of the fraternity (of Pentapolis) affirm that the fast should end, and our rejoicings commence, at the moment of cock-crowing; while others say it should be from the evening. The brethren of Rome, as the former assert, are accustomed to await the crowing of the cock; whereas, on our part, as you say, an earlier hour is observed. Your desire is to ascertain with precision *the very moment*, and to fix decisively the proper hour; but to do so is a difficult and uncertain thing. All are indeed perfectly agreed on this one point—that, from the instant of our Lord's resurrection, festivity and gladness should commence; and that, on the other hand, fasting and humiliation of spirit are proper in the preceding time. But yourself, in your epistle—versed as you are in the divine evangelic records, have shown that nothing is to be certainly gathered from the Gospels concerning the hour of the resurrection. The Evangelists, in their several modes of narrating the event, declare that all who, at different times, visited the sepulchre, found the Lord already risen. Yet we assume that they neither disagree, nor oppose each other as to the fact; and inasmuch as the point has become the subject of controversy, as if there were a want of consistency among the Evangelists, let us with due humility and caution endeavour to trace out their real agreement."

Then follows a careful examination of the evidence, in concluding which the good bishop manifestly endeavours so to pronounce upon the perplexing matter as should corroborate strict and godly discipline, without absolutely precluding indulgence toward the feeble, or even the lax. "Those," says he, "who, being presently wearied, hasten to break their fast, even before midnight, we must blame as negligent and incontinent. It is not a little, according to the adage, to fall short in the course, *by a little*. But on the contrary, those who hold out until the fourth watch of the night, we deem to be noble and strenuous. Yet will we not angrily assail[§] any who, either from want of strength, or of fixed resolution, seek refreshments sooner.

These unquestionably are the tones of moderation and of wisdom; the style well becomes the Christian pastor and the bishop. But what was the controversy itself? And what impression must the anxious agitation of questions such as these have made upon men of enlarged understanding, who looked at the new religion from a distance, and with cold curiosity? To return for a moment to our supposition; must we not regard Longinus as almost excused, if he had cast away the epistle of Dionysius with indignant scorn, and have said—"Is this your vaunted Christianity? Is it to maintain this system of servile frivolity that you die at the stake? Do you ask me to become a Christian? as well turn Jew:—and how much better remain philosopher!"

The fault in the instance we have adduced was not that of a want of temper; for we must admire the mild and conciliatory tone of the writer, vested as he was with authority: nor was it a fault to endeavour to ascertain (if the means of doing so had been at hand) a circumstance of an event beyond all others worthy of earnest regard. But the error—and a fatal error in its consequences, was that of admitting *religious importance* to attach to a particular which confessedly lay beyond the range of revelation, and had been made no part of Christian duty. Not only was the point adstractedly trivial, but it was the subject of no injunction. How could it be imagined, unless through a circuit of false assumptions, that conscience was implicated in an observance concerning which, not only was there no explicit command, but no certain evidence bearing upon the fact whereon the observance rested? Granting the paschal solemnities to have been acceptable religious services, and granting it to have been a pious act to fast in commemoration of the Lord's death and burial, and to celebrate his return to life with hymns, illuminations, and other festivities, yet, as by the acknowledgment of all, except zealots, the precise moment in which sorrow was turned into gladness could not be ascertained, and must remain mere matter of surmise, was it not an egregrious violation of common sense to make such a point the subject of anxious controversy, and the occasion of ecclesiastical disunion?

Dionysius, it is true, writes and decides much more like a Christian than like a supercilious dignitary, and if all had been such as himself, the foolish disagreement must soon have been forgotten. But what was likely to happeu in the distracted parish of Basilides? A few perhaps, the lovers of peace, would hail with joy the patriarchal decision. Not so the fervent and the dogmatic; not so those whose piety meant nothing apart from virulence. Such—and are there not such in every community?—would listen to the canonic letter, when publicly read in the Church, with clouded visages; they would exchange among themselves glances of insolent dissent; they would cluster about the church doors after the assembly had broke up, would gather to themselves open-mouthed hearers, would inveigh against the easiness and worldly indifference of men in high station; they would impeach the motives and the piety, first of the Alexandrian patriarch, and then of his surrogate—their own pastor. The intrinsic merits of the question would be hotly agitated, and its vital importance be insisted upon: the consciences of the feeble and the scrupulous, of women and slaves, would be entangled and placed at the disposal of the despotic leaders of the sect. These leaders, committed to a course of open opposition, would find it necessary to have recourse to every means of exaggeration and irritation tending to sustain the zeal of their adherents. A breach with the Church would be deemed indispensable for securing the rights of conscience: fellowship must be refused, first with the general body of believers; next with those who, though holding mainly with themselves in the question at issue, yet hesitated to adjudge Christendom entire to perdition on account of its error in this single point. Lastly (if indeed the absurdity of intolerance ever reaches an ultimate stage), lastly, all correspondence must be cut off with whoever would not denounce the moderate middle men above named. In the end the little flaming nucleus of immaculate rigidity, fasting till broad day of Easter Sunday, and blessing itself in the straitness of its circle, would be able to look down upon all the world, and upon all the church, as wrong and lost! Meanwhile the amiable Dionysius grieves, and prays too, for the contumacious band. But should he not remember that the faction drew its consequence from his own error in granting, for a moment, that Christian duty and conscience could be at all concerned in a controversy of this frivolous sort? Should he not have known that if men are encouraged by persons of sense and authority to attach importance to idle scrupulosities, they will not fail to forget solid morality, as well as to spurn meekness and love?

The follies of one age differ from those of another in names only. Let those boast of the intelligence of the nineteenth century, who think it furnishes no parallels to the infatuations of the third. It is often anxiously asked—What hinders the progress of the Gospel in a country like our own, and in an age of liberty and knowledge? It might be quite enough to reply, that the hinderance is drawn from the form of impertinent and childish discord which has been thrown over it by some of its most devoted adherents. It then our Christianity does not triumph as it ought, we will not vex at the infidelity of Longinus; but mourn the superstition of Dionysius.

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[*] As Principal of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, Dionysius had early diffused his reputation very widely. He was esteemed one of the most distinguished of Origen's pupils. Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* l. vi. c. 35—40.

[†] The canonic epistle of Dionysius, quoted above, is of unquestioned authenticity. It is accessible to the reader in *Routh's Reliquæ Sacræ*, Vol. II.

[‡] Dionysius, after giving advices on sundry points of discipline, then deemed important, thus concludes:—"In these things (concerning which, to do us honour, not because you are yourself unable to judge, you have propounded questions), I advance my opinion, not as Master *διδάσκάλος*, but with all simplicity, and as it is becoming that we should, on terms of mutuality, discuss any subject of debate. Concerning this my opinion, you, learned son, when you have considered it, will write to me again, either approving my decision, or proposing a better." How well, had this style been copied by Church dignitaries!

[§] *μὴ πάνυ διενοχλωμεν.*

SECTION IX.

THE RELIGION OF THE BIBLE NOT FANATICAL.

(*The Old Testament.*)

The mind seeks refreshment in contemplating Truth, after conversing long with the follies and crimes that mark as well the religious as the civil history of nations. A tranquil delight, a delight enhanced by contrast, is felt when we return to set foot upon that solid ground of reason and purity which the Scriptures open before us. How melancholy soever, or revolting may be the spectacle of human affairs, a happier prospect is within view. In the religion of the Bible there is certainty—there is unsullied goodness—there is divinity. Let the inferences be what they may—and we should take care they are sound, which we feel compelled to draw from the general course of events, it remains always true that the writings of the prophets and apostles present a system of belief, an order of sentiments, and a rule of morals such as are altogether consistent with the highest conceptions we can form of the Divine attributes. The Bible is God's revelation: none doubt it who retain the integrity of the moral faculty, who command the powers of reason, and who are informed of what has been in every age the actual condition of human nature. The Scriptures are from Heaven. Yet we will not now assume this truth, but narrowly examine (on a single and peculiar line of argument) the proof of it.

Let it then be premised that it is not by avoiding occasions of danger, but by efficiently providing against them, that the Scriptures lead man through the difficult paths of the spiritual world. The most critical positions which the human mind can occupy are freely entered upon by the writers of the Bible; all hazards are run, and a clear triumphant course is pursued through all. If an affirmation such as this be deemed loose or declamatory, and more easily advanced than substantiated let strict attention be given to the historic facts and documents whence a conclusion should be drawn; in entering upon this ground no favour is implored, no rigour of scrutiny is deprecated. We ask for what we may demand—a verdict according to the evidence.

On all questions relating to the alleged practical influence of opinions, the rational inquiry plainly is—Not what seems the tendency of single elements of the system:—but in what manner are its various elements balanced and harmonized? Who does not know that Effects are, in every case, whether physical or intellectual, as the *combined causes* which concur to produce them? If at any time certain ingredients of religious truth have been drawn apart, and grossly abused, to the injury of the parties themselves, and to the scandal of others, the fault is not in the inspired Book. The sacred writers require nothing short of a submission to that complete and duly-adjusted system of motives which they promulgate; and it would have been a virtual dereliction of their authority to have made provision against the misuse of those *single principles* which can produce no mischief so long as they are held in combination.

Boldness—the boldness of simplicity is the style of the Bible from first to last. Nowhere does it exhibit that sort of circumspection which distinguishes the purblind and uncertain discretion of man. Man, if cautious at all, is overcautious, and must be so, because he knows little of the remote relations of things, and almost nothing of their future consequences. Although one event only shall actually occur, in a given case, five or ten that are possible must be provided for. But the Divine Omniscience saves itself all such wasted anxieties, and takes a direct course to its proposed end; an end it had forseen from the beginning. A difference of the very same sort distinguishes human and divine operations whenever brought into comparison. The former abound with provisions and precautions against possible accidents; but in the latter, provision is made only against actual and foreseen evils; and therefore when examined on principles of human science, often seem—shall we say—unsafe and incomplete.

To take the separate ingredients of religion as they may be gathered from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, one might find in them, *apart*, every incitement of those perverted sentiments, which, in fact, through the course of ages, have borrowed a pretext from the Bible. No conceivable method of conveying complex principles could afford security against such a misuse of the heavenly boon. If men will sever that which God has joined, nothing remains but that they should receive into their bosoms the fruit of their temerity. The inspired writers, as may be proved in the most convincing manner, were themselves no fanatics; nor will their readers ever become such, while they admit that complement of motives which the theology of the Scriptures includes.

We have said that the Bible does not avoid difficult positions, nor evade critical and delicate affirmations, as for example:—

Neither the Prophets nor the Apostles, in the representations they make of the Divine Nature affect that vague and theoretic style which pleases philosophy. On the contrary, they advance without solicitude into the very midst of the most appalling conceptions of the Supreme Majesty. And instead of affirming what they have to affirm with an accompaniment of extenuations, apologies, and cautions, they employ language, pungent and vigorous in the highest degree, and leave the whole force of their emphatic phrases to press, without relief, upon the imagination and consciences of men. Those very passages of terror, which the Fanatic delights to rehearse, he may find, if he will subtract them from their places. Yes, and when he enters into controversy with men of an opposite temperament, who will admit nothing into their theology but what is lenient, he easily triumphs over them by adducing decisive examples of a sort which can never be reconciled with such effeminate opinions. The Divine Being, as made known to mankind by Moses, Samuel, David, Elijah, Isaiah, Ezekiel: or by Christ himself, and Paul and James, is not the quiescent and complacent Power which Theists fondly paint. Rather is He terrible in his anger, jealous of his honour, and not to be approached without fear.

We find, moreover, very prominently in the Holy Scriptures, that doctrine of the universal degeneracy of mankind, and of the consequent displacency of God, which waits only for misinterpretation and exaggeration, to become what the fanatic demands, as the second capital excitement of his malign and vindictive temper.* The human race, he will say, is fallen, is foul—is guilty: may it not then, ought it not to be *religiously hated?* Is not man spiritually abominable? Can any expressions of detestation—can any severities of treatment be deemed excessive or improper on the part of the few who, loyally taking side with God against the rebel race, would speak and act in a manner becoming the boldness of a true allegiance? Thus, and with some appearance of reason too, may the fanatic justify his gloomy mood.

To complete the apology which he might frame for the outbursts of his arrogance, and for his factious proceedings, he will allege (and so will obtain possession of his third excitement†) that the entire history and economy of Revelation turns upon the principle of special favours granted to nations, to families, and to individuals, who have been honoured and benefitted by immense advantages, notwithstanding enormous delinquencies. In fact it is upon this very ground that fanatics of every age—Jewish, Mohammedan, and Christian, have taken their stand.

Picked passages may thus be made to furnish all that is wanted to warrant the rancour and presumption of the malign religionist. But how poorly will he defend himself when the great and unalterable principles of biblical religion are duly brought together, and are made to bear in harmony upon the heart! The effect then is altogether of an opposite kind; so much so, that even the enemies of the Gospel have been compelled to confess that our Bible is the fountain of compassion, the rule of benignity, and the very doctrine of meekness. That such is indeed the fact, may be sustained *first* in the mode of a comprehensive statement of principles; and then in the method of a careful induction of specific instances. The importance of the subject will justify our pursuing, for a while, both these lines of proof.

We have then to make good, *first* on general grounds, the affirmation that the Religion of the Bible is not of fanatical tendency.

When the delusions of a depraved self-esteem are thoroughly dispelled, so that moral and spiritual objects affect, as they ought, the conscience of a man, then, what before acted as the excitement of spurious zeal, or as the occasion of malevolence, takes salutary possession of the mind, and produces the mild fruits of piety and charity. Thus, for example, if the awful justice of God be truly understood as the necessary condition of that purity which is essential to the Divine Nature, and as a mode only of Sovereign Benevolence, then an inference from this truth comes home with weight upon the personal consciousness of guilt; and he who thus sees his own peril in the light of the divine justice, is thenceforth mainly occupied with those emotions of shame and fear, which are proper to a culprit. The wish to make a vindictive application of the same truth to others (though it be applicable) is forgotten, or becomes abhorrent to the soul. This surely is not a mere refinement or an evasion of the difficulty. If the fearful retributive energy of the Divine Character be a truth, and a prime truth of Scripture, upon whom does it bear? Upon all transgressors, without exception, and therefore upon each singly. "But I am such," says the now convicted man, "and to *me* God is terrible, inasmuch as He has the power and the determination to punish sin." The entire current of ideas is in this manner turned, when once a belief of personal danger has been thoroughly awakened; and so it happens that the man who, yesterday, was hurling thunderbolts at his fellows, and exulting in the displays of divine displeasure, may now be seen prostrate, as in the dust, and unmindful of every thing but his own peril. Nothing more is needed to bring about so great a change, but that the Divine attributes should be truly understood in the relation they bear to personal responsibility.

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* Page 374. † Ibid.

Pursuing the same path, we come to the second excitement of religious malevolence, as before enumerated; that is to say—The universal corruption of human nature, and the actual guilt of all men. But is it true that this pravity is of a spiritual kind, and does it affect the depth of the human heart? Then—a spiritual knowledge of the doctrine implies a vivid and expanded CONSCIOUSNESS of the fact, as the moral condition of the individual. To an enlightened conscience this personal knowledge of the evil bias of the heart, is nothing less than an interpretation, *viva voce*, of the Scripture doctrine of the corruption of human nature. Mankind at large is spiritually abominable in no other sense than that in which "I am so;" and a close and serious familiarity with the subject seldom fails to impart to each mind an *impression*, as if the corruption of the individual heart were more deep and deplorable than that of others. "If other men are objects of the divine displacency—I much more;" such, whether in fact true or not, is the language (in very many cases) of genuine contrition. But this introversion of feeling places the dogma altogether on another footing than it might before have occupied. Will there remain in a bosom that entertains these emotions of shame and compunction any residue of arrogance or of malice towards the mass of mankind, because sharers in the same depravity? Surely not. On the contrary, a tender sympathy, a patient forbearance, and the liveliest zeal of benevolence are found to consist with the feeling of personal humiliation. The fanatic, with his misanthropy and his scorn, is quite shut out. He—infatuated man—knows nothing of himself, and therefore has no indulgence for others. Let the doctrine of the corruption of human nature be expounded as it may, or even in some sense exaggerated, it will remain innoxious, so long as it thoroughly penetrates the soul that receives it; the principle becomes poisonous, only when thrown out and suffused.

The constituent motives of genuine contrition seal the exclusion of arrogance from the heart of the penitent, even when a hope of the special favour of God is entertained with the utmost distinctness. If it be true, as the Scriptures affirm, that this favour towards individuals is absolutely free—if it comes irrespectively of original merit, and if the continuance of the temper of humiliation is the fixed condition upon which a consciousness of it is granted to the believer, then nothing can be felt, in looking at home, but simple gratitude; and no emotion indulged, in looking abroad, but the desire that others should partake of boons of which all have equal need, and of which none can claim to be worthy.

The lurking notion on which the fanatic builds his self-gratulations, when he glances at the herd of men, is that they are, by the stern law of some intrinsic disqualification, forever excluded from the hope of participating in the divine favour. His arrogance is of a patrician sort; and he would fain persuade himself that an eternal impossibility bars the access of others to the narrow ground he occupies. But the CHRISTIAN—taught from the Bible, learns a lesson the very reverse of this Commissioned and enjoined, as he is, to invite "ALL MEN, every where to repent and believe the Gospel," exclusiveness of feeling is denied him; nor can he harbour that grudging of grace, which distinguishes the fanatic. Are the blessings of Christianity actually enjoyed only by few? Yes alas, but the Christian (by plain inference from his principles) is taught to impute to himself and his associates, as a fault, that such is the fact. Far from thinking himself entitled to rest inertly upon the sunny spot of Heavenly favour where he reclines, he knows himself to be bound to take no ease until his neighbour—nay until all men obtain a share in his privilege. If, at a first glance, it might seem that the peculiarity of the Gospel gives sanction to fanatical presumption, we can no longer think so when we recollect the solemn responsibility laid upon all Christians to propagate their faith by the mild methods of instruction. How is it possible for a man selfishly to contemn others on account of a privilege or distinction which he holds on the express condition of imparting it, by every means of persuasion, to all around him? No one surely can, at the same moment, be diligently scattering a benefit—and exulting in his exclusive possession of it.

The scheme of religious sentiment contained in the Scriptures, wants then only to be received, such as it is, without deduction—without addition; and to be received as the object of personal feeling, and it becomes altogether benign in its influence. Experience may be appealed to in proof of this assertion; but our present purpose demands that we turn to the Inspired Writings, and examine in a number of instances, the character and tendency of the sentiments they recommend. We have also to ascertain, if it can be done, what were the personal dispositions of the writers; and to see whether those who promulgated this religion were themselves free from the malign temper of the Fanatic.

Peculiar considerations enhance the importance of the inquiry we have in hand. The fact (already adverted to) is not to be denied, that the Jewish people, from the period when their affairs find a place on the page of general history, exhibit an extraordinary instance of national religious rancour, and stand forth almost as THE FANATICS by eminence of the ancient world. It becomes then a question by no means frivolous—When did this malign temper first make its appearance; and whence did it derive its special motives, and its aggravations? Now fairly to deal with such a question, we should of course look to the religious institutes of the people, as contained in their sacred writings, as well as examine the facts and circumstances of their subseqent history. The latter we have already briefly considered;* the former is now our business.

Nothing is at any time to be gained in the behalf of religion by attempting to screen the Inspired Books from the fair scrutiny to which, as *historical documents* merely, they may be liable. If the pious frauds and forgeries that once were accounted lawful and praiseworthy, are to be shunned and spoken of with detestation; so, doubtless, should we avoid and renounce all those indirect procedures in matters of argument, which partake of the same spirit. Whoever is so happy as to possess an intelligent conviction of the divine origin of the Bible, feels himself free from the anxiety which has its source in ignorance and infirmity of judgment.

We have before remarked that the influence of a system is not to be judged of by the single elements it may contain; but by that balance of motives for which it provides. Let then this equitable principle be borne in mind while we take a survey of the Jewish institutions (so far as they relate to our subject) and of the revelations that were, in the course of ages, grafted upon the Mosaic economy.

The first grand peculiarity of the Hebrew polity, civil and sacred, was (it need hardly be said) the seclusion of the race from the great community of mankind. Now it is certain that a privileged seclusion, and especially a sacred one, tends, on the ordinary principles of human nature, to beget unsocial and fanatical sentiments. This general truth might be admitted, even in the fullest extent, and room would yet be left to allege, that an incidental or possible evil of this sort was well compensated by the momentous purpose of which that separation was the necessary means;—the purpose being nothing less than the preservation in the world of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, and the maintenance of a pure moral code as the law of an entire people. But we leave untouched any such ground of apology, and prefer to ask—In what style or terms was the seclusion of the Hebrew race effected? The answer must be, that it was brought about in a mode so mortifying to the common emotions of national pride, that the endurance of it on the part of a rude and factious people is no slender proof that the Legislator, in the first instance, and after him the Prophets, were sustained in the exercise of their authority by miraculous powers. Nothing can be imagined more vehemently at variance with the usual practice and policy of founders of nations, or more unlike the tones of patriotic bards, than is the language incessantly repeated by Moses, and by the inspired teachers, as they succeed each other through the course of ages. One is actually tempted to suppose that he and they aimed at nothing so much as to feel and ascertain the extreme limit of their power over the popular mind, by outraging to the utmost its self-love and vanity.

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* Pages 404, 405.

Whatever momentary objurgations might have had place between the Hebrew leader and the refractory tribes that followed him into the desert, or whatever terms of reproach might have been used by him on particular occasions, it did not seem necessary that such expressions of indignation—almost of scorn, which the provocation of the time called forth, should be recorded and should be mingled inseparately with the national code and history, and so be handed down to posterity. Unless a definite and very peculiar object had been in view, what Legislator, guided by common sense, would have so enhanced the probability that his code should soon be consigned to oblivion as is done by inserting, almost on every page throughout his Institutes, the most obnoxious and disparaging epithets, and the most humiliating narrations? Surely a higher wisdom than that of the human legislator is here apparent;—or else there is *less* wisdom than the most simple of mankind are gifted with. Are we not compelled to confess, if the case be attentively considered, that a special provision is made in the Pentateuch for counteracting that national arrogance which the favoured seclusion of the people was of itself likely to engender? This same code of sacred privilege, and of separation from the bulk of mankind, which the priests were enjoined perpetually to rehearse in the ears of the people—this Law, which was not only to be cherished in the heart, but to be "taught diligently unto children—to be talked of in the house and in the way—in lying down, and in rising up; which was to be bound as a sign upon the hand, and as frontlets between the eyes, which was to be inscribed upon the door-posts and upon the gates of the city:"*—this same law, so reiterated, and so forced upon the memory, carried with it incessant and pointed rebukes of the national vanity. It was one thing for Moses to have pungently upbraided a contumacious populace in moments of sedition, and quite another for him to consign these same reproaches to perpetuity, by weaving them into his history, and by wedging them between his statutes. Yet so we find them in scores of places.—"Ye are a stiff-necked people, an evil nation; I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee; therefore now put off thine ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee."†

A most explicit and particular caution against the indulgence of national pride is given by the Leader of the Hebrew tribes when, on the very borders of the promised land, he announced to the people the terrible part they were to act as executioners of the divine displeasure upon the corrupted occupants of the soil. Can we read it without admiration of the courage of Moses;—or without conviction of his divine legation? "Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast out the nations from before thee, saying—For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land. But for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land. Understand, therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; *for thou art a stiff-necked people.* Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came into this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord.—Ye have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you."‡

Or if it had been the intention of their Leader indirectly, yet effectually to lay the pride and youthful exultation of the people, just bursting as they were upon the stage of political existence, and just setting foot upon the career of conquest, nothing could have been done, or thought of, more conducive to such a purpose, than the uttering that tremendous comminative prediction of the ultimate miseries of the nation, with which he takes leave of them. On any ordinary principles it might justly have been supposed that those prophetic curses, upon which history has made so long and sad a comment, would have operated either to break the heart of the people, or to have utterly disaffected their minds to a religious system that entailed penalties so dreadful. And the more so, when a confident or positive announcement of the actual issue was subjoined to the exhibition of blessings and curses.—"I call heaven and earth to record against you.—For I KNOW that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way that I have commanded you; and evil will befall you in the latter days."*

In terms then, such as these, was it that the seclusion and the sacred privileges of the race were, in the first instance, sanctioned! And the tone set by Moses was chimed-in with by each of the seers and poets in the long succession of ages. The buddings of religious national insolence we find to be nipped at once, and with a stern severity, by each divinely-commissioned personage, as he comes on the stage of sacred history. Reproof, reproach, if not contempt, is the characteristic of the Jewish canonical writings. Nor is so much as one passage to be found there, the tendency of which is to cherish the feeling that might naturally have sprung from a conscious enjoyment of prerogatives and honours conferred upon the nation by the Sovereign of the Universe. Joshua, captain and conqueror, like Moses the legislator, surrenders his charge and dies, with language on his lips of discouragement and mistrust.†

A particular and yet remarkable instance of the care taken to damp the arrogance of the people is found in the form of thanksgiving that was put into the mouth of the Israelite when summoned to offer the first-fruits of the year to the Lord. "And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in those days," with the basket of fruits in hand, "and thou shalt speak and say before the Lord thy God—A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous."‡ Let it be observed, as we pass, that the entire profession, including as it does all the elements of piety and benevolence, might with much effect be placed by the side of the festal liturgies of other nations, wherein the exorbitant absurdities of national vanity have usually been indulged without restraint.

But to that venerable book of sacred odes and public anthems, of which the founder of the Israelitish monarchy was the chief author, we ought naturally to look for the evidence we are in search of.—Was, we ask, that spiritual superciliousness which religious privilege and seclusion are wont to engender, cherished, or was it repressed—was it authenticated, or was it mortified, by the divinely-sanctioned poetry of the Hebrew people, and by the choruses of the Temple? First let the peculiar circumstances of the people and of their prince at the juncture when the Psalms came into general use, be considered. After four centuries of political disquiet and distress; centuries of long depression and trancient triumph, and just after the failure of the people's first essay at royalty, the nation had rallied, had mustered its spirits, had become invasive, had imposed fear in turn upon all its neighbours, had trodden on the necks of its ancient oppressors, and was now fast coming into quiet possession of the signal advantages of its soil and position:—the Hebrew people was rising from the dust and putting on the entire of the bridegroom, and was soon to abash its rivals by the splendours, as well as by the strength of national prosperity. And all this dazzling advancement was taking place under the hand of an obscurely-born captain, whom, in the style of common history, we should call an adventurer, and whose unstable power demanded the support of all available means of popularity.

At the very same moment the primitive worship, as enjoined to the people by Moses, was restored and settled, and its services expanded and adorned. This then assuredly was the season in which the politic and heroic founder of a monarchy would endeavour to exalt to the highest pitch the national enthusiasm, and would labour to exacerbate all well founded pretensions; and especially to throw into the shade, or utterly to blot out, if possible, the anciently recorded dishonours of the nation. Shall we not find him avoiding, as by instinct, the obsolete themes of the people's dishonour? His discretion surely will impel him—king and poet as he is to strike another wire. No, it is quite otherwise, for this man of incipient and uncertain fortune, this nursling of the sheepfold and the desert, employs the powers of song for no such purposes whatever. David wielded those two sceptres, of which the one often proves quite as potent as the other, in the instance of an unsophisticated people. The warrior-king is Seer and Bard; and it is he who gives forth the sacred anthems of public worship! Rare conjunction of talents and powers! how shall such choice means be employed, so as most effectually to enhance the proud patriotism of the people—to blend that patriotism with the influence of religion, and, not least, to shed the delusive splendour of poetry and fable over the early history of the race? On all grounds of ordinary calculation, and on every known principal of human nature, and according to the uniform tenor of history, we should expect nothing less in the Psalms of David than mythic exaggeration, mixed up with the stirring elements of sacred and civil fanaticism. But are these compositions of any such sort? Nothing can be more widely opposed to the anticipations we might have formed. These sacred odes and solemn anthems subserve no purposes of kingly policy, and can be explained only when we adopt the belief which a single apostolic phrase condensely expresses—that David "spake by the Holy Ghost."

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* Deut. vi. 6, 7, 8; and xi. 18.

† Exod. xxxiii. 5

‡ Deut. ix. 4—7, 24.

* Deut. xxxi. 27—29

† Josh. xxiv. 15—27.

‡ Deut. xxvi. 4—10.

Before we turn to peculiar passages, it is pertinent to notice the general spirit of the poems attributed to David. It must be confessed then that an air of sadness pervades them. They abound with prayers under pressure of calamity; and are thick set with the sighs and tears of a heavy heart. Nothing indicates that the royal lyre was at all thought of as an instrument of ambition:—the exploits and triumphs of the young hero, though chaunted by the damsels of Zion, are not made the themes of his own song. Let it be affirmed that they were composed in the early years of his exile, and under privation; yet they were not afterwards supplanted by verse more befitting the glories of kingly state.

The fifteenth, which is the first of these compositions that plainly seems intended for public worship, is severely didactic; and comes to its close without a single note of joy. That noble ode (the 18th) which, more than any other, is exultant, being the one that signalizes the final triumph of David over his domestic foes, is remarkable for those often-repeated phrases that attribute the entire success of his course to divine interposition:—if it be a conqueror that speaks in these metres, he is such because the instrument of power from on high. Nor is the pride of the nation, any more than that of the prince, flattered, through the course of the psalm. The same spirit reappears on each similar occasion:—it is piety, not pride, that inspires the song of gratulation. As thus:—"Some trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." The 24th psalm, like the 15th, is manifestly a triumphant anthem, to which all the powers of music should give effect, when the congregated people met on the hill of Zion. First mindful of the great principles of practical virtue, apart from which all worship is mockery, it swells into the loftiest strain of celestial rapture. But who is the hero—and what is the subject?—not David; it is not he whose approach is announced as "the glorious King," and whose entrance upon the precincts of worship is to be proclaimed by blast of trumpets. But "The Lord of hosts—He is the King of glory!" Judged of by the severest rules of criticism, can there be detected in this impassioned anthem even so much as a stain of royal vanity or of national arrogance? Or to bring the question close home to our subject, does it appear that, to foment the fanaticism of this secluded people was the ruling intention of its sacred poetry? We appeal for an answer to those who have read history, and are not ignorant of human nature.

The care of morals, and a prompt jealousy for the Divine honour, meet us wherever we might most expect (on natural principles) to find excitements of another sort. Let the reader pursue this scrutiny, and adduce, if they exist, any contrary instances; especially let him look to such of these odes as have a prophetic aspect (for the future, even more than the past, is apt to inflame the imagination) or to those which seem designed for public worship—the worship of an assembled nation. The historical odes are not less remarkably abstinent of flattery to the popular feeling, and indeed must be deemed altogether unparalleled instances of national poetic records, inasmuch as the spirit and design of each of them is penitential, rather than exultant. Such is the recapitulation of the Mosaic story in the 78th Psalm. What were the things that had been "heard and known," and which "the fathers had told" to the sons? not marvellous tales of prowess, and the conquest of monsters and titans;—but the rebellions of the people's ancestors, and the patience of their God. And this same recapitulation was enjoined as a "statute for ever," that each generation, as it rose up, might learn to "set their hope in God, and not forget his works; but keep his commandments; and might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation—a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not stedfast with God." We should mark the close of this mortifying recital, which ends in the establishment of the throne of David, who was "taken from the sheepfolds, and from following the ewes great with young!" A climax this, which, though quite in harmony with the spirit of the poem, and of the collection, certainly does not betray much, either of royal arrogance, or of fabulous exaggeration.

The same themes, treated in nearly the same spirit, present themselves in the three consecutive odes (105, 6, 7; and also in the 135th); which last beautifully teaches the doctrine of divine providence, in the best of all methods that of historical inference. To exalt Jehovah, to humble the people as *a race* that had never gratefully received, or duly improved its extraordinary privileges, is the purport of the whole; and in reading them it is impossible that a candid mind should charge the fault upon the ancient *literature*, any more than upon the primitive *institutions* of the Jewish people, if, in a subsequent age, the descendants of Abraham are found to have been distinguished by religious and national arrogance. That the highly important prerogatives of the race, as the chosen people of God, should be spoken of and rejoiced in, is only what piety and gratitude demand. "The Lord showeth his word unto Jacob; his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments, they have not known them."[*] This was nothing more than simple fact. But the statement of it is mixed with none of the scorn or virulence that betrays a fanatical temper, and which belonged to the Jew of a later era!

But did the prophets of after ages work upon that easily excited feeling of spiritual vanity and rancour which, at the period of the Roman supremacy, and long afterwards, characterised the Jewish people? To answer this question, we must cast the eye over the line of the prophetic ministry, from the age of Hosea to that of Malachi, embracing a disturbed and eventful period of four hundred years. Every reader of the sacred documents knows that the impression which, as a mass, they make upon the mind, is that of a long lamentation, and a perpetual reproof. The function of the Hebrew prophet, of every era, if we were required to describe it in a single term, must be called an office of upbraiding. These venerable writings are immensely remote from that colour of exaggeration and flattery which belongs to the rhapsodies of the Bard among passionate and rude nations. The virulence of Jewish pride, it is certain, had not its source in the page of the prophets, any more than in the odes of David. But we are to adduce passages.

"I have hewed them by the prophets;—I have slain them by the words of my mouth."[†] Descriptive metaphor! not only proper to the past, but truly anticipative of what was to be the general strain of the prophetic message in succeeding ages. The goodness of both branches of the Hebrew stock, was, we are told by Hosea, "like a morning cloud, and as the early dew;" and of both nations this ancient seer declares, that, "they had forgotten their Maker, and were like a deceitful bow. Israel is an empty vine:"—"he has deeply corrupted himself."[‡] Both Israel and Judah are invited to return to their God; but it must be with hearty humiliations. In not a sentence of this venerable composition can we detect an indication of the existence, at that time, of the spiritual presumption which afterwards marked the temper of the people; much less is any such spirit favoured by the prophet: on the contrary, a tone of disparagement distinguishes the whole of the prophecy.

A remarkable rebuke of that malign complacency in the execution of Divine wrath which is too often admitted by gloomy and turbid minds, meets us in the book of Jonah. "Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city?"[§] Such is the style of the compassion of Heaven (indubitable mark of genuineness) and how unlike the petulance of the seer, who would rather have stood by and have witnessed the instant destruction of an entire people, than that his own denunciations should seem to be falsified! If at any time we find, even in a prophet of Jehovah, a false sentiment—that sentiment is at once condemned and disowned. So true is it that the Hebrew Scriptures, far from being of fanatical tendency, counteract every feeling of that order.

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[*] Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20.

[†] Hosea vi. 5.

[‡] Hosea vi. 4; viii. 14; x. 1.

[§] Jonah iv. 11.

We descend the stream of time, yet do not descry, on either bank of the current, that noxious growth of religious pride which we are in search of. We meet however with the most pertinent proofs of the truth of our general doctrine—That the Jewish people, though favoured and sequestered, and taught to think themselves advantaged beyond any other nation, was so dealt with on the part of the prophets as to divert at its very spring, the risings of spiritual presumption. Let us hear on this point the eloquent herdsman of Tekoa. "Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel; against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, YOU ONLY HAVE I KNOWN OF ALL THE FAMILIES OF THE EARTH; THEREFORE I WILL PUNISH YOU FOR ALL YOUR INIQUITIES."[*] Pungent admixture of the counteractive elements of religious feeling! as if the privilege and distinction of the race were to be kept in mind, only as a special ground of dread and shame! If this single passage had been duly borne in mind and pondered by the zealots of the age of Vespasian, the fate and history of the people would have been other than they were. Each portion of the same prophecy mingles rebukes and promises, along with a stern enforcement of the capital principles of public justice, and as we read we are compelled to confess that the Seer was not one who, by whispering soft things in the ear of the great and the rich, made his way from rustic obscurity to fortune. "Your treading is on the poor;—ye take from him burdens of wheat; therefore (though) ye have built houses of hewn stone, ye shall not live in them:—I know your manifold transgressions, and your mighty sins. They afflict the just; they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate."[†]—Nor, on the other hand, did the prophet flatter the mass of the people by cherishing their religious insolence; for example—"I hate—I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream!"[‡]

One of the most animated of all the prophetic descriptions of the future glory and prosperity of the descendants of Abraham, forms the sequel of an announcement of wrath immediately near. "Alas for the day! for the day of the Lord is at hand; as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come:" and these two members of the prediction are made to hinge upon the fact of national repentance. "Then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people."[§] A national hope, not so enveloped into a caution or reproof, is scarcely found on the sacred page.

ISAIAH, the prophet who more clearly than any other, saw the bright futurity of his people's glory, and who more distinctly than any other spoke of the Great Deliverer of mankind, observes invariably the rule his predecessors had adhered to—namely, of holding a tight check upon the emotions of national pride. This is the theme to which not merely he recurs on particular occasions, but which he places foremost, as if it were to be the text of his prophetic ministry. Mortifying exordium, truly, of his message to a nation, favoured of God! "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth; for the Lord hath spoken:—I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me! The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider,—Ah, sinful nation,—a people laden with iniquity;—why should ye be stricken any more!—Ye will revolt more and more:—the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint?"[‖] To dash to the ground the haughtiness of spurious piety is the very first business of the prophet. "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth. They are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."[¶]

We might pause here, and after resigning (for a moment) all those claims on behalf of the sacred volume which do in fact overrule the question, demand, from competent and dispassionate minds, a reply on this simple historic point—is the ancient Hebrew literature liable to the charge of cherishing national arrogance and religious rancour, or does it not rather provide against, and repress, and reprove the risings of any such odious temper? Does it appear that Jewish fanaticism drew its authority from the prophets? Or another, and a parallel question might be put—do the prophets—in that style of which church history and later religious literature furnish ten thousand examples—*exalt the importance of religious services and ceremonies, to the disparagement of morals?* Fanaticism, as we well know, takes its rise in the hot-bed of this very corruption. Is this then the fault that attaches to the canonical writings of the Jews? Let the passage quoted just above, in which indignant reprobation is cast upon even the divinely appointed services of national religion, when deformed as they were at that time by hypocrisy, be read in connexion with the verses that immediately follow:—"Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow."[*] These vigorous expressions seem intended, if one might so speak, to burn and scorch the very germs of spiritual pride, hypocrisy and hatred out of the Jewish mind. Certainly our conclusion gathers strength—that the Hebrew Scriptures are not fanatical.

But inasmuch as it may have appeared, while traversing the ground we have lately passed over, as if every possible variety of fanaticism found its example somewhere among the extravagances exhibited by the Jewish people of a later age, and as if the fanaticism of papal Christianity, and of Mohammedism too, were but another fashion of that which had its parentage with the Jew, it becomes especially necessary to demonstrate that this bad spirit did not draw its origin from the early and authentic books of that people, but, on the contrary, received from them every imaginable check.

Already, even in the age of Isaiah, the people, though not yet fanatics, had learned, it seems, to court delusion, and to bend their ear to religious flatteries. They "said to the seers, see not, and to the prophets, prophesy not unto us right things: speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits."[†] Yet this infatuated preference of lying oracles to the true, was not only rebuked at the moment, but the existence of so grievous a folly, in a people more highly favoured than any other, was to be recorded, and handed down as a warning to all future times. "Now go; write it before them in a table, and note it in a book, *that it may be for the time to come*, for ever and ever—that this is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord."[‡] And we should observe, that if the vehement rebuke itself be remarkable, the transmission and preservation of it by the very parties against whom it was launched, as a perpetual reproach, yes, a reproach that was to vex the ear of each successive generation "for ever," is a still more striking fact. Why was not a passage, such as the above, silently dropped from the text by the scribes of a later age? Why, but because within the solitary circle of Jewish history, nothing happens in mere conformity with the ordinary impulses of human nature, but every thing indicates the immediate presence of a controlling power "not of men."

The latter and more consolatory portions of Isaiah's prophecy are (on another account) as remarkable as the earlier, and the more stern portion. In these no one can fail to notice the care with which the stirring hopes of the Israelitish people are severed from emotions of arrogance, and are connected with the spirit of humiliation, and with the remembrance of past offences. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins." "I, even I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions, for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins."[*] That frequent theme—the singular obduracy of the national character, comes up wherever promises of restoration and triumph are to be afforded. "I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck an iron sinew, and thy brow brass;" "thou wast called a transgressor from the womb." "O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea!"[†]

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[*] Amos iii. 1, 2. [†] Amos v. 11, 12. [‡] Amos v. 23, 24.

[§] Joel i. 15; ii. 18. [‖] Isai. i. 2—5.

[¶] Isai. i. 13. It would be superfluous to refer the diligent reader of the Bible to the many passages in this prophet which are pertinent to our present argument. If there are any who, while indulging unfavourable impressions of the religion of the Scriptures, have never bestowed serious attention upon the evidence whence alone a rational opinion can be drawn, and if this note should meet the eye of any such person, the author recommends him, after informing himself competently of the moral and religious condition of the European and Asiatic nations in the Homeric and succeeding age, and after dismissing from the mind every prepossession, and every modern association of ideas, to read, and to read continuously, the prophecy of Isaiah, and to note as he goes along, whatever bears upon the following capital points, namely:—

1. The unity, majesty, creative power, providential sway, justice, and placability of God.

2. The prime articles of morality—justice, temperance, mercy, and kindness toward the weak and oppressed.

3. The demerits and disgrace of the Jewish people; and the grounds of the favour nevertheless shown them by God.

4. The anticipations and promises which relate to the world at large, and to an era of universal peace.

5. The negative, but immensely important merit which belongs to this writer, of abstaining from all ascetic, superstitious, or extravagant religious excitements.

Let it then be inquired if a book, having these distinctions, and produced when and where it was, does not proclaim beyond a doubt its own divinity.

[*] Isai. i. 16. [†] Isai. xxx. 10. [‡] Isai. xxx. 8.

The task of the prophets, as we have observed, was that, almost always, of reproof and denunciation. But according to the principles of human nature this is a part, which, when it comes to be the chief business of a man's life, tends strongly to overcloud his spirit, and to embitter his temper; the more so when he has to deal with great affairs, and with men of high station—when he has to denounce national delinquencies—to arraign the noble, and to challenge even kings to answer for their faults. Let any one imagine himself to have received a commission of this sort, and that it were his office to chastise his country and its rulers, year after year, with the fiery scourge of his lips. What probably would be his temper—what the tone of his arrogance—what his self-sufficiency, and what that rancour which the contumacy of the common people, on the one hand, and the persecutions of the great on the other would, after a while, impart to his soul? Scarcely any instance of a sort like this, can be found within the range of modern history, that does not declare the extreme difficulty of avoiding sour or fanatical virulence, when the office of public reprover has to be discharged. Yet it was precisely in a position of this kind that the melancholic priest of Anathoth, JEREMIAH, stood, and stood alone, during the lapse of forty dismal years. Isaiah, his predecessor, had seen the evil afar off; but Jeremiah actually waded through the troubled waters of national corruption and desolation. Tumult, contumacy, injurious treatment, public ruin and personal distresses, followed him from the commencement to the close of his career. Even if there be no room to expect, in the pages of one like Jeremiah, the indications of a wish to flatter the spiritual pride of the people, may we not confidently look there for the symptoms of that PERSONAL FANATICISM—that malign acerbity, which ordinarily belongs to the character of a public accuser?

Any such natural anticipations will be falsified; for if there be any one portion of the Hebrew Scriptures that peculiarly breathes a tender and plaintive spirit, it is the prophecy of Jeremiah. In reading it we see and hear the injured man of grief bewailing the miseries of his country, as well as his own misfortunes. "Oh that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!"[‡] This is not the mood of the murky fanatic, who seeks to avenge the slights he has personally received from his countrymen, by exulting over public calamities. At the moment when murderously set upon by the men of his native town, the prophet passionately appeals to the divine protection,[§] and receives a message of wrath for his persecutors; but plainly he is not to be deemed vindictive in so doing, until the reality of his commission has been disproved. No native asperity of temper made the work of threatening agreeable to him. Witness his exclamation—"Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife, and a man of contention, to the whole earth!"[‖] That his disposition was timid and mistrustful, much more than pugnacious, is evident; and, as is quite natural to such a temper, when encircled by formidable adversaries, he eagerly implores aid from heaven, whence alone he could hope for deliverance. But it is otherwise with the fanatic, who, in moments of excitement and danger, almost always shows the greater daring; nor will he even affect to say—"I have not desired the woeful day—O Lord thou knowest: that which came out of my lips was right before thee. Be not a terror unto me, thou art my hope in the day of evil."[¶] There are no characteristic distinctions to be relied upon at all among the passions, if we may not safely discriminate between the vehement strivings of an oppressed and tender spirit, and the virulent moodiness of the religious misanthrope. The one bewails its own misfortunes as thus—"Wherefore came I forth of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame;"[*]—the other ruminates revenge, and cheers himself in the prospect of it.

There is found a courage, the fruit of virtue, in instances where the native courage of temperament is quite wanting. A firmness of the former sort was displayed by the prophet when at length, after many manaces from the rulers, he was arraigned as a traitor, and stood in immediate peril of death.[†] The constancy he displays on this occasion brings together meekness and resolution in genuine combination. "As for me, behold I am in your hand; do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you, to speak all these words in your ears."

But if we wanted a searching test, by means of which to determine the question of a man's temper, we might well find it in such a particular as this—namely, that while a self-commissioned and fanatical reprover holds back whatever might seem emollient or consolatory, and is really unable to strike any chord that is not harsh—the true messenger of heaven, on the contrary, shows whence he has received his instructions by frequently reverting (and with a natural ease) to bring hopes and mild persuasives. Now this characteristic especially belongs to Jeremiah. The instances are very numerous in which, even with the heaviest denunciations on his lips, he mingles the most cheering predictions, and the tenderst advices. "Therefore fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord, neither be dismayed, O Israel, for lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity. And Jacob shall return, and shall be in rest, and be quiet, and none shall make him afraid." "And out of (his ruined palaces) shall proceed thanksgiving, and the voices of them that make merry."[‡]

To announce wrath, which makes the sad *burden* of the true servant of the Lord, is the spontaneous task of the genuine fanatic; and because it is the task he has chosen, he refuses to take up any other theme. On this principle we do not hesitate to conclude that the Jewish prophets, though from age to age the messengers of divine displeasure, were incited by no malignant impulse: and the criterion is, that not one of them, even the most lugubrious, fails to brighten his scroll of woe with frequent words of mercy, and many sparkles of distant hope.

EZEKIEL, like Jeremiah, and his predecessors, opens his ministry with language of disparagement towards the people to whom he is sent: it was "a rebellious nation; they and their fathers; impudent children and stiff-hearted; they are a rebellious house."[§] Before this contumacious people was the prophet enjoined to spread "a roll of a book, written within and without with lamentations, and mourning, and woe." But if such be the pervading colour of Ezekiel's prophecy, as of others, this, like others, recommends itself as indeed a divine message, by its firm and very copious assertion of the great principles of virtue and piety. The prophet's forehead was "made as adamant, and harder than flint," to oppose the impudent rebellion of the people; but it was still "to warn the wicked to turn from his wickedness, and live." And we find, too, here the same frequent admixture of gracious promises, and bright anticipations, with heavier matters. "I will even gather you from the people, and assemble you out of the countries where ye have been scattered; and I will give you the land of Israel. And I will give you one heart; and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh, that ye may walk in my statutes, and keep my ordinances, and do them; and they shall be my people; and I will be their God."[‖] This is encouragement without flattery; and hope, bursting through the black clouds of divine indignation.

We find in Ezekiel[¶] significant allusions to the existence, in his time, of sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy—vices that distinguish the mature age of a national religion; but yet there are no indications of the rise of that peculiar temper which, a few centuries later, became characteristic of the race. Nor indeed does any evidence present itself which might so be under-

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[*] Isai. xi. 1, 2.
[†] Isai. xlviii. 7, 18.
[‡] Jer. ix. 1.
[§] Jer xi. 20.
[‖] Jer. xv. 10.
[¶] Jer. xvii. 16.

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[*] Jer. xx. 18.
[†] Jer. xxvi. 10.
[‡] Jer. xlvi. 27, 28.
[§] Ezek. ii. 3, 4. 10.
[‖] Ezek. xi. 16—20, and xxxvi. to the end.
[¶] Ezek. xxxiii. 31.

stood, until some time after the closing of the sacred canon. Had the spirit of fanaticism actually come abroad among the Jewish people in the age we are now speaking of, some indirect proof of the fact would infallibly have made itself apparent in those various writings that contain, or refer to the national sentiments, during, and after the captivity. It was in Babylon, vexed, afflicted, humiliated, and yet conscious of a dignity far superior to what could be boasted by the lordly oppressor, that the Jew would naturally (if it had indeed become his mood) have given vent to the rankling pride of his bosom. Or it was while toiling, sword in hand, amid the ruins of the holy city—beset by jealous foes, scorned, dependant for protection upon an idolatrous government, and now thoroughly disenchanted of the ancient polytheistic propensity—it was then, and under circumstances of such extraordinary excitement, that the sons of Abraham—friend of God, might be expected to swell and pant with the gloomy and vindictive arrogance of spiritual conceit. Yet we do not find that such was the fact. The strong corrective influence of the sacred writings, as well as of the extant prophetic function, held, it seems, the fanatical tendency effectually in check.

Fairly considered, in this specific point of view, the solemn confession of national disgraces and delinquencies, uttered by Daniel, while the heavy foot of the Median king was yet on the neck of the people, ought to be taken as presumptive evidence that no rancorous national fanaticism—the usual product of grievous sufferings in minds conscious of religious nobility, had *then* sprung up, nor belonged to the Jew of the Captivity. Proof of the same kind, in part negative, in part positive, may be drawn from the manner and spirit of the prophets who closed the sacred canon. Haggai, for example, reproves, humiliates, and encourages the people; but neither does he himself excite, nor does he even allude to the existence of that peculiar temper, the origin of which we are in quest of: the virulence of national religious malignancy is not as yet discoverable. Zechariah is consolatory, and labours to exhilarate the people; nevertheless he sternly insists on the great matters of justice and mercy. "Execute true judgment," says he, "and show mercy and compassions, every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart."* This prophet then, we conclude, was no fanatic; for it is the special characteristic of such to set light by the simple truths of morality, while religious pretensions are blown up, and held on high. Nor does it appear as if the Jews of his time were fanatical; for although grievous faults of almost all kinds are charged upon them, no allusion whatever is made, such as suggests the belief that this species of extravagance had then showed itself.

Ezra and Nehemiah—priest and prince stand on the page of history as noble examples of religious and national constancy, and of zeal for an institute, without preceptible taint of fanatical virulence. Their conduct and expressions are quite becoming to men who, being themselves accountable to a very jealous foreign power, and spitefully watched and hemmed in by the lawless hordes that ravaged the country, had to discharge the difficult part of restoring a long desolated land, of reinstating a fallen polity, and of correcting inveterate abuses. So far as we may safely gather indirect evidence from materials so brief and scanty, these two Chiefs might, if brought into comparison with any men who have been placed in similar circumstances, challenge high praise for patriotism, courage, and moderation. Ezra and Nehemiah, we say, would have been heroes in the world's esteem if they had not been Bible heroes. We should not neglect to take into our account the copious and eloquent historical confession, uttered in the face of the assembled people by their leaders, after a public reading of the Law.† The introductory phrase is especially pertinent to our subject. "And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all strangers" (not haughtily to exult in their distinctions, nor to recount the early glories of their now fallen state, but) "to *confess their sins and the iniquities of their fathers.*" No single excitement of fanaticism—no trace of it, is to be found in these closing memorials of canonical Jewish history. Let the reader if yet he doubts, search and see.

In the hasty, yet not incautious, review we have taken of the Hebrew Scriptures, we have assumed nothing in their behalf; but have judged of them precisely as we should of the ancient literature of any other people. The issue of our scrutiny is a double conclusion—*first*, that these writings do not encourage the spirit and feeling which the consciousness of religious privileges often engenders; but rather (and in a very remarkable manner) bear with all their stress against the rise of such emotions; and *secondly*, that while they afford abundant evidence (evidence given without reserve) of the prevalence of almost every immorality and disorder among the people, no indication is contained in them of the existence of that national fanaticism which, in the Roman age, raged in Judea so vehemently.

But there yet remains a point or two that must be noticed. It has appeared that the arrogance of the Jewish people was not fomented, but repressed by Moses, and by the poets and prophets of succeeding times. This however is a half only of the evidence that bears upon our argument, for it can be proved that a kindly sentiment *towards the human family at large* was pointedly enjoined by the same authorities. Separation, it is true, was the fundamental principle of the Jewish polity; but then it was separation on the ground *only* of those corruptions and enormities that prevailed in the surrounding countries. The sole object or intention of the national seclusion was to preserve in the world the prime elements of morals and religion. And to secure this intention, and to secure it in the actual condition of mankind at the time, an extraordinary line of policy, in particular cases, as well as unique institutions, both civil and religious, were indispensable. This chosen race of true worshippers must needs assume a front of defiance and of universal reprobation, planted, as it was, on the confines of mighty and splendid idolatries. But then the reprobation had regard to *nothing* but the errors and the horrid vices of idolatry; consequently it was always true that, whoever among the nations afar off or near, would renounce his delusions, and "cleave unto the God of Israel," was welcomed to the bosom of the state. Thus the light of genuine religion was diffused, as much as conserved, by the Mosaic institutions; and explicit provision was made for the unlimited extension of the benefits they conferred.

During the purer age of the Israelitish state it is manifest that the propagation of true religion was an object of the fond desires and prayers of the pious. The people were instructed to connect their own prosperity with the welfare of the world. Yes, little as we may perhaps have heeded the fact, it is certain that expressions of the most expansive philanthropy echoed in the anthems of the Jewish temple worship! The passages challenge attention.—"God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us.—That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people (the nations) praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee. O let THE NATIONS BE GLAD AND SING FOR JOY; for thou shalt judge (preside over) the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth. Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee. Then shall the earth yield her increase, and God, EVEN OUR OWN GOD, shall bless us:—God shall bless us, and all the ends of the earth shall fear him.* Noble utterance this, of piety and universal good-will! and how utterly unlike to that grudging temper which had taken firm hold of the Jewish mind in the time of its reprobation.

While fixing the eye upon the heights of the southern Syria in the age of Titus, who must not be amazed at the singular spectacle of a petty tribe, having its face sternly set against all nations, so as justly to be styled—"haters of mankind." And yet, marvellous are the revolutions of national character; this same region, and its sacred capital, a few centuries before, was the only spot on all the globe (as far as history informs us) where public worship ennobled itself by the language of universal good-will to man!

Never is it found that fanaticism indulges bright and unrestricted hopes in favour of the bulk of mankind. Certainly it is not fanaticism that says—"All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name."† It is not fanaticism that, in the moment of national exultation, challenges all men to partake with itself its choicest honours. Yet such was actually the style of the songs that resounded, sabbath after sabbath, from the consecrated palaces of Zion. "O sing unto the Lord a new song;—sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people. Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the Lord glory and strength. Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name. Bring an offering and COME INTO HIS COURTS. O worship the

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* Ezek. vii. 9, 10; viii. 16, 17.

† Neh. ix.

* Psalm lxvii.

† Psalm lxxxvi. 9.

Lord in the beauty of holiness (Jerusalem) fear before him all the earth."[*] We ask now, Is it fair to say that the pristine religion of the Jews was dark, churlish, or misanthropic? "O praise the Lord, all ye nations, praise him all ye people."[†] Such was that Judaism (as God made it) of which the Gospel gave only a new interpretation! But the degraded Jew of the era of the Gospel had so perverted the faith of his ancestors, that when Christianity came in at length to give effect to the devout desires of the ancient church, he gnawed his tongue in very spite. Let us then attribute the later bad spirit strictly to the men in whom it is found; and do justice, as well to the primitive doctrine of this extraordinary people, as to the brighter system which sprung out of it.

Not only did several explicit enactments secure permission to aliens to take their part in the sacred Mosaic rites—even the most peculiar of them, but innumerable passages of the Pentateuch and of the prophets, assert, very solemnly, the rights of the *stranger*, and protect his welfare, along always with the widow and the fatherless.—"The STRANGER, the widow, and the fatherless," were to be cared for and cherished, as an indispensable condition of the Divine favour to the nation. "Take heed that you oppress not the *stranger*, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt." The Mosaic law, if actually *seclusive*, and if in one sense stern, was benign also, as well as just. In truth the Israelitish Law stands absolutely alone among the various documents of antiquity, as an efficient Protector of the feeble and destitute against the strong—of the poor against the rich. Nothing, in the eye of this law, made men abominable—but vice:—it authenticated no sanctity apart from the practice of justice and mercy. What more can we wish for or think of in a code that professes to come from heaven?

The prophets as they rose, vigorously maintained the Mosaic provisions in favour of the alien. For example—"Let not the son of the stranger that hath joined himself to the Lord speak, saying—The Lord hath utterly separated me from his people. The sons of the stranger (i. e. all men without distinction, not of the Abrahamic race) that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant;—even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer FOR ALL PEOPLE."[‡] The conversion of the Gentiles to the true religion is, as every reader of the Bible knows, a very frequent theme with the prophets; and when combined, as we find it, with pungent upbraidings of the chosen race, on account of their inveterate obduracy, must be held to constitute the strongest counteractive influence that can be imagined against spurious and repulsive national prejudices in matters of religion.

To what extent, during the lapse of many centuries, the Jewish institutions and Sacred Books actually diffused the blessings of true religion among the surrounding nations is a point not now to be ascertained. Yet evidence is not wanting in support of the supposition that the influence of the Hebrew polity and literature spread, in some directions, very far, so that the splendour of Truth which fell in a full beam upon Zion, did in fact radiate on all sides, and was "as a light to lighten the Gentiles," even to the ends of the earth. Without assuming to know more than history enables us to speak of, we may safely conjecture that the successive captivities of the two portions of the Hebrew race subserved this benignant intention, and operated to scatter the elements of virtue and piety over most parts of the eastern world. In like manner as Christianity was at first diffused by means of persecution, so, probably, had Judaism been diffused, again and again, by the conquest and desolation of its native soil. And it is to be noted that those who thus went forth—the compulsory missionaries of pure theology, left the land of their fathers before the age when the proud and churlish temper which afterwards made their name odious in all the world, had sprung up.[§]

But we have, in a former Section, affirmed, that fanaticism has its rise either in a gloomy conception of the Divine Nature, or in the belief which attributes the immediate and sovereign control of human affairs to malign invisible powers. A main consideration then, when the tendency of the Hebrew Scriptures becomes matter of inquiry, is the representation they make (taken in mass) of the character of Jehovah. In addition to what has already been said on this point some special circumstances should be adverted to.

We naturally read the Old Testament in the light of the New. Or, in reading the Old, we carry with us those brighter or more refined elements of Theology to which the Gospel has given prominence; and then we measure the immature, or undeveloped principles of the precursive dispensation by the standard of the later. Yet a different mode of procedure is demanded by historic justice; for plainly we ought to form our conceptions of the religious system given to the descendants of Abraham, by paying attention to the position in which it stood in relation to the sentiments and practices of the nations around it, during the ages of its destined continuance. Judaism, such as we find it in the writings of Moses and the Prophets, is not so properly thought of as a beam of light from heaven, shining on a certain spot of earth; as an energy of resistance, or a defensive power, maintaining, from age to age, a difficult position, against mighty assailants on all sides. Before we can fairly say what was Judaism—we must know—to what it was opposed—and what were the errors it kept at bay.

Is it then true that these ancient books present a stern and formidable front? Is the Divine Majesty, as spoken of by the Seers of Israel, girt about with thick clouds of the sky, and do thunderbolts play around the footstool of his throne? Yes; but what were those idolatrous delusions of which this same awful revelation made itself the antagonist? Nothing less horrible than the murderous superstitions of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Moabites, Ammonians, Egyptians, Philistines, Babylonians. These were the adversaries of Jehovah, and it was therefore that "a fiery tempest went before Him." The terrors that made Sinai tremble were conservative means—were defensive weapons—were necessary and benign instruments, employed to expel from the rude minds of an infant nation, the cruel and foul belief and worship of Moloch, of Dagon, of Baal, of Thammuz. The sternness of Jehovah should then be thought of as we regard the compassionate vigour of a parent, who strives, at all costs, to rescue his children from some cruel and seductive thraldom.

Mere justice, such as the principles of historic inquiry demand, not to speak of religious considerations, requires that we should read the Old Testament under this recollection, and as often as we meet with that which, to our acquired notions, seems rigorous, or vindictive, we are bound to bear in mind the sanguinary temper, and the detestable usages from which this same rigour was to preserve the tribes of Israel. The lapse of four and thirty centuries permits us now to descry only the dim forms of the idolatory that had gained its acmé of cruelty among the nations of Canaan, and the surrounding countries, when Moses led his people into the Arabian deserts. But the more industriously we pursue the faint indications of antiquity, the more clearly do we discern the reason and fitness and necessity of what, in the Jewish history alarms our modern notions of the Divine Nature.

And yet let it be distinctly understood what the real character of that severity was which distinguishes the ancient Jewish theology? Jehovah, was He terrible? Yes, but to whom?—To NONE but the corrupt, the unjust, the rapacious, the impure. Toward the faithful and the obedient, toward the penitent and the upright, He was "full of compasion, and gracious, slow to anger, ready to forgive;—a God pardoning iniquity, and passing by the transgression of his heritage." The memory of every one conversant with the Scriptures is fraught with passages of similar import; and it might even be affirmed that, although, in the New Testament, the way of access to the Divine favour is set open in a manner of which the Old Testament knows little, nevertheless, if we are in quest of abstract affirmations of the placability and tenderness of God toward man, or if we want affecting instances of Divine condescension, we shall find such passages in greater abundance in the Old Testament than in the New. Moreover (and this fact should never be forgotten) a great and leading purpose of the ancient dispensation was to protect the human mind from the slavish terror, so natural to it, of those SUBORDINATE MALIGNANT POWERS, whose tyrannous rage could be propitiated only by horrible rites. In this sense, emphatically, Moses and the Prophets struck at the root of fanaticism, by instating the Holy and Supreme Benevolence in the heart of man, as the ONLY object of dread, and by dislodging from their seats the host of ferocious invisible divinities.

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[*] Psalm xcvi. [†] Psalm cxvii. [‡] Isai. lvi. 3. 6, 7.

[§] A more than curious subject of inquiry presents itself in this direction. A multitude of intimations, scattered over the remains of ancient literature, supports the belief that the Hebrew theology had a very extensive influence throughout the eastern world—an influence reflected faintly upon Greece, in furnishing to mankind the elements of piety. The two books of Josephus against Apion are available as aids in such an inquiry; and we might turn also with great advantage to the early Christian writers, especially those named in a preceding note (p. 417), who supply very many clews for extending it still further. The results of such an investigation would be consolatory on more grounds than one. The beneficence of Heaven is broader than we often suppose.

We dare then conclude, upon impartial and attentive consideration of the evidence, *first*, that the religion of the Hebrew Scriptures is not of fanatical tendency; and then that the writers of those books were not men of exaggerated and malign tempers.

In reaching this conclusion we have assumed nothing peculiar in behalf of the Hebrew Scriptures; but have looked at them as we should at any other ancient writings, and have endeavoured to estimate their quality and influence on the ordinary principles of human nature. But the result of such an examination must be—as we undoubtedly believe, to establish the divine original of these books. This point secured, and it is secured too on every separate line of argument that is applicable to the subject, and then the fact—That the Jewish Lawgiver, and the prophets, and the poets of Israel were men immediately commissioned and empowered by God, affords a proper solution of every apparent difficulty, arising either from the spirit and complexion of particular passages, or form the course of conduct enjoined in special instances.

What can be more manifest than the propriety of this mode of treating such difficulties? For one man to accost another as the enemy of God—or to adjudge him to perdition, or to strike him to the earth, is indeed an outrage such as bespeaks in the assailants the most dire fanaticism, or absolute insanity. But the case is altogether altered if this same denunciator, or executioner of the wrath of Heaven is able to show Heaven's credentials actually in his hand. He whom God sends, speaks the words of God—delivers a trust which he has no liberty to evade, and performs a part that can have no immorality, because it proceeds from the Source of Law. This rule applies, without an exception, to all those instances, so often and so idly produced, in which the question hinges exclusively upon the fact of a divine injunction given to the speaker or the agent. If the prophet, or the chief were indeed inspired, then the words he utters or the deed he performs are not to be accounted his; and though arrogant or vindictive, if human only, are fitting and just—if divine. Concede the divinity of the Scriptures, and then every such objection is merged, or becomes ineffably futile. Deny their divinity, and then the argument is altogether unimportant.

SECTION X.

THE RELIGION OF THE BIBLE NOT FANATICAL.

(*The New Testament.*)

To entertain, even hypothetically, an argument such as the one before us, may seem not merely superfluous, but improper. What, it may be asked, has the world seen comparable to Christianity for the benignity of its maxims and spirits? Where are we to find charity, where meekness, where philanthropy, if not in the Gospels? To inquire then, as if the issue were doubtful, whether this religion be rancorous and fanatical, might appear not more irreverent than preposterous.

Be it so, and yet we must advance in our course without fear. To a timid objector it is enough to reply that, as in fact the most inordinate species of fanaticism have, in different eras, sprung out of the profession of Christianity, and have in the most intimate manner blended themselves with its principles, there is a very urgent necessity, if we would deal fairly with our subject, for a strict search into the authentic documents of our faith, with this specific view; and the issue of such an inquiry, as we are persuaded, can be nothing else but to prove—*first*, That these writings contain no malign excitements; and *secondly*, That the writers were personally exempt from every kind of spurious and rancorous sentiment. The question having already been briefly considered on general grounds (pp. 419, 420), we have now only to pass (with as much celerity as the argument admits) through the several canonical books, noting as it arises, whatever fairly bears upon the question.

We are met, on the very first page of the evangelic history, by a choir of supernal beings, announcing the Saviour's birth, which is declared to bring "peace on earth, and GOOD WILL to men," as well as "glory to God." Has this angelic profession then been borne out, or contradicted by facts? A perplexing question, if we are resolved to impute to systems, or persons, the entire mischief that has chanced to stand connected, ever so remotely, with them; but by no means perplexing, if we mean to look equitably at the intrinsic qualities of a system, and to the personal dispositions and conduct of the men who have yielded themselves the most completely to its influence. On *this* ground it may confidently be affirmed that, as peace and philanthropy are the grand lesson of the Gospel, so have they been its actual fruits.

A circumstance that ought by no means to be passed over, is the sort of welcome given to the "holy child" on his first entrance upon his "Father's house"—the Jewish temple. There the long desired "consolation of Israel" is affirmed to be "a Light to lighten the GENTILES," as well as the glory of the chosen people. Early check, this, to the then prevalent and fast ripening national arrogance and bigotry of the Abrahamic race! Although thus it had been long before "written in the prophets," no principle could more offend the prejudices of the times than this—That the Messiah, the King of Israel, should bless, rather than exterminate and vanquish, the uncircumcised families of the earth.

The ascetic habit and austere style of the Baptist, as we descry him amid the frowning solitudes of the Jordan, and see him with his feet washed by its dark waters, seem to promise something not in harmony with those cheering persuasive notes of mercy to mankind we had lately listened to from heaven. And so in fact the preaching of John is found to be in "the spirit and power of Elijah"—a ministry of reproof—a piercing call to repentance: and especially a sharp rebuke of national sanctimoniousness and corruption:—or to say all in a word, the preaching of John was an energetic corrective of the hypocrisy and fanatical presumption of his countrymen. "Bring forth," he cries, "fruits meet for repentance; and think not to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham to our father;' for I say to you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham;"—Yes, although the Jewish race, with all its proud pretensions were swept from the face of the earth, Abraham should not want a spiritual progeny, for the Divine power would (as actually it did) instate the Gentiles in the privileges of the ancient church. The Baptist then, although as we catch a glimpse of him, while eagerly listened to by a promiscuous crowd, he may have the air of a virulent declaimer, is not such in fact; for if we will but draw near, and give attention to his discourse, we find him vigorously assailing the national arrogance, and we hear him humbling his hearers in their own esteem, by insisting on those capital articles of morality which had dropt out of their scheme of punctilious and farcical piety. Moreover, he fails not to renounce for himself the honours which the people would have paid him:—but this surely bespeaks him a genuine prophet of the Lord, and proves that he was no aspiring sectarist.

In the remarkable narrative of the temptation, the principal circumstance (bearing on our question) is an assertion, by our Lord, of the claim of God to human reverence, in contradiction of the impious homage which the Rebel Spirit falsely challenged to himself, as master of the world. The rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan," bore against all forms of polytheistic superstition, the essence of which, under whatever guise, is a servile deference paid to malevolent invisible power. And this comprehensive condemnation of the worst of all errors was followed up, throughout the course of our Lord's ministry, by his exercising a rigorous control over the infernal legions: The malignant power was no longer to usurp the regards of mankind; for a stronger arm than his had despoiled him of the "armour wherein he trusted;" and henceforward the Supreme Benevolence alone was to be looked to by man, as the object of hope and fear. The tendency of the New Testament is altogether to emancipate the human mind from its ancient thraldom to the invisible tyrants; and it does this, not by affirming the non-existence of such beings, but by exposing their guile, and by declaring their enchainment, under the hand of the Omnipotent Son of God. In thus removing the grounds of superstition, Christianity, wherever it takes effect, dries up the source of fanaticism, the virulence of which is drawn from the belief of a malevolent administration of human affairs.*

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* The subject of diabolical agency has been once and again alluded to, as connected with fanatical sentiments. Had it been possible

Every form of religious rancour is *implicitly* reproved in the announcement which the Divine Deliverer makes, at an early stage of his public ministry, of the purpose of God toward mankind;—"The Father hath so LOVED THE WORLD as to give his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. For the Father sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world might be saved through him." And again, when he declares that—"The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Whether it be the self-tormenting rigour of the ascetic, or the deadly zeal of the Inquisitor, or the martial rage of the Moslem conqueror, or the crabbed bigotry of the modern dogmatist; each is utterly condemned, and the specious pretexts of each are torn away, by this first axiom of Christianity—That the Gospel is at once the expression, and the means of the DIVINE BENEVOLENCE TOWARD MANKIND AT LARGE. Any zeal, therefore, which is not benign, is not a godly or Christian zeal; rather, we should deem it an infernal impulse that drives on those who, under pretence of religion, torture themselves, or others, or indulge sentiments of contempt and hatred toward mankind in the mass, or toward particular bodies of men:—if this be our spirit, it is not the spirit of Jesus;—for he was "the Saviour of all men." It is Satan—not Christ, who is the author of cruelties, and the patron and upholder of sects.

The broadest and the firmest foundation being thus laid in the Gospel for philanthropy (nothing more broad can be imagined) those condemnatory announcements which bear out the message of mercy are wholly deprived of the pernicious force that otherwise might have belonged to them. Nothing can destroy men, we learn, but their final contempt of the Divine forbearance. All men therefore are to be regarded as salvable; and all are, in a genuine sense, the objects of the same Benevolence which has rescued ourselves from perdition. To give effect to this divine benevolence (so far as human agency may extend) is the part that belongs to Christians; nor can any motive be authentic that will not freely play in concert with the unrestricted zeal of compassion.

Our Lord in his discourse with the Samaritan woman throws open the gate of religious privilege to all nations; thus shutting out the Jewish arrogance, and at the same time securing the special authority of truth, against a vague and spurious candour. "Ye (Samaritans) know not what ye worship;—for salvation is of the Jews." It is they who are the keepers of the recorded will of Heaven; it is from among them that shall spring up the new and universal religion. Nevertheless this new religion, although of Jewish birth, is not to be the property of the worshippers at Jerusalem only; but shall comprehend those of every country who "worship the Father in spirit and truth." The Gospel advances always on a precise line, nor must it ever be turned from the prescribed track. Yet is this line "gone forth into all the world," and like the equatorial, must girt the globe.

The motives of Christianity, like the powers of nature, produce their genuine fruits only in combination: whoever severs, perverts them. Thus when it was said to the first promulgators of the Gospel, just about to "go forth as sheep among wolves"—"Happy are ye when men speak evil of you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil of you falsely for my sake," this same self-congratulation which it was lawful to admit under injurious treatment, might readily subside into a malign habit within the bosom of the oppressed sectarist, if it were not balanced by that other exhortation, soon subjoined, and so emphatically given—"Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." The fanatic divides these counteractive elements of feeling. He blesses himself in the presumption of Divine favour, and if he does not loudly curse his persecutor, mutters an anticipation of the wrath that is to fall upon "the enemies of God." To love his enemy, and heartily to wish him well, is a point of virtue he scarcely pretends to. The rule of Divine forgiveness brings these very same motives into close contact. Sternly is it declared that he who grants no pardon to others, shall receive none for himself. The vindictive religionist avoids the application of the rule to his own case, only by renouncing the supposition of personal guilt: he who has no sin, needs not show indulgence. And thus in fact we find an egregious conceit of the favour of God towards himself, to be always the germ of the rancorous sentiments of the bigot.

If at any time our Lord—"meek and lowly" as he was, assumed the tones of indignant reproof, we find it on those occasions precisely when the sanctimonious and fanatical Scribe, Pharisee, and Lawyer, stood before him;—not when surrounded by the publicans and sinners of the people. Never before had haughty and hollow religionism received so severe a reprimand as that reported by the Evangelist,* in which not merely is the veil rent from the face of hypocrisy; but the culprit's false heart is laid open, and the double-edged knife pierces to the "dividing asunder of the joints and marrow;"—nay, the very "thoughts and intents of the soul" are exposed to the gaze of all. Neither is the hypocrite or the fanatic spared, although found among the chosen followers of the Lord. "Have not I chosen you twelve," said the Lord; "and one of you is a devil?" And how did he check the intemperate zeal of those of them who would have called down fire from heaven to avenge the inhospitality of certain Samaritans:—"Ye know not what spirit ye are of." And again, as if to shut out on every side a false temper in matters of religion, he defended the harmless trespass of his followers in the corn field, against the punctilious objection of the Pharisees. "If ye had known what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the innocent." Is not this answer the very antithesis of fanaticism? does it not reach the core of spiritual acerbity?

So far as the public ministry of Christ may be termed criminative and severe, the object of it was that special disposition whence fanaticism takes its rise, namely—an affected zeal for the purity of religion, showing itself in a conceit of the Divine favour toward the zealot himself, and an envious contempt of the mass of mankind. These were in fact the characteristic vices of the time, and it was against these, and these only, that the Divine Teacher directed the vehemence of his reprehension. We say then that if a spurious and malign zeal is found to be the national fault of the Jewish people, at the era of Christianity, the teaching of Christ, far from fomenting that pernicious temper, in the most bold and unsparing manner condemned it.

Yet we should look to those special occasions on which the temper of a teacher, or the tendency of a system, makes itself apparent in some incidental and indirect manner. Now we actually find an instance of this sort, and a very signal one, when the seventy delegates, after having borne their message through the towns of Jewry, returned to their Master with joy, saying—"Lord, even the dæmons are subject unto us through thy name!" Natural exultation! and yet the feeling whence it sprang was of a dangerous kind; or at least was one that urgently demands to be counterpoised by motives of quite another order. How readily does the human imagination kindle at the thought of a near contact with Invisible Powers!—and if moreover these Powers are thought of as malevolent, the darkest and most terrible passions rush in to lend their force to the conceptions of evil. Should it happen too, at the same time, that an open triumph has been had over such beings, who long had made sport of human frailty, the gloomy excitement of the soul reaches its utmost point:—or it may do so. Were any such emotions actually rife in the bosoms of his followers—and we must not affirm it to be impossible, our Lord did by no means check the mischief in the manner which the frigid sceptic would approve; he did not avail himself of that fair occasion for rooting out of the minds of his disciples the belief altogether of malignant and hostile invisible power; far from it—he solemnly authenticates that belief when he says—"I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven:" and again—"I give you authority over all the power of THE ENEMY." But the sentiments of his followers were not to be left to rest at this point; their feelings were to be carried forward, as all genuine religious emotions should, into the bright region of hope, humility and pious gratitude. "Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven. To complete the transition from a less benign sentiment, to one more congenial with the spirit of the Gospel, Jesus uttered aloud a thanksgiving which, by a manifest implication, conveyed a very humiliating lesson to the heart of the hearers. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto *babes!*" If among the seventy there was found a proud, an ambitious, or a rancorous spirit, what rebuke could it have

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to bring the question within narrow limits, the author would have given it a prominent place in the present volume. He proposes to treat it more distinctly in his projected work on Superstition.

* Matt. xxiii.

received more pointed than the one involved in the terms of this address to heaven? Fanaticism can take no hold of the human mind until that child-like temper which Christ here affirms and supposes to be characteristic of his disciples has been thrown off.

Presenting itself as it does in the same connexion, we ought to notice that significant—nay, severe reproof of Jewish arrogance which the parable of the compassionate Samaritan conveys. What irony more caustic than that of bringing upon the scene the Priest and Levite, of whom we catch a glimpse as they move off, wrapped in sacerdotal scrupulosity and pride; while a Samaritan (hated name), comes up to furnish the lesson of piety and mercy! We ought distinctly to conceive of the virulence of national feelings at the time, if we would understand the cutting force of this apologue. The parable of the Prodigal, in like manner, obliquely, but not obscurely assails the bad and grudging temper of the Jewish people, and holds forth, in figure, the heavy line of conduct which the zealots of that nation actually pursued when afterwards they saw "sinners of the Gentiles" coming to the arms of Divine mercy, and numbered with the family of God. These incidental instances are pertinent to our subject, inasmuch as they show the steady purpose of our Lord to place his doctrine and his system of morals in direct opposition to the existing sentiments of his countrymen. He mortified every fond prejudice, as well as reproved every scandal of the times.

The difficult point of practical wisdom in the conduct of a public instructor is always the management of those articles of faith that wear an adverse aspect one to the other. This is the stumbling stone of the presumptuous reasoner: this the occasion of offence to the feeble; this the ordeal of discretion. Three or four instances might be named; but they are all by implication contained in the two main principles—each fully and freely affirmed in the Christian system—namely, the Divine Benevolence—absolute as it is, and the Divine Justice, involving tremendous consequences to the human race. It is here that the iron-sinewed theologue, with his paper demonstrations, has outraged at once the Divine Character, and every natural sentiment of equity and goodness; it is here that the murky fanatic shows his home to be the world of evil; and it is here, on the other side, that those have stumbled and fallen who scruple not to make the Divine testimony nugatory whenever it offends them.

How different was the style of the Divine Teacher in this instance; and in giving attention for a moment to his method, if we do no more, we shall catch a note or two of that celestial harmony which breathed in every word he spoke, and proclaimed him to be "from above."

The then extant belief of the Jewish people (or the greater part of them) on the subject of future punishment,[*] our Lord did not mitigate; nor did he leave it where he found it; but affirmed it anew, made it an inseparable part of his religion, and gave it his sanction in terms as distinct and irrefragable as language affords. Compared with Moses or with the prophets, or with other religious institutors, Christ might in a sense be called the Herald of Wrath. Not one of his ministers (so far as appears), came up to their Master in the fulness or the frequency of his announcement of the doom of the impertinent. They, though with firmness, yet with modesty and fear, assert the terrors of Divine Justice; but he speaks like one whose eye, piercing the thin veil of the material world, continually gazed upon the mysteries of the unseen. The apostles spoke in the confidence of faith; Christ with the vivacity of immediate knowledge.

And yet, who like Jesus has manifested the glory of the Father, whose glory is love? By what means then did he bear in his hands, together, these antagonist elements of religion? Certainly it was not by labouring to extenuate at one time what he had too boldly affirmed at another. Never did he insinuate, or throw out as by chance, mitigations which the sceptic might catch up, and expand at his pleasure. Neither did he enter at any time upon exculpatory reasons in behalf of the divine administration of human affairs; nor open the way to abstruse speculation, such as should establish the eternal consistencies of goodness and severity. Not a syllable did he furnish as text to the learned disquisitions that have entertained the schools. In a word, our Lord made no *direct provision* against those abuses or ill consequences that might flow from his doctrine.

Nevertheless these ill consequences are in fact so counteracted, that Christianity, even by the admission of its enemies, taken as a whole, and taken as its Author left it, is bright and benign. The means by which the two elements of wrath and love are balanced, so far as they may be traced, bespeak the same wisdom that adjusts and balances the antagonist powers of nature. The first and most obvious counteractive means we have already had occasion (page 387) to speak of —namely, the invariable and intelligible annexation of the threatened punishment to vicious acts, and to an impious life, so that the doctrine bears always directly upon the conscience, and gives its aid to virtue.

In the next place, our Lord, without ever attempting, on abstract ground to harmonize the divine attributes, exhibited the glory, beauty and sweetness of the PATERNAL Creator, and Preserver, and Sovereign, in a manner never before thought of, and which can never be steadily contemplated by any human mind without imparting sentiments that effectually exclude morose or fanatical emotions. This is a countervailing provision, not formal indeed, but infallible, and of irresistible force. The providence of God, both universal and particular, comprehensive and minute, the unremitted care of life, the regard to the wants, and fears, and hopes, and even comfort of all creatures, the constant attention to prayer, the special regard to the poor, the feeble, and the lowly, and the Divine forbearance toward the disobedient—all these benign elements of theology form the prominent characteristics of the teaching of Christ.

But how can we reconcile such exhibitions of tenderness and love with the actual facts, announced by the same Teacher, of the ruin and miseries of man? The teacher himself, confiding in the real, though occult consistency of what he declares, and not anxious for consequences, throws out the two great principles, and leaves them to work as they may, within the human bosom. With that serenity which befits the Author of Christianity, as Author of all things, and Sovereign of the universe, he puts in play each proper impulse of the moral economy. Purblind philosophy may call them incompatible. Nature and truth shall pronounce them one.

We have yet to advance a step further. So contracted and exclusive in its modes of feeling is the human mind, that if we converse much and long with terrible or afflictive conceptions, and heartily surrender ourselves to the impression of certain appalling facts, it is not easy to avoid becoming sullenly indifferent to the present sufferings of mankind; as if it were of little moment what those are enduring in the present life, who must endure worse in the next. Not such were the sentiments of the Saviour of the world; no insensibility of this kind affected his human sympathies: He thought lightly of no pain or want that attaches to mortality: infirmity, or anguish, or hunger, he cared for, and relieved. "He bare our infirmities, and himself took our sickness." The benevolence of the Lord Jesus was like the radiance of the sun, which, while spreading itself over the broad fields of the universe, even to the utmost verge of nature, pervades also the most obscure recesses, penetrates every depth, and brings home warmth and joy to the meanest orders of the sentient world.

Come to what conclusion we may, or let us be never so much perplexed in our fruitless endeavours to reach any conclusion that may fully reconcile opposing truths, the fact stands before us—a fact full of instruction, that He whose doctrine inspires us with extreme alarm on account of the great mass of our fellow men, nevertheless, when in the desert he looked upon the multitudes that had left their homes to follow him, "had compassion upon them," and would by no means leave them to suffer even a transient hunger and fatigue. The same spirit pervades every action; he healed— "as many as were brought unto him," he rejected none; he made no conditions; but dispensed good with a royal facility, as well as with sensitive tenderness. Nor did the momentous importance of his public work alienate him from the suavities of personal friendship. Still we find no theologic explication of the apparent contrariety of Love and Justice; but instead of it, are presented with a living exemplar of the harmony of the two.

Another striking characteristic of our Lord's sentiments, as exhibited in his mode of teaching, bears directly upon our subject. This is the style and materials of his tropes and apologues. If the imagination be susceptible of vivid impressions, it is scarcely possible to entertain frequently conceptions of terror without losing the taste or the faculty that finds recreation among the gay beauties and simple charms of nature. Fruits and flowers, bright skies and rustic occupations, retain no hold of the spirit that often takes its flight through the abyss of horrors. To stoop and to gather illustrations, and to do so by habit, from the garden and the field, and from the humble labours of domestic life, has never been the manner of those who have borne heavy tidings to their fellow men—even when their motive has been sincere and benevolent; much less of the ireful reformer, the glance of whose eye seems to scathe whatever dares to look green and happy.

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[*] A knowledge of the opinions and modes of speaking prevalent among the Jews is necessary to a correct understanding of our Lord's language on this serious subject. Philo especially should be searched for this purpose. The doctrine he holds is of a very decisive character —ὅτι οἶμαι ἡ ἀσέβεια κακόν ἐστιν, ἀτελεύτητον, ἐξαπτόμενον, καὶ μηδέποτε σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον. . . . . *De Profugis.*

Yet it was not so with Jesus. When we bear in mind the ordinary alliance of the moral sentiments with the imagination, and think how naturally subjects of a vast and afflictive order cloud the mind, and impart to it an inflexible rigour, we must contemplate with amazement, in our Lord's discourses and parables, the junction of elements seemingly the most incongruous. What more appalling—what, if indeed we follow it to its meaning, what more distracting to the heart, than the affirmations which often conclude a series of parables that has brought together the smiling beauties of the visible creation, and the gentle familiar suavities of common life! Considered as literature merely, our Lord's discourses, as well public as private, take their place, not along with the vehement and impassioned harangues of orators; but with the mildest and most attractive class of pastoral and dramatic compositions. Yet what were the truths that stretched a dark and deep foundation beneath this fair superstructure of heavenly wisdom?—truths which, when vividly perceived by other men, have absorbed the soul, and given a sombre colour to every sentiment. Nowhere, except in the discourses recorded by the Evangelists, do we hear such mingled tones of terror and sweetness issuing from the same lips. The apostles, though raised above the common level by the Spirit that dwelt in them, yet never reached, nor even approached, the elevation of their master. Their style was human; and the weighty matters of their message to mankind so pressed upon their hearts that they became, in some measure, abstracted from the smaller interests of life, and insensible to the graces of nature. Their language, though figurative, is always urgent and grave, and befitting men whose task is felt by themselves to surpass their powers.

The graceful serenity and happy ease of our Lord's mode of teaching should command our profound attention, *first*, as an indirect yet irresistible evidence (we should say *manifestation*) of his divinity, and of his absolute superiority to all other teachers; and *secondly*, as involving a proof, far better than any metaphysic demonstration could be, of the interior consistency of the benignity and justice of God. The more we meditate upon this subject the more shall we be convinced that it furnishes all we ought anxiously to wish for in the way of explication of the Divine attributes. He in whom were concentrated these very attributes—He whose purity was the purity of God, and whose compassion was the compassion of God, is heard to utter, in one and the same breath, the language of inflexible Justice and of absolute Love. Holiness and benevolence then are one; and we should be content to confide implicitly in such a proof that they are so.

But we must now turn from the Master to his Disciples.

There may fairly be room to ask whether, after their Master had left them, and when they became the objects of the fury of their countrymen, and entered fresh upon a field of extraordinary excitements, the first disciples maintained meekness and charity of temper; or yielded to those emotions which similar circumstances have too often awakened. A question like this must be determined, not by the formal testimony of the parties in their own cause, but by inferences drawn from incidental allusions, or casual expressions. And is it credible that a company of men really exorbitant in their modes of thinking, and gloomy or malign in their tempers, should hand down to posterity a collection of memoirs and letters, such as shall convey no indication of the passions that were working in their bosoms? This were indeed the greatest of miracles, and we reject, without scruple, the supposition that it might be true.

As in the eye of irreligious men any degree of feeling in matters of religion is enthusiasm, so must the same persons deem any sort of zeal in the propagation of it fanatical. If it be enthusaism to pray, it is certainly fanaticism to travel from city to city, troubling men's minds by announcements of future judgment; and how much more fanatical, to encounter stripes and imprisonments in such a course, or actually to meet a violent death, rather than abandon the enterprise of converting mankind to a system of opinions! If *now* it be enthusiastic for a man to account the service and worship of God the main business of his life, unquestionably the course of conduct pursued by the first propagators of the Gospel, as well as by all who have since trodden in their steps, was preposterous. But if the Gospel be indeed from Heaven, our estimation of men and things must obey another rule. In this case it must be granted, that whatever might be the immediate consequences of the agitations they excited, and even although the public tranquillity was much disturbed in all quarters of the Roman empire by their preaching, nevertheless, the pretinacious zeal of the apostles was strictly reasonable, and their fortitude and courage in the best sense magnanimous. There still, however, remains a question which may be prosecuted, even after this general admission has been made, namely, whether the apostles and their companions, in fulfilling the extraordinary part assigned to them, at all forgot personal moderation, charity, and benevolence; or do we find them, when placed in circumstances of peculiar excitement, acrimonious, vindictive, ungovernable? In a word, is their language and conduct that of fanatics, or such only as well became good and honest men, commissioned to establish in the world, at any cost to themselves, the great principles of piety?

The hour of trial for the temper of the disciples of Christ was when, after having got possession of the popular favour, it rested with themselves either to fan the kindling flame of national feeling, and turn it vindictively upon the rulers (a course which evidently these rulers apprehended as probable*), or to avail themselves of the attention they then commanded, for the purpose of enforcing the spiritual objects of their ministry. If the readiness of the Jewish rabble, at this period, to obey every violent impulse be considered, and it be recollected too, that the apostles were themselves men of the lower class, and destitute of motives of policy, and moreover, very lately, like their countrymen, filled with expectations of secular aggrandizement;—if we bear in mind that Peter, James, and John, the rustics of Galilee, were, only a few weeks before the day of Pentecost, dreaming of temporal dignities—palaces and regal splendour, we are then qualified to estimate fairly the language held by them when surrounded by the thousands of the people that thronged the precincts of the temple. Not only do we find no tampering with the national passions of the multitude, but the tide of feeling was sent in upon every man's personal sense of guilt; the most effectual of all means this, of assuaging tumultuous excitements. Nor were even the just feelings of indignation worked upon by the use of acrimonious terms. On the contrary, the most indulgent construction which the facts admitted was put upon the sanguinary act of those who had crucified "the Holy One—the Lord of Glory." "And now brethren," says Peter, "I wot that through ignorance ye did, as did also your rulers. Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.—For God, having raised up his son Jesus, hath sent him TO BEESS YOU, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities."

Assuredly this is not the language either of demagogues, or of fanatics! Whoever would affirm it to be so, must entertain strange notions of human nature, and be ignorant too of history. The demagogue never extenuates the conduct of the authorities he is aiming to overthrow; the fanatic does not bless, but curse. The same simplicity of intention, reaching just to the point of firmness and fidelity, but not going beyond it, is conspicuous in Peter's behaviour before the rulers:—he adhered to his instructions—the instructions of heaven; yet neither defied his judges, nor railed upon them; but, appealing to their common sense, left himself in their hands. "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye."

The pattern of behaviour thus set by the apostles on the first occurrence of persecution, was adhered to in all those instances which come within the range of the canonical history. The story is ever the same; on the one part, a furious intolerance and cruelty; on the other, firmness, simplicity, and patient endurance of wrong. Thus it was that the protomartyr showed of whom he had learned the lesson of meekness, when dying under the hands of a ruffian mob, he exclaimed, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!"

In Luke's memoirs we soon lose sight of Peter and his companions, and must look to their epistles for evidence on the question whether, through a course of years, their spirits remained unhurt by pesecutions and contempt. Was the patience of these preachers at length worn out; or did they become as they grew old captious and imperious, within the church; and turbulent and morose without it? It is natural to turn first to the epistles of Peter, both on account of his official pre-eminence in the apostolic college, and because the impetuosity of temper which the evangelic narrative attributes to him, would make it probable that, if any of the twelve overstepped the line of meekness and moderation, he would be the one.

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* "Behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us." Acts v. 28.

Whatever difference of spirit may present itself in comparing the angelic history of Peter's early conduct with the writings that convey the sentiments of his matured mind, this alteration ought to be attributed to the gradual influence of the system of opinions he had embraced; and if we are asking, What was the tendency of that system? nothing can be more fair than to mark its operation upon a mind so peculiarly susceptible of strong excitements. Thus for example, if, notwithstanding the existence of certain formal precepts of a contrary aspect, the real operation of Christianity had been of a kind to cherish contumacious, ambitious, or virulent dispositions, nothing could have prevented the display of that result, after it had been ripened by the various occasions and trials of thirty years. Chief of the new sect, and distinguished among his colleagues by the delegation to his hands of certain awful powers, Peter, vehement and heady, would have become arrogant, jealous in the defence of his supremacy, and (like prelates of after ages) a strenuous asserter of apostolic authority. This we say, must infallibly have happened, human nature being the same in that age as in every other, if the natural operation of common motives had not been effectively counteracted by the system to which this ardent spirit was devoted. It is in fact, a circumstance highly remarkable, that neither of the epistles of Peter contains the slightest allusion to the special distinction conferred upon him by his Master; nor indeed any general assertion of the sovereign dignity of the apostolic office. Humility itself breathes its sweetness in that one passage which refers to pastoral power.* Or if we do not feel at once the full force of this proof of the meekness and simplicity that the Gospel engendered, let us place these epistles by the side of some specimens of episcopal letters, belonging to the second and third centuries.

We well know what are those points of collision that bring fire from the soul of the fanatic:—the power and cruelty of the oppressor he can speak of only in terms of sympathetic rancour. But it was not thus that Peter refers to the authorities under which Christians had already suffered the most exasperating injuries; nor was it in any such mode that he laid down the rule of patience in tribulation, wrongfully inflicted. It is quite certain—or as certain as any moral evidence founded on the constant laws of the moral world can make it—That the aged writer of the two epistles in question had not received an aggravation of the native faults of his character from Christianity; but on the contrary, that these tendencies were corrected, nay dispelled by its operation. Evidence of this sort can never approach nearer to conclusiveness than it does in the instance before us; and we hesitate not to draw from it an absolute historic inference—That the Gospel, *such as it was in the age of Peter*, had no malign or fanatical quality.

A very peculiar style, and a peculiar spirit too, distinguish the Epistle of JAMES. Besides the vigour, spirit, and simple majesty of the language, which carries us back to the age of the prophets, there is, throughout it, a bold and strait-forward good sense that scatters at a stroke the pretexts of hypocrisy, and the illusions of religious conceit. This venerable writer enters the Church, scourge in hand, to drive thence those corruptions which most readily find a lodgment under sacred roofs. Nevertheless the mode of reproof, and its terms, bespeak affection, as much as fidelity. James is severe, or rather penetrating; but not acrid or virulent. Especially he assails the characteristic faults of the Jewish mind—the religious arrogance, presumption, and laxity; the asperity of mutual crimination, and that disposition (so remarkable in this people, and the parent of faction) to assume, individually, a vindictive and intolerant jurisdiction over other men's conduct and opinions. If among the Jewish converts, as is probable from other evidence, the bad passions that infest spurious piety were then making their appearance in the infant Church, this apostolic writer at once discerned the incipient mischief, and employed all his energy for its exposure and repression.

The pretexts of hollow piety are the main subjects of the epistle of James; but a single passage, of a different purport, catches the eye in which the enemies of the Gospel are brought under rebuke. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come unto you. Ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you." If this commination be viewed in a general light only, as applicable to all instances of oppressive arrogance, it will come under the rule that is applicable to very many passages of the Scriptures, in which God, the Friend and Avenger of the poor and needy, utters, by the mouth of the prophet, the fierceness of his displeasure against the proud and the rapacious:—the style, the terms, and the matter of blame, are altogether in harmony with what we find so frequently in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets. This language then, of stern condemnation, is not to be attributed to *the writer* as characteristic of his personal dispositions, until we have disproved his claim to be considered as the messenger of Heaven.

But there is room to believe that a more special reference is contained in the passage. The epistle was written, as it seems, a few years only (not more than eight) before the destruction of Jerusalem, and at a time when, forewarned as they had been by the Lord, and probably in a manner more explicit than appears in the Gosples, the Apostles could entertain no doubt of the near approach of the awful catastrophe of the nation. The signs of the coming desolation were then gathering upon the heavens. James, head of the Church at Jerusalem, and constantly resident there, could not look upon the infatuated Rulers of the people without descrying, as if inscribed upon the front of their pride and sumptuous magnificence, the divine sentence of reprobation, which so soon was to take effect. He beheld these men adding to all their other crimes the deeper guilt of rejecting the Messiah, and of persecuting his followers. How then could he be silent when he saw Christians themselves, with a servile easiness, flattering the very persons upon whom the wrath of Heaven was just about to alight? Do not, he asks, these same arrogant chiefs oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats? and is it in deference even to your persecutors, that ye despise the poor, and thrust him down in your assemblies to the place of contempt? What is this but implicitly to take part with the enemies of Christ, against yourselves? The disposition to pay court to the profligate and cruel masters of Israel must be checked; and it is effectively checked in the passage which announces the unparalleled miseries that soon after fell upon the Jewish people. And yet the inference urged upon Christians is one of forbearance, not of revenge. "Be ye also patient, stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." And it was an inference too of peace and kindness among themselves. "Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned. Behold the Judge standeth before the door."

The severity of JUDE, like that of James, is aimed, not at the mass of mankind, but at the Christian community itself, and employed chiefly to expose and condemn those very disorders whence fanaticism takes its rise. There had "crept in unawares" among the Christians, men, not only of dissolute life, but of vain, turbulent, and factious dispositions, who "despised dominion—spoke evil of dignities, and of things they understood not"—who, from the wildness and unprofitable exorbitancy of their minds, were not unfitly described as "clouds without water, carried about of winds; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever." These men were "separatists" also, and seem to have wanted little or nothing which might entitle them to rank with the most virulent or debauched of those who afterwards made the name of Jew a shame and terror through the world. It is manifest that the Jewish fanaticism, which was then fast reaching its height, spread itself by contagion within the precincts of the primitive church: this was only natural. All we have to do with it is the treatment which the incursive evil received from the Apostles. On this point the short epistle of Jude affords the most satisfaatory evidence. Is it severe? yes, but the occasion was urgent; for there seemed not a little danger lest, by its mere proximity, the Christian body should be drawn into the vortex of the national frenzy, and swallowed in the whirlpool of its guilt and ruin. Yet if Jude be severe, where severity was necessary, he forgot not, as passionate reprovers so often do, discrimination and tenderness. "Of some," says he, "have compassion, *making a difference:* and others save with fear, plucking them out of the fire." The fanatic deals rather in sweeping condemnations.

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* "Presbyters I exhort, who am a fellow-presbyter, &c.... Keep the fold of God—exercising the episcopal office not from compulsion; but readily and piously, κατὰ θεόν: neither from sordid motives, but in the spirit of fervour; nor yet as domineering over the heritage (τῶν κλήρων.") Thus speaks the "Prince of the Apostles"—the "Vicar of Christ"—the "holder of the keys"—the "first Sovereign Pontiff;"—yes, the leader of the Popes!—and the predecessor of the Gregorys, the Innocents, the Leos, the Alexanders, of Rome!

A style far more becoming to ghostly lords than that of the Apostle was very soon adoped by Church dignitaries, a sample of which will properly be adduced on a future occasion.

Although it may seem peculiarly superfluous to prove that the writings of JOHN are of mild and benign tendency, yet there is a ground on which even these may properly come under our examination. It is well known that very serious corruptions have often sprung from modes of thinking apparently the most pure or sublime; just as mighty rivers descend upon the common level of the world from heights that overlook the clouds, and where there are no storms to feed them. Human nature will not well bear to be lifted to a stage much above that of ordinary motives, or to be cut off from all correspondence with such motives. The dangerous experiment has been tried a thousand times, and has always failed: it is tried anew in every age by lofty enthusiastic minds. Now, at a hasty glance, it might seem as if the first epistle of John (a treatise rather than an epistle) was of that very sort which engenders a supramundane or abstracted style of piety; and so, although itself free from rancorous ingredients, might, at second or third hand, become the source of unsocial feelings. Abstract or philosophic love is but another name for visionary selfishness; so it has proved in the instance of mystics of all sects.

But in such cases it will be found that the system of sentiment has been made to rest upon dogmas, metaphysic or abstruse, and hard to be expressed in familiar terms. The "pure love of God," and of "all creatures in him," has been a stagnation of the soul, reflecting from its dead surface, not the smiling and various landscape around; but the mere vacancy of the skies. Has then the divine love which John describes and recommends, any such character of subtility or refinement; or does it rest at all upon a theoretic basis? Every reader of the catholic epistle must confess that it is not so. In the first place the singularly inartificial structure of this composition (so unlike the elaborate rhapsodies of the mystic) contradicts the supposition, and so does the homeliness of the style, which instead of recommending itself to the fastidious taste of sensitive recluses, seems specially adapted to the uninstructed class of readers. But the main circumstance of distinction is this—That the very drift of the whole treatise—the point which, at all events is to be secured, and which rises to view in each paragraph, till it seems a tautology, is, that no profession of love to God can for a moment be admitted as genuine, or as better than "a lie," if it does not constantly and consistently prove itself to include the love of benevolence towards all around us. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Now this plain appeal to common sense is a concise refutation of the principle of mystic religion, which we find to be, that what is occult, is always more worthy than what is sensible or visible. But St. John makes what is occult subordinate to what is visible. Or it might be said that he utterly sets at naught and spurns all modes of religious sentiment that are too sublime to be measured by the very simplest maxims of common virtue. "My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth." Or if an exhortation so clear needed a comment, we find it at hand:—"Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

The epistle of John ought then to be regarded not as a germ of mysticism: but on the contrary, as a plain and pointed caution against every form of hyperbolic piety. The ultimate reason of this caution is not indeed the one which secular men will approve; for it does not assume all elevated and intense emotions fixed on unseen objects to be absurd or pernicious. Far otherwise; for the apostle carries the notion of true piety to the very highest point, even to that height of "perfect love," which "casteth out fear." But while he does so, he employs all his force to strengthening the connexion (which the Mystic labours to weaken) between the offices of pity and charity, and those exalted motives that should animate virtue. In a word, the religion of John is not abstruse, but intelligible; not theoretic, but practical; not monastic, but domestic: it is the very religion which the Soffee, and the Platonist, and the Pietist, and the Monk, spurn as vulgar, or *natural*, in comparison with his own, which he declares to be "celestial."

To the "beloved disciple" was assigned the task of closing the sacred canon, and of setting the apostolic seal upon the religion of Christ after the lapse of a period which saw it exposed to perils of every kind. The most serious and fatal corruptions had in fact, before the death of John, connected themselves with the new profession, and had drawn towards it—just as smaller bodies, and the scum and the wrecks of things, rush into the wake of a stately vessel that rapidly ploughs the waves. Before the close of the first century there was much room to fear that certain impious and licentious doctrines, bred in the East, should so far borrow (or rather steal) recommendations from the Gospel, as to bring the Gospel itself into disrepute, as well as to pervert many of its followers. The most decisive measures on the part of those who watched for the welfare of the community, were absolutely necessary to preserve the very existence of the Church amid these dangers. The Gnostic, the Cerinthian, and others of the like order, were to be deprived of the aid and credit they drew from the name of Christ. "If there come any unto you, and bring not the doctrine (already known and authenticated), receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." Sacred truth must, when put in peril, be preferred to courtesy or hospitality: and he who will be the friend of all, at whatever cost, or by means of whatever compromise, possesses rather the semblance of charity than its substance. We ought, on this rule, to keep in mind the distinction between a necessary firmness, or even severity, in preserving the outworks of religion, and that churlish rigidity which impels a man to become a sectarist. The first is known by its taking its stand always on capital or primary and well understood principles; the second by its zeal for whatever is secondary, unimportant, unintelligible and ambiguous.

The most signal and significant of the instances that belong to the review now in hand remains to be considered.

If the natural disposition of Peter, such as it betrays itself in the Gospels, would lead us to look narrowly to the turn which Christianity gave to his sentiments and conduct, the temper of Paul, much more, invites scrutiny, inasmuch as he makes his entry upon the stage of church history in the very character of a fanatic; a fanatic too, not by accident or external inducement, or secular interest, but by the vehemence of his spirit, and the original bias of his mind. That the business of persecution was undertaken by this extraordinary youth freely, is made evident by what we afterwards see to have been his character; for Paul, it is certain, was no subservient being—no tool, and not the man to receive direction from others. Zeal so furious, in so young a bosom, must be held to mark the native disposition; and perhaps few of those who have figured on the ensanguined theatre of religious cruelty—from Antiochus to our own Bonner or Laud, would have been able to support their claims to a bad pre-eminence by the side of Saul of Tarsus, if the dazzling light of heaven had not met him on his way to Damascus, and turned the course of his life, as well as changed his heart. The definition of Fanatic wants little which it does not find in this instance, if we assume as our guide the brief narrative of his early conduct, as commented on by himself. The question presents itself then, concerning this Fanatic-born—did Christianity amend, or did it aggravate his disposition?

There are on record a few instances of sudden and extraordinary conversions which have passed over the moral faculties with the force of a hurricane, or of an inundation, sweeping away almost every trace of what heretofore had marked the character:—the man has not remained after the change what he was, in any other sense hardly than that of bare physical identity. The warrior and prince, for example, laying down his pride, his plumes, his schemes of empire, and his insatiate passions, has become a self-denying, inane monk!—the lips which a while ago uttered thunders and made kingdoms tremble, lisp pater-nosters through the dull watches of the night; and the eyes that shot fire in the bloody combat, are moistened with feeble tears, or peruse the floor of a cell! Now it is especially to be noted that the conversion of Saul was not of this sort; it was no dissolution of nature. If we had met him (uninformed of what had happened), some years after the change in his course of life, and having known him before it took place, we should perhaps scarcely have divined the fact from his manner or appearance. The same animation—the same spirit and impetuosity—the very same sparkle of the eye; the same indefatigable industry and impatience of rest. We should have seen indeed that the labours and cares of active life had marked his features; but assuredly should not have said that the bright promise of energy and intelligence had been blighted, or had passed off, into a dull and flaccid imbecility.

The narrative contained in the Acts of the Apostles abundantly proves that Paul's conversion, though it turned the current of his native energy, did not in any degree dry it up. Nor even did his submission to the maxims of the Gospel (curbing the irascible passions as they do), render him so tame or passive in matters of civil right and privilege as perhaps might have been imagined. The instances are of a remarkable kind, and they serve to demonstrate that, while receiving meekly the most extreme ill-treatment which his profession of Christianity brought upon him, and from which Roman law afforded no relief, he never lost sight of any judicial distinction that might avail to skreen him from lawless rage, or magisterial tyranny.

Neither was Paul's spirit as a man broken, nor his sensibilities blunted, nor the vigour and fine finish of his understanding impaired by his change of principles. His speeches on public occasions afford convincing proof to the contrary, in each of these particulars; and when brought into comparison, one with another, present a very rare example of the faculty which enables a man to adapt himself, at a moment, to the prejudices or capacities of the persons he addresses; or, if separately viewed, they give evidence of the possession of powers not often assembled in the same individual. There is found in them the indications of fire and sensitiveness, conjoined with self-command, courage and moderation. There is an immoveable attachment to principles, together with the most flexible accommodation of the mode and subject of discourse to the personal or national feelings of all parties; and a rare fecundity—we might say exuberance of mind, along with the strictest adherence to the ultimate point towards which, from the first, he tends.

The actual influence of Christianity, such as it was in its first era, is then subjected to an *experimentum crucis* in the case of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Idle would it be to say—such and such dogmas or motives, belonging to the Gospel, or implied in it, and affirmed in the epistles of Paul, could not fail to have a malignant or uncharitable influence. In refutation of any hypothetic argument of this sort, we boldly make our appeal to an example that wants nothing to render it conclusive. Christianity found Saul of Tarsus a fanatic, both by temper and habit: a life of privations and injuries naturally exacerbates a fiery disposition, and beyond doubt, "Paul the aged" would have become one of the sternest and most implacable of fanatics the world has seen, if the system he embraced had actually favoured that order of feeling; or in truth, if it had not exerted a mighty efficacy altogether of an opposite kind. We turn then, for a moment, to his epistles. And with our particular object in view, it is natural to distribute them in three classes, the *first* consisting of those which exhibit the doctrines and duties of religion in an abstract form, or without specific reference to parties or occasions. The *second* comprising those that bear upon the disorders or controversies existing in certain communities; and the *third*—including the private and clerical epistles.

I. Of the FIRST CLASS, the most general, or *impersonal*, is the epistle to the Hebrews; and the fact which meets us at a glance, as pertinent to our inquiry, though of a negative kind, ought not to be slighted. The elaborate argument of this treatise is addressed to the Jewish converts to Christianity; now when a man has broken himself off from a communion of which once he was the zealous supporter, and especially if he have received cruel injuries from his former friends, it is almost a constant thing to find him casting contempt upon the system he has renounced, and taking a position as remote as possible from the one whence his irritated opponents assail him. And why should not the rule hold good in the instance before us? Spurned and persecuted by the Jewish authorities, and made the minister of an economy which avowedly was to supersede the ancient dispensation, what would have been more natural than that he should exult over the falling fabric of the Mosaic law, and indulge in the bitterness and irony common to controversy, and especially to controversy in the hands of a renegade. But in contrariety to any such supposition, the epistle to the Hebrews renders a homage to the Mosaic institutions, and to the principles and practices of the Jewish religion, as cordial and full, as could have been offered by Gamaliel himself. The difference between Paul and Gamaliel related only to the intention, or to the interpretation of the Law, and its rites. The Pentateuch sustains no disparagement in the hands of the apostle, who, though he was preaching to all nations an economy which implies the abrogation of that of Moses, would not erect the new upon the ruins of the old; but rather builds the new upon the old, as its immovable foundation. If at all he inculpates the ancient institute, he does so only in compliance with a divine declaration, to that effect, uttered long before:—"If that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second. For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah."

And if the author of this treatise does not vilify the party he had left, neither does he flatter the party he had joined: not any of the spite on the one side, nor of the partiality on the other of the sectarist, is found in him. "I have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing, and instead of making the progress which might have been expected, have need to be taught afresh the very elements of your profession." And yet this reproof does not spring from a petulance which will be always finding fault, even with friends and favourites; for the kindest expressions almost immediately follow. "Beloved, we are persuaded better things of you:—God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love."

Not to insist upon several express admonitions to a peaceable and charitable behaviour, and to patience under persecution, we may safely affirm that a calm, erudite, and refined argument, such as that of this treatise, must be adjudged the product of a mind habitually serene, as well as devout, and of a mind which, even by the complication of its inferences, is proved to possess that equipoise of the understanding, which, whether original or acquired, never consists with the prevalence of turbulent and rancorous passions.

The epistle to the Romans, if in some respects more personal than that to the Hebrews, is yet, in the main, a theological and ethical treatise, rather than a letter, and is in the same way available as proof of the calm command which the writer retained of the reasoning faculty—a command very likely to be lost in a long course of perils, privations, changes of scene, injurious treatment, and public labour; even if the native temperament be tranquil, much more if it be susceptible of strong excitements. Is it to be believed that, if the youthful violence and bigotry of the writer had been kept alive by Christianity, the combined influence of original temper, a stimulating system of opinions, and a life like that of the persecuted Paul, would have left him, at sixty, a reasoner such as he appears in the epistle to the Romans?

Some kind of exaggeration or distortion of the principles of virtue, characterises always fanaticism, and belongs to it under every modification. If at any time there arise a controversy between common sense and good morals on the one side, and some exorbitant and turgid pretension to heroic virtue on the other, no such event will ever happen as that the Fanatic should range himself on the side of the former, against the latter:—quite otherwise, and as if by irresistible attraction, does he pass over toward whatever is disproportioned, tumid, enormous, violent; and as certainly he assails whatever is just and modest. With a like certainty do dense mephitic vapours subside into caverns and sepulchres; while inflammable gases mount to the upper sky. Now a controversy, precisely of this sort, was abroad in the age of the apostles. The strait and rigid portion of the Jewish people had carried to the utmost extreme the national propensity to sanctimonious pride, in contempt of every plain principle of morality. The Jewish idea of virtue and piety, at that time, might fitly be compared to the image one obtains of a distant temple or palace, when seen through a knotted and misshapen lens:—high and low are reversed; the pinnacles seem to prop the columns;—the foundations are heaved aloft;—chasms gape in the midst;—every line is broken, and the wings are disjoined from the body. In what manner then did Paul assail these illusions? Not as a fanatic of some adverse school might have done, by opposing one extravagance to another. But (as we actually find in the first three chapters of the epistle to the Romans) by leading the minds of men back, in the most vigorous style of reprobatory eloquence, to the great principles of justice, continence, temperance, and piety. After solemnly asserting the righteous government of God, with what force does he bring home the unquestioned maxims of law upon the seared pride of the licentious and self-complacent Jew! "Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God!—through breaking of the law dishonourest thou God? Thou teacher of the law, dost thou steal, commit adultery, and sacrilege?" This, we say, is sound reason, opposed to corruption, evasions and perversity; and it carries ample proof of the integrity of the writer's understanding.

But there is a test of character which yet remains to be sought for. Does then Paul use truth and reason as mere instruments of violence in assailing an adversary? (for this is sometimes seen) does he drive with indiscriminate fury over the ground, sweeping all things before him, good and bad? In stripping his mistaken countrymen of their cloak of lies, does he rend away their garment also—their genuine advantage? It is not so. After bringing his arraignment of national casuistry to a just conclusion—a conclusion utterly foreign to the modes of thinking then in vogue—namely, That the true circumcision "is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men but of God;" he takes up instantly the opposite position, which might seem to have been endangered, and becomes himself the advocate of Jewish distinctions, so far as they were valid. "What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision?—MUCH EVERY WAY." This is precisely the course of moderation;—this is that gathering up of an argument on all sides, which a wise and temperate man, who is labouring only for truth, will take care not to leave another to do for him. If this is to be deemed the style of the inflated and acrimonious Fanatic, or of the partisan and bigot, we must give up every attempt to establish distinctions, and must grant that all moral characteristics are nugatory. Let us only imagine ourselves to have heard the young Saul disputing against Christianity with his comrades, on his road to Damascus; can we suppose that his argument would have been balanced in any such equitable manner? It is conspicuous and unquestionable that the Gospel, *such as Paul found it*, instead of fomenting in any way the natural intolerance of his temper, had actually restored the equilibrium of his mind, and had taught the zealot to be just!

To prove that ALL MEN stand on the very same level of guilt in the righteous estimation of the Impartial Judge, is an argument the fanatic lets alone, if he does not impugn it. We shall never see him equalizing pretensions of all sorts, in language such as follows. "What then, are we better than they? No, in no wise; for we have before proved, both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin. All are gone out of the way—have become unprofitable;—there is none that doeth good—no, not one!" This doctrine the fanatic places on some other ground than that of the universal principles of morality, and he always appends to it some saving clause or evasion, such as shall turn aside from himself its humbling inference.

But if, in Paul's account, condemnation be universal, grace is so too, at least in its aspect toward mankind, and in its proposals. As there is no difference in guilt, so is there none, either in the conditions of pardon, or in the eligibility of men to the Divine Favour. "Is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also." And it is now true, as the same writer expresses it in another place, that, under the banner of Christ, there are no exclusions and no peculiarities. "Greek and Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, are all one in Christ Jesus:" or to use the equivalent language of another Apostle—That God puts no difference between man and man;—is no respecter of persons; but that "in EVERY NATION he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." Bright expansion of heavenly glory? Welcome news from on high! with emphasis may we say, in hearing this canon of grace—"The true light now shineth!" But what we have specifically to do with is this only—That the men who spent all their strength as preachers and writers in promulgating such a doctrine, and in an age too such as the one they actually lived in, were assuredly no fanatics. And let it be told that these preachers of universal good-will were not Grecian sages, but Jews;—Jews born and bred in the very ferment of bigotry. Moreover the most conspicuous of this band of innovators burst upon the world in the very character of a sanguinary zealot—"a Hebrew of the Hebrews"—a sanctimonious Pharisee—and by early propensity "a persecutor and injurious." We loudly defy contradiction in affirming then, That Christianity, such as the Apostles held it, was not fanatical.

As matter of argument it must be deemed quite superfluous, and yet as matter of *impression*, it might be proper, to adduce the preceptive and concluding portions of this same epistle to the Romans in proof of the symmetry and completeness of that moral code which the writer promulgates or enforces. And after doing so, we should be entitled to the inference, on another ground, that he was no fanatic; for the fanatic never fails to exaggerate or deform morality, on the one side, or on the other. We must not however omit to mention (for it is of peculiar importance) the decisive assertion of the duty of submitting to civil powers that occurs in the 13th chapter of this epistle. Taking with us our modern anxious notions of civil liberty, we might perhaps covet to find in this noted passage, some exception made in favour of popular rights. Be this desire reasonable or not, it is certain that so full and clear a statement of the relative duty of magistrate and subject, *in favour of the former*, is in a high degree remarkable, as coming from a man who, through a long course of years, had endured all sorts of wrongs from the "powers that then were"—both Jewish and Roman. No exasperation, it is evident, had grown as a habit upon the writer's mind. He did not (fanatic-like) seek to revenge himself upon the dignities and thrones, by sapping, in the opinions of the infant sect, the foundations of political obedience. In later ages it is hard to find, among the persecuted, parallel instances of forbearance.

If Christians of every age had but paid deference to it, the 14th chapter of this epistle contains, within the compass of a few verses, a comprehensive refutation of every pretext of religious faction, whether urged by the refractory, or by the despotic party. The simplest principles are always those which mankind are the slowest to learn. It has been so in philosophy; it has been so in the business of civil government; and it is so in matters of religion. A doctrine which, when expressed at large, seems too trite or obvious to be formally announced, and which asks no proof, is the very point that the perversity of the human mind evades or shuns. To whatever causes the pertinacity of sectarism may be attributed (a question foreign to our subject) it remains certain that Christianity, *as taught by the Apostles*, is wholly guiltless of the mischief. The chapter just named, and another of like import,* abundantly refute the calumny that the Religion of Christ is generative of discords. The wit of man could devise no cautionary provision against such evils more complete, more conclusive, or more perspicuous, than the one we here find. Precept, argument, instruction, have done their utmost. With what freshness and vigour do good sense and charity breathe combined in every phrase and verse of this chapter! If we have been wading through the noisome quags of church squabbles (ancient or modern) the effect upon the mind of turning to this passage—bright and clear, is like that of escaping from a pestilential swamp, where we were tormented by the musquito, to a hill-top on which the gales are pure, the sky clear, and the prospect unbounded! To quote any single verse of the chapter, apart from its context, were a damage; for the whole is closely woven together in conformity with the genuine rules of natural and manly eloquence. It only remains to remind the reader (after he has turned to the passage) of the conclusion—That the writer of the epistle, whatever might have been his temper in early life, was no fanatic at the time when he addressed the Christians of Rome.

Evidence to the same effect, both of a negative and positive kind, might be drawn from the epistles to the churches at Ephesus and at Colosse. Besides the purity and simplicity of the ethical portions of these letters, which bespeak a sound and tranquil mind, the only special points to be adverted to, are the explicit assertion in both epistles, of the equalization of religious privileges, and the nullity of those exclusive pretensions on which the Jew founded his contempt of the bulk of mankind.—"Christ," says the Apostle, "is our peace, who hath made Jew and Gentile one, having broken down the middle wall of partition."—Again: "Ye therefore are no more strangers and foreigners; but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." We find also in the epistle to the Colossians a very remarkable (shall we say a *prophetic*) caution against that spirit of mingled superstition and fanaticism—of presumption and servility, which so soon made its appearance in the Church, and rapidly spread, and actually held its sway, undisputed, more than a thousand years. The voluntary (*or artificial*) humiliations—the worshipping of angels—the sanctimonious abstinences—the human traditions—the specious piety, and the idle tormenting of the body; in a word, all the elements of the great apostacy are here designated in the most distinct manner; or as if the many-coloured corruptions of the tenth century had vividly passed before the eye of the writer. How sound and healthy is that piety and that morality which he recommends in opposition to all such absurdities!

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* 1 Cor. xiii.

II. We turn next to those of the epistles of Paul which, in a more direct manner, are personal communications from the writer to the parties addressed, and which, as they relate to local controversies, disagreements, or partialities, rife at the moment, may be expected to exhibit more of the writer's sensitiveness than a bare theological treatise, or a hortatory letter is likely to display. The genuine character and dispositions of an author naturally become most conspicuous on those occasions when he is wrought upon by personal feelings. Six of the Pauline epistles come under this description; and we first advert to those that are altogether of an amicable kind, and embody the writer's lively affection to two favoured societies.

The epistle "to the faithful at Philippi" is a warm expression of feeling, such as is proper to an endeared personal friendship, resting on the basis of a thorough confidence. The tenderness and the graciousness that pervade it are much to our present purpose; and so is that spirit of lofty and fervent piety which it breathes; for these are conclusive proof of what the influence of Christianity was in its pristine era. But we shall pause only at certain specific indications of the temper of the writer. The first of these is of an extraordinary sort, and may appear to contradict the supposition, drawn from other sources, that the apostles maintained the honours of their high function by a stern and efficacious rebuke of factious proceedings. But the truth seems to be that, although on urgent occasions, and when they had to deal hand to hand with the contumacious sectarist or pernicious heretic, they used with promptitude "the power which the Lord had given them," their native feelings, abhorrent of the despotic and jealous course customary with spiritual dignities, restrained them from employing penal powers, if by any means it could be avoided. What Paul's inner dispositions were in relation to contentious or ambitious zealots, we here perceive.—"Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife—of contention, not sincerely, supposing (intending) to add affliction to my bonds.—What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice!" Can this be the language of the man who, some thirty years before, had been seen raging up and down through the streets of Jerusalem, and cramming its dungeons with innocent women and children? Christianity truly had done his temper no harm in the interval!

In personal conflict with these vexatious demagogues, Paul might perhaps, from a sense of public duty, have assumed another tone; but we see that when, in the freedom of private friendship, he refers to the rancour of such teachers toward himself, his mind was not that of the despot, or of the fanatic.—It is evident, on the contrary, that much personal proficiency in the virtues of self-command, qualified him to admonish others—"to be of one accord, of one mind; —to do nothing through strife, or vain-glory, but in lowliness of mind to esteem others better than themselves."

A similar affection was borne by the apostle to the Thessalonian Christians: and on the strength of that affection, and in the spirit of conscious integrity, he appeals to them to attest, as well the integrity as the mildness of his ministerial conduct among them. A foreknowledge, probably, of the vengeance then impending the Jewish people, and near to fall upon the rebellious city, seems to be couched in the terms he employs when speaking of his outrageous countrymen. Yet it cannot be said that the passage breathes a vindictive spirit, or that it is unbecoming the occasion.—"THE WRATH (that specific judgment, long ago threatened) is come upon them to the utmost, who both killed the Lord Jesus, as they did their own prophets; and have persecuted us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men—forbidding the progress of the Gospel among the Gentiles." Yet the painful theme is instantly dropped, and the happier sentiments—the characteristic sentiments of the writer's mind, prevail.

It is not (as we need hardly affirm) a simple declaration of the Divine displeasure against sin, or the authorized announcement of approaching judgment, that indicate the fanatic; for this office may in fact be the highest work of charity, and may be performed under the impulse of the warmest benevolence. But it is when the wrath of heaven is a man's chosen and constant theme, and when, without any commission to that effect, he takes upon him to hurl the bolts of the Most High, this way and that—at individuals or at communities: it is then that we justly impute malevolence, as well as a gloomy extravagance of temper. Now when we find, in the second of Paul's epistles to the believers of Thessalonica, one of the most appalling descriptions of the future wrath that the Bible any where contains, it may be enough to compare the insulated passage with the general tenor of the writer's letters for the purpose of proving that "the perdition of ungodly men" was as far as possible from being the topic toward which his thoughts continually tended, and upon which (as the fanatic) he was always copious, eloquent, and at ease. But we are bound to go further; and while we pause (in the next chapter) at the prophetic description of the great apostasy that seven centuries afterwards should reach its height, who does not stand back, as if in the Divine Presence, and confess that it is not Paul but the Omniscient God who speaks? Every phrase of terror—is it not deep as the thunder of Heaven? When the Supreme thus distinctly utters his voice from on high, let him that dares come forward to arraign the style?

But we are soon brought back to the level of human sentiments, and again see the writer's genuine character in the casual expression of his mind, as occasions arise. "If any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed." Here is apostolic vigour—necessary for the general good; nevertheless the culprit is not forgotten; much less consigned to vengeance. "Yet count him not as an enemy; but admonish him as a brother." The caution this, of a paternal heart.

The two epistles to the Christians of Corinth, and the one to those of Galatia, are marked by a speciality of meaning in every part, and also by a frequent admixture of personal feelings; yet of a different kind from that which distinguishes the letters last mentioned. Capital errors, and practical abuses, and church disorders in the one instance, and a grave perversion of doctrine in the other, brought into play the sterner elements of the apostolic character, and we see, by this means, not only what was the writer's style of reproof; but what was the temper called up in him by open and irritating opposition to his just authority. Shall it not be now, that young SAUL—the tyro of Gamaliel, is to reappear on the stage, while PAUL, the disciple of Jesus, stands aside?

The evidence is before us. Nothing can be more free and natural than the manner of these compositions; nothing more lively or spirited. If we want native expressions of a writer's very soul, here we have them. And it may be added that while these three epistles abound with those incidental allusions to facts and to persons which place their genuineness far beyond doubt, they present also, in a remarkable degree, those fresh touches of human sentiment—absolutely inimitable, which alone would be enough to assure all who have any perception of truth and nature, that we are conversing with real and living objects; not with spurious images.

The first topic that meets us, and the one which manifestly was uppermost in the writer's mind, is that of the factions that had sprung up among the Corinthian converts. We reach then here the very point of our *experimentum crucis.* In what manner does the religious Chief deal with the divisions of those who (many of them) were calling in question his apostolic authority? Now not to insist upon that general rule of policy which leads a chief to manage factions for his own advantage; or to play one party against another, it is certain that, if a man's own spirit be factious—if he harbour a secret virulence, the tendencies of nature will draw him on, ere he is aware, and even against his sense of personal discretion, to take a side, and to join in the fray. Whatever tone of impartiality he may assume, or how sincerely soever he may wish to compose the feud, he will be sure to throw in some pungent matter that shall increase the ferment. But Paul on this occasion neither acts the wily part of the adroit demagogue, nor the involuntary part of the fanatic. He grants not the slightest favour, even by any indirect inference, to his personal adherents in the Corinthian church. But on the contrary, without distinction, condemns and contemns the sectarists of those four denominations. "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ! Is then Christ divided?" And while "one saith I am of Paul, and another I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?" Yes, "babes in Christ"—persons who, notwithstanding all their boasted gifts, were in fact only just opening their eyes (if so much) upon the world of truth. And who is Paul, and who Apollos? Will you say Leaders and Princes in the Church? nay, nothing more than subservient agents in the hand of the Lord. "Let a man so account of us as the ministers (*menials*) of Christ, and stewards only of the mysteries of God.

There is neither guile nor ambition in this: nor can it be thought to savour of the smothered inflammatory style of one whose factious temper is always getting the better of his sense of interest and his motives of policy. The blow is aimed at the very root of discord; and the apostles themselves would retreat from the place of honour that belonged to them, if no other means could be found for withdrawing their names from the banners of a party. "In handling this subject," says Paul, "I have thus used my own name and that of Apollos, that ye might learn in us (though in fact we be rightful chiefs in the Church) not to think of any above what is enjoined; and that no one of you be inflated with zeal for one, against another."

Yet must the apostolic authority be exerted in a manner that shall inspire the disorderly with fear. Yes, but it is not the personal antagonists of Paul that are selected as the objects of the supernatural infliction: a shameless violator of the common principles of morality is the victim. "In the name of the Lord Jesus, let the incestuous man be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh; that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord."

Whatever incidental evils may arise from that separation and seclusion which Christianity involve, they would all, or nearly all, be avoided, if the apostolic rule were but adhered to, such as we find it luminously laid down in these epistles to the Corinthians, and which, if reduced into an abstract form, might be thus expressed—That the rigours of church discipline should be made to bear upon *the society itself*, while a bland, unscrupulous and unsanctimonious courtesy of behaviour on the part of Christians towards others, allows the leaven of the Gospel freely to mingle itself with the general mass of mankind. What can more approve itself to reason than a principle like this? What can be more unlike the supercilious monasticism and the morose sectarism of the fanatic? Indeed sectarists and fanatics of all classes, and in every age, have just reversed the apostolic canon. That is to say, they have enclosed themselves and their sanctity in a coop of pride, so as to deprive the profane world of the benefit it might have got from the spectacle of virtue so exalted; and at the same time have expended their entire fund of indulgences—one upon another. Nothing has been so hard as to get admission into the exquisite circle of purity; nothing so easy as to live there when once admitted! It has been like climbing a painful and rugged steep—to find at the summit, a luxurious level.

The apostle would have it quite otherwise. Let us stop to gaze a moment upon his golden, but much neglected maxim of church polity. Alas, that the roll of church history illustrates its excellence so often by contrarieties!

"I have here been enjoining you not to hold any intercourse with persons of impure manners; (but do not misunderstand me), I am not speaking of worldly men, whether covetous or rapacious, or idolatrous: for to observe any such rule in relation to them would be to exclude yourselves altogether from the social economy. On the contrary, my meaning is, that you should maintain no intimacy with one who, making a profession of the Gospel, and calling himself a brother, is licentious, avaricious, profane; is addicted to slander, or is intemperate or rapacious. For what affair of mine is it to exercise jurisdiction over those who have not voluntarily placed themselves within the circle of church censure? Such belong to the Divine Tribunal. But judge ye those of your own society: and in the present instance excommunicate this same flagitious person."

How might the Church by this time, and long ago have spread itself through the world, and its purity have been maintained, if regard had been paid to the simple rule we have quoted! The same law of charity and integrity, expanded and applied to the difficult question of social communication with idolaters, is brought forward again in the 8th and 10th chapters. Shall we find any one so uncandid or so perverted in spirit as to refuse to Paul the praise of high good sense, as well as of benignity in this instance? The whole of the practical instructions that fill the middle chapters of the first epistle to the Corinthian church, are eminently characteristic of a calm and temperate mind; and stand in full opposition to the crooked policy, to the acrid bigotry, to the imbecile conscientiousness, and to the foul hypocrisy that so often have deformed the profession of the Gospel.

Must apostolic rigour pursue its victim with inexorable wrath? Far from it. How does the paternal spirit of Paul rejoice (in the second epistle), over the repentant culprit! "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment; comfort him, therefore, lest he be swallowed up with over-much sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him." A father in the midst of his children does not sooner relent, or hasten more to meet a penitent son, than does this apostle, as we see him administering the affairs of the infant church.

A delicate part remained to be performed in reference to the indispensable duty of asserting the apostolic power, impugned as it had been by a factious Jewish party at Corinth. In measure the argument was a personal controversy; yet did it involve common principles. The occasion was precisely one of that peculiar and difficult kind on which a public person feels that he must defend himself, as an individual, against those who, in assailing his single reputation, mean much more than to tread a fair name in the dust: in such a case the timid, or the falsely modest, give ground; and murky pride throws up public interests, rather than descend to explanation with a despised antagonist; while the arrogant or despotic chief comes out in ire to repel the assault, and thinks only how best to save his personal importance.

The course taken by the Apostle is quite of a different sort. The mingled strain of apology, remonstrance and entreaty, which closes the epistle to the Corinthians, brings together, in admirable combination, the emotions of a highly sensitive, generous, humble and yet noble mind, striving alternately with itself and with its sense of public duty. The abrupt transitions, the frequent interrogations, the sudden appeals, and the genial warmth of the whole, impart an historic life to the passage, such as makes the reader think that he sees and hears the speaker actually before him. It is saying little to affirm that a composition of this order stands immensely remote from the suspicion of spuriousness:—if this be not reality, the objects that now press upon the senses are not real; and the stamp of truth which marks it, involves also the truth of the Christian system. But this is not all; for if we ought in any case to rely upon the universal principles of human nature, as they are gathered from history and observation, we may affirm that it is the property of gloomy or malignant opinions, or of notions that are preposterous and exaggerated, to impart a certain fixedness or monotony to the mind and temper: the passions become set; the style of expression, even if vehement and copious, is of one order only: the themes of discourse are few, and the drift is ever the same. Were it demanded to assign some single characteristic which should mark the fanatic in every case, the same *exclusiveness* might be given as the infallible sign. On the contrary, a free play of the faculties and emotions, and a graceful versatility of mind, is the distinction of those who live in the light, and inhale the pure breezes of day. An expansive benevolence, conjoined with the mild affections of common life, not only renders the heart sensitive on all sides, but imparts an interchangeable mobility to the entire circle of feelings, so that transitions from one to another are easy and rapid; the character, in its general aspect, is pleasantly diversified. The storms of December are of one hue, and rush across the heavens in one direction; but the summer's sky has many colours, and a new beauty for every hour.

Now we might assume the rapid interchange of subjects and sentiments, and the abruptness of the style, and its sparkling vivacity, in the passage before us, as sufficient proof of our position, that the mind of Paul, far from having been rigidly fixed in one mood by Christianity, had actually acquired, under its influence, more copiousness of feeling than his early course seemed to promise. The Gospel had made him—we appeal confidently to the instance now before us—the Gospel had made Paul a man of *much* feeling, and of *many* feelings. But fanaticism, if it quickens some single sensibility, renders others torpid, and after a while reduces the character to the narrowest range, or brings on intellectual atrophy.

We have yet to advert for a moment to the epistle to the Christian societies of Galatia; but do not meddle with what belongs in it to the theologian, and which has often enough been treated of: what is pertinent to our immediate purpose may soon be said. Written about the middle of his apostolic course, and at the season of ripened manhood, it may be assumed to exhibit the effect of Christianity after it had fully settled itself upon the moral and mental habits of Paul, and before the force of his spirit had become at all abated. We find in it, as we might expect, the highest degree of vigour and vivacity; as well as a very decisive tone, and even an authoritative challenge of submission to his dictates in matters of religious truth. There is nothing feeble in this epistle; and yet we meet indications of that paternal tenderness which distinguishes his addresses to the best-loved churches: there is the same candour too in acknowledging whatever was laudable among these societies; and moreover such a mixture of abstract argument with personal persuasion as indicates the writer's desire to deal reasonably with whoever would listen to reason. Five-sixths of the whole composition is calm explanation of facts, or adduction of evidence. But this is not the style of offended pride, when it rankles in the bosom of an intemperate and irritated dignitary.

Yet the main feature of the epistle to the Galatians is the breadth of the practical principles it supports, and the opposition it offers to the bigotry, superstition, and spiritual pride of the Jewish teachers. If Paul be vehement, it is always in behalf of common sense and liberality: if he be indignant, it is when he mantles to break the chain of spiritual despotism: if he be stern, it is to uphold consistency. Even Peter, he "withstood to the face," on account of culpable compliances with Jewish sanctimoniousness. The obsolete system of national seclusion he discards, by affirming that now, within the Christian Church, all extrinsic distinctions are merged. "There is neither Greek nor Jew, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for all are one in Christ Jesus." That superstition too, which waits only an accidental excitement to kindle into virulent fanaticism, he treats with objurgation and contempt. "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereto ye desire again to be in bondage! Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain?" "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which worketh by love." And yet this liberty was not libertinism. "Use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh; but by love serve one another." "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh."

But this is that very style of sound sense and moderation, and that GENERALIZATION OF PRINCIPLES, WITHOUT LAXITY, which so grievously offends the imbecile pietist, the scrupulous bigot, and the virulent fanatic. It is the style of Paul; and his invariable use of it carries forward our present argument toward a triumphant issue.

III. The four epistles to individuals—especially the three that are clerical or official, demand to be reviewed.

The question in hand might, with very little hazard—perhaps with none, be made to rest upon the solitary evidence of the epistle to Philemon. If we knew nothing more of the writer's temper than what breaks upon us through the tenderness and grace of this short letter (and were informed also that the same person had commenced his course as a sanguinary zealot) the proof would be complete, that the system under which his character had been matured, must have been of the most benign sort. No such inconsistency has ever presented itself on the various field of human nature as that of a man who being by constitutional tendency fierce and despotic, after yielding himself through a long course of years to the influence of a gloomy creed, was yet, at the close of life, such as this letter declares "Paul the aged" to have been. It is certain then, that Paul's creed was not gloomy; but on the contrary, benign; and benign in the most active and efficacious sense. Is there not in the epistle to Philemon a melody of love, struck from the chords of a nicely attuned heart? Yet it was the Gospel, not Nature, that so attuned it.

If a man's character is to be known more certainly from his conversation with his intimate friends or family, than from his public harangues, so, and for the same reasons, a private correspondence is more available for such a purpose than a general treatise. And again, if there be any one species of personal and private correspondence which, more than another, lays open a writer's secret principles, it is that carried on between men of the same profession or calling, on subjects involving the credit and interests of that calling. The sentiments of public persons towards the commonalty over which they exercise a control founded altogether on *opinion*, are very apt to assume an aspect either of hostility, or of craftiness. Then when such official persons interchange their private feelings, and especially when a superior of the order conveys instructions to the subaltern, there will infallibly peep out, in some part, the sinister sentiment—the harboured grudge, the sly maxims of *professional prudence*, or the lurking acrimony and arrogance toward the populace—if in fact any such oblique motive or principle exist in the mind of the writer; nor will any discretion avail to prevent its appearance.

Now having before us a writer's various compositions, if we go over them all, beginning with those of a general or abstract kind, and advance to such as are more specific, and at last open the packet of his private and professional papers, we compass him on all sides; we beleaguer his very soul—throw open the "keep" of his heart, and leave him no chance of maintaining his concealment. If Paul may not be known from his two letters to Timothy, and that to Titus, no writer can at all be judged of from the records he has left of himself. The genuineness of these letters is abundantly established, and by the best sort of proof. No one competent to estimate literary evidence can even pretend to doubt of it. Moreover they were composed (the last of them especially) very near the close of the writer's apostolic course, and when his mind had admitted all the influence it could admit from the system to which his life had been devoted. They were addressed too, to subordinates in office; yet to men endeared and familiar by community in labours and sufferings. What forbids us then—what rule of historic evidence, acknowledged as valid, forbids us to assume these same letters as CONCLUSIVE PROOF in a question concerning the quality and tendency of Christianity in its first stage?

Let now some speculative reasoner come up, and say—"The view that is presented in the New Testament of the moral condition of mankind, and of the doom of the impenitent, and of the agency or interference of evil spirits, cannot but have a pernicious or malign influence over the human mind." In rebutting any such hypothetical objection we should instantly turn from theory to fact, and reply—If the supposition were indeed well founded, it is certain that the learned zealot of Tarsus must have fully received upon the sensitive surface of his native character any such fanatical excitement, and it is certain too, that a thirty or forty years of injurious treatment would so have aggravated and fixed whatever was bad in his natural temper, that his last letters would verily have reeked with venom. But is it so in fact? Let these letters say. Must we not acknowledge that, how sad and appalling soever may be the truths on the ground of which the Gospel proceeds, or on which it builds its superstructure of mercy—the efficacious motives it brings in upon the human mind are far more than enough to correct the gloomy influence of those facts, and do actually avail to produce the most perfect examples of gentleness, meekness, and universal goodwill; aye, and to engender this bland philanthropy even upon an intemperate spirit!

Our evidence on this point has a more extended consequence than may at first appear, and is such as to justify the share of attention now claimed for it.

These valedictory letters (for we may so deem them) in the first place prove, what before we have alleged, that the mildness of the apostle's character, such as it appears in the greater part of his writings, was not the consequence of a prostration of his native vigour, or an enfeebling of that constitutional vivacity which brought him so early upon the stage of public life. The sort of advice he gives to Titus in reference to the factious and dissolute Jews of Crete (as well as similar passages in the epistles to Timothy) makes it certain that the repellant force of his mind remained undiminished. Paul had not become so easy—much less imbecile, as to wink at disorders, or tamely to allow either the apostolic or the episcopal authority to be sported with.

Yet it was no personal homage that he demanded, such as ambition seeks for. "I was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious"—an eminent example of that mercy which even "the chief of sinners" henceforward may hope to receive. The first point insisted upon in these pastoral admonitions is, that prayer and praise should be offered in the christian assemblies continually on behalf "of all men," especially "for kings, and all that are in authority. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." Is it the religious misanthrope who speaks in this passage?—there is certainly heard in it no growl of the Jewish grudge against the bulk of mankind; nor does it convey the writer's covert revenge against the Roman or Jewish authorities, that had every where loaded him with wrongs. One might, for a moment, fancy that Paul had at length gained access to the imperial saloon—was basking in the sunshine of the court, and thence was issuing mandates to the christian world in the fulness of his complacency. Alas—he was still the tenant of a dungeon! Mark it; this command to pray for kings and magistrates was sealed by a hand then actually encumbered with the chain of despotic power!

The description given of episcopal qualifications in these letters might be pertinently adduced as proof of the modesty and soundness of the writer's conceptions of spiritual supremacy. To estimate fairly this description we ought to place in comparison with it certain magnific passages that might readily be quoted from even the most moderate of the Fathers. He who, as we have seen, is neither murky and contumacious towards secular authorities, nor exorbitant and preposterous in his notions of ecclesiastical prerogative, may justly claim a rare praise, inasmuch as the one of these faults, or the other, (if not both together) has ordinarily belonged to men who have stood at the head of religious communities in times of persecution.

"Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil:—the Lord reward him according to his works;"—an announcement, this, of righteous retribution, and in harmony with the established tone of divinely commissioned men; and necessary to the maintenance of apostolic authority. But we find that the irksome subject is glanced at only, and that an instantaneous transition is made to one which, although painful also, serves to bring into view that rule of discrimination according to which the apostle meted out their censures—"making a difference, and of some having compassion." "At my first answer" (arraignment) says Paul, "no man stood with me; but all forsook me; Let it not be laid to their charge!"

A criterion of a man's temper might with great safety be drawn from the simple, though not obtrusive, circumstance of the sort of transitions he is accustomed to make in unpremeditated converse with his friends, or in his confidential correspondence. It is in these sudden turns and replications that the inner texture of the soul is exposed to view. Every one who has been a meditative listener to the familiar talk of mankind, is well aware of the significance of the fact we here refer to. The characteristic of the mind, and of its individual affections, is not so well furnished by what a man says on such or such a topic, deliberately brought before him, as by what he slides into, when the immediate subject is dismissed. If pride rankle in the bosom—if murky revenge be the master passion—if envy bear rule within the hidden world; or if spiritual arrogance be the yeast that ferments in the soul, we shall readily detect the disguised malady as often as the man makes his transition, or turns off from the question or discourse that has engaged him.

And how, on the other hand, does the benignity—the charitable hope—the kind interpretation of what is ambiguous, break out from the casual converse of a tranquil and happy spirit! Let the sky be never so much darkened, we feel (when in such company) that a summer's sun is somewhere above the horizon; and ere long its power and brightness actually bursts out, even from the midst of gloom and thunder. Now by this very rule, and it is perhaps one of the most constant and certain of any that may be advanced as a clew to the secrets of the human heart, we are content that the writer of the Pauline epistles should be judged, and the quality of his deepest motives, and the colour of his habitual sentiments be decisively spoken of. We say then that the writings of Paul, abrupt and elliptical as his method often seems, are in a special manner distinguished by a frequent beaming forth of hope and glory when least one expects it. He writes like a man who descends to his subject from a higher sphere:—as for example, when, after laying down the rule of behaviour proper to a servile condition, and insisting upon submissiveness and fidelity, he returns, as in a moment, to the very summit of joy. "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us," not only the virtues of common life, but that we should "look for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ." Almost immediately we meet with a sudden transition of another sort, indicative of the permanent humility of the writer's mind, as well as of its broad benignity and good-will. "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities, to speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers; but gentle, showing all meekness to all men. For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared." Is not this the natural turn of a mind at once humble, pious, and benevolent?

"This thou knowest (or, knowest thou this?) that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me, of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes." But does resentment lodge in the writer's mind; or is the subject pursued and morosely grasped? What meet we in the very next verse? "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was in Rome he sought me out very diligently, and found me. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day; and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well." Some universal axiom of a happy aspect is the ordinary corollary of this writer's incidental advices: as thus, "Refuse profane and old wives' fables; and exercise thyself rather unto godliness; for bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come . . . . . We trust in the living God, WHO IS THE SAVIOUR OF ALL MEN, specially of those that believe." "From men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth, withdraw thyself; BUT GODLINESS WITH CONTENTMENT IS GREAT GAIN; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; having therefore food and raiment, let us be therewith content." In several instances the most sublime of all the doxologies which the Scriptures contain are those thrown by Paul into the midst of his discussion of lower subjects. Perhaps, if we were to select the passages in his epistles from which, more signally than from any others, the brightness of the upper world shines out, they would be those that most abruptly turn the current of his discourse. Yet what is this, if we are to lay any stress upon the constant laws of the human mind, but proof that the happiest, the most expansive, and the most elevated sentiments constituted the very substance or inner body, of the writer's character, so that every rapid transition he makes, and every sudden movement is a revulsion from the sombre to the bright; or from wrath to mercy; or from duties to recompences;—in one word, from earth to heaven!

Christianity then, such as we find it in the Scriptures, is benign—it is from heaven; and even had it utterly vanished or ceased to affect mankind in the same age that saw it appear, the documentary proof of its divine origin would have remained not the less complete and irresistible. In that case—convinced as we must have been that the True Light had once, though but for a moment, glanced upon the earth, we should have looked wistfully upward in hope that the great revolutions of the heavens would at length bring round a second dawn, and a lasting day.

But it is far otherwise; and in coming to the close of a course that has presented the perversions, not the excellences of Christianity, we should seek relief from the impression made by a long continued contemplation of a single order of objects—and those the most dire. The Gospel has had multitudes of genuine adherents—Christ a host of followers, in the worst times; or if the first three centuries, or the last three of Christian history, are looked to, it would indicate affection, or a melancholy and malignant temper, to estimate at a low rate the extent of the true Church.

Yet the terrible fact which, though predicted by the apostles, would have astounded themselves, had it stood before them in distinct perspective, remains to sadden our meditations—That an apostasy, dating its commencements from a very early age, spread over the whole area of Christendom, affecting every article of belief, and every rule of duty; and that it held itself entire through much more than a thousand years.

But what is our own position? what stage on the highway of truth has the Protestant community reached? are the reformed churches calmly looking back, as from an elevation, and under the beams of day, upon a dark landscape, far remote, and hardly distinguishable? or should it not rather be confessed that our reformations, though real and immensely important, are initiative only? This is certain, that the evolutions of the Divine Providence exhibit seldom or never to the eye of man any hurried transition; but that it renovates and restores by successive impulses, and these at distant intervals. We only follow then the established order of things when we hope that there is yet in reserve for the world the boon of an unsullied Christianity.

The sinister sense in which men of a certain party would snatch at such a supposition, and affirm that even the prime articles of truth have not yet been disengaged from the general apostasy, except by the sceptic few, is peremptorily excluded by the fact of the general and popular diffusion, and devout perusal of the Scriptures. For if, even where universally read and piously studied, the Inspired Books fail to convey to the majority their principal meaning, it is certain that they are better discarded than any longer reverenced as Instruments of religious Instruction. If the Church—take what age we please—has not possessed itself of the vital elements of sacred knowledge while unrestrainedly reading, and while diligently studying the Scriptures, then the labours of those who would tell us so, are idle; for it must be confessed that the pursuit of truth at all on the field of Revelation, is a desperate enterprise.

Yet this granted—and it is unquestionable, an attentive and impartial survey of the religious history of mankind leads to the conclusion (and it is on the one hand a consolatory, as well as on the other an affective conclusion) that the possession of the vital elements of religion may consist with such perversions, both in theory and sentiment, as deprive Christianity of its visible beauty, and forbid its propagation. Most of the examples adduced in the preceding sections come under the range of this principle; and in presenting always the illustrious and the mitigated instances rather than the exaggerated or the base, the author has steadily held to his purpose of bringing home to every mind the conviction that no degree of piety should be allowed to protect the system under which it appears from the severest scrutiny, or from grave suspicions.

If it be asked on what ground any such suspicion can fairly rest at a time when the characteristics of freedom, vigour, and activity broadly attached to the exterior of religious profession, it may at once be replied that there must be room for serious and unsparing inquiries, so long as the actual products bear a very slender proportion to the means of general instruction—so long as Christianity fails to affect the more energetic portion of the community—so long as zealous endeavours to propagate the faith abroad, though not altogether unblessed, are followed, after a long trial, with scanty successes; but especially have we cause to suspect that some fatal and occult misunderstanding of the Gospel exists, while the ecclesiastical condition of the religious commonwealth is in all senses preposterous.

Let it be assumed that each separate article of our creed is well warranted by Scripture; it may notwithstanding be true that indefinite misconceptions, affecting the Divine character and government, or that certain modes of feeling generated in evil days, and still uncorrected, exist, and operate to benumb the impulsive and expansive energies of the Gospel. Our interpretation of Christianity may be good, and may be pure enough for private use; it may be good in the closet, good as the source of the motives of common life; and good as the ground of hope in death and yet may be altogether unfit for conquest and triumph. That it is so unfit, should be assumed as the only pious and becoming explication we can give of the almost universal ignorance and irreligion of mankind.

With no very easy sense of the greatness, the difficulty, and the peril of the task to which he puts his trembling and perhaps presumptuous hand, yet from the impulse of a feeling not to be repressed, and with a resolution not to be daunted, the Author—imploring aid from on High, will ask yet again the attention and the concurrence of those who, like himself—invincibly persuaded of the truth of Christianity, can taste no personal enjoyments, can admit no rest, while it faulters on its course through the world.

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES,

IN THE

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

J. C. L. S. DE SISMONDI,

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WILNA, OF THE ACADEMY AND SOCIETY OF ARTS OF GENEVA,
OF THE ITALIAN ACADEMIES OF GEORGOFILI, CAGLIARI, AND PISTOIA, ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER I.

First Crusade, from 1207 *to* 1209.

France, during the feudal period, instead of forming an entire monarchy, was submitted to the influence of four kings; to each of whom a number of grand vassals were subordinate; so that the North of France might be considered as Walloon, a name afterwards confined to the French Flemings, and which was then giving to the language spoken by Philip Augustus; towards the West was an English France; to the East a German France; and in the South, a Spanish or Aragonese France. Till the reign of Philip Augustus, the first division possessed the least of extent, of riches, or of power. That monarch, by a concourse of fortunate circumstances rather than by his talents, greatly exalted the splendour of his crown, and extended his dominion over a part of France much more important than his own inheritance. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the division which has been indicated did, however, still exist. He had conquered more than half of the English France, but Aquitaine still belonged to England. The Germanic France had the same limits; except that, of the three kingdoms of which it was composed, those of Lorraine and Burgundy had more intimately than formerly united themselves with the Empire, so that their history was no longer mingled with that of France. On the contrary, the kingdom of Provence had so much relaxed its connexion with the imperial crown, that its great vassals might be considered absolutely independent, and the most powerful of its states, the countship of Provence, possessed by the king of Aragon, might be justly denominated the Aragonese France.

The king of Aragon might, as well as the king of England, be considered a French prince. The greater part of his states, even beyond the Pyrenees and as far as the Ebro, were considered to belong to the ancient monarchy of Charlemagne, and owed homage to the crown of France. Like the king of England, the king of Aragon had acquired, either by marriages, or by grants of fief, or by treaties of protection, dominion over a great number of French lords, some of whom did homage to the king of France, others to the emperor; but all of whom, nevertheless, rendered obedience only to the Spanish monarch. The Counts of Bearn, of Armagnac, of Bigorre, of Cominges, of Foix, and of Roussillon, lived under his protection, and served in his armies. The viscounts of Narbonne, of Beziers, and of Carcassonne, regarded him as their count. The lord of Montpellier had submitted to him. The powerful court of Toulouse, surrounded by his states and vassals, maintained, with difficulty, his own independence against him. The countships of Provence and of Forcalquier belonged solely to him, whilst the other vassals of the kingdom of Arles were eager to obtain his protection.

Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia, and all the surrounding countries which depended on the king of Aragon, were peopled by an industrious and intelligent race of men, addicted to commerce and the arts, and still more to poetry. They had formed the provençal language; which, separating itself from the Walloon Romon, or French, was distinguished by more harmonious inflexions, by a richer vocabulary, by expressions more picturesque, and by greater flexibility. This language, studied by all the genius of the age, consecrated to the innumerable songs of war and of love, appeared at that moment destined to become the first and the most elegant of the languages of modern Europe. Those who used it had renounced the name of Frenchmen for that of Provençals; they had endeavoured, by the means of their language, to form themselves into a nation and to separate themselves absolutely from the French, to whom they were indeed inferior in the arts of war, but whom they greatly excelled in all the attainments of civilization.

The numerous courts of the small princes amongst whom these countries were divided aspired to be models of taste and politeness. They lived in festivity; their chief occupation was tournaments, courts of love, and of poesy, in which questions of gallantry were gravely decided. The cities were numerous and flourishing. Their forms of government were all nearly republican; they had consuls chosen by the people, and had long possessed the privilege of forming communes, which rendered them nearly equal to the Italian republics with whom they traded.

In the midst of such growing prosperity was this lovely region delivered to the fury of countless hordes of fanatics, its cities ruined, its population consumed by the sword, its commerce destroyed, its arts thrown back into barbarism, and its dialect degraded, from the rank of a poetic language, to the condition of a vulgar jargon. This horrible revolution was not, in its commencement, directed by the French government; but some of its consequences were, that the Provençals ceased to be a nation; that the influence of the king of Aragon over a large part of the South of France was destroyed; and that the power of the kings of France was, at last, extended to the Mediterranean Sea.

The preaching of a first religious reformation amongst the provençals was the occasion of the devastation of this beautiful country. Too early enlightened, proceeding too rapidly in the career of civilization, these people excited the jealousy and hatred of the surrounding barbarians. A struggle began between the lovers of darkness and those of light, between the advocates of despotism and those of liberty. The party that wished to arrest the progress of the human mind had on its side the pernicious skill of its chiefs, the fanaticism of its agents, and a number of its soldiers. It triumphed; it annihilated its adversaries: and with such fury did it profit by its victory, that the conquered party was never able to rise again in the same province, or amongst the same race of men.

In the countries which used the Provençal tongue the clergy had been enriched by immense dotations; but the bishoprics were generally reserved for members of powerful families, who led disorderly lives, whilst the curates and inferior priests, taken from the vassals of the nobility, their peasants and slaves, retained the brutality, the ignorance, and the baseness, of their servile origin. The people of these provinces were too enlightened not to feel contempt for the vices of the ecclesiastics; and so general was this contempt, that expressions the most offensive to churchmen were become proverbial. I would rather be a priest, said they by imprecation, than have done such a thing! Nevertheless, the disposition of the people was towards religion; and that devotion which they could not find in the church, they sought for amongst the sectaries. These were numerous in the province; and the most ancient historian of the persecution affirms, that Toulouse, whose name, says he, ought rather to have been *Tota dolosa*, had been scarcely ever exempt, even from its first foundation, from that pest of heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children.

Those very persons who punished the sectaries with frightful torments have alone taken upon themselves to make us acquainted with their opinions; allowing, at the same time, that they had been transmitted in Gaul from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity. We cannot, therefore, be astonished if they have represented them to us with all those characters which might render them the most monstrous, mingled with all the fables which would serve to irritate the minds of the people against those who professed them. Nevertheless, amidst many puerile or calumnious tales, it is still easy to recognize the principles of the reformation of the sixteenth century amongst the heretics who are designated by the name of Vaudois, or Albigeois. Numerous sects existed at the same time in the province; and this was the necessary consequence of the liberty of inquiry which formed the essence of their doctrine: all agreed, however, in regarding the church of Rome as having absolutely perverted Christianity, and in mantaining that it was she who was designated in the Apocalypse by the name of the *whore of Babylon*. Some, however, who were distinguished by the name of Vaudois, or Waldenses, did not differ from her on the points which are the most important, whilst others had given such license to their imaginations as almost to destroy the entire system of revelation. They attributed the Old Testament to the principle of evil; for God was there represented, they said, as a homicide, who destroyed the human race by a deluge, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, and the Egyptians by the inundation of the Red Sea.

But, with respect to those who opened the career to the reformers of the sixteenth century, we recognize their teaching by their denial of the real presence in the eucharist. "If the body of Christ," said they, "was as large as our mountains, it must have been destroyed by the number of those whom they pretend to have eaten of it." They rejected the sacraments of confirmation, of confession, and marriage, as vain and frivolous; they charged with idolatry the exposure of images in the churches; and they named the bells, which summoned the people to the adoration of these images, trumpets of demons. Their teachers or priests were contented with a black coat, instead of the pompous vestments of the catholic clergy. After they had caused their proselytes to abjure idolatry, they received them into their church by the imposition of hands and the kiss of peace. Whilst their enemies endeavoured to blacken their reputation by charging them with permitting, in their teaching, the most licentious manners, and with practising, in secret, all kinds of disorders, they still allowed that, in appearance, they observed an irreproachable chastity; that, in their abstinence from all animal food, their rigour exceeded that of the severest monks; that, through their regard for truth, they admitted on no occasion any excuse for falsehood; that, in a word, their charity always prepared them to devote themselves to the welfare of others. Several poems of the Vaudois, written in the twelfth century, and recently published, confirm the resemblance between the doctrine and discipline of the early and later reformers.

Activity and zeal for proselytism form another relation between the two reformations. Both began at a period when the human mind, eager for instruction, examined all that it had found established; demanded a reason for all obedience; and, at the same time that it overturned ancient civil dominations, to establish new ones, it also interrogated the ecclesiastical powers, to ascertain their foundation. The adoption of the reformed opinion did not immediately announce itself as a heresy; it was, in the eyes of the initiated, only a project of sanctification; it was an engagement to greater zeal, to severer morals, to higher sacrifices, to a more constant occupation with spiritual things. Since many prelates of the church had given the example of such reform, those who followed them did not consider themselves as going astray; and Rome herself had sometimes considered the Paterins, the Catharins, the poor of Lyon, and all those new religious societies, as so many orders of monks who were rousing the fervour of the public, and who never thought of shaking off her yoke. Innocent III, who ascended the pontifical throne in the vigour of his age, was the first who appeared to feel the importance of that independent spirit which was already degenerating into revolt. His predecessors, engaged in a perilous struggle with the two Henrys, and Frederic Barbarossa, thought their entire force not too much to defend them against the emperors; and, in those times, had themselves accepted the name of Paterins, which had been given to their most zealous partisans. But Innocent III, whose genius at once embraced and governed the universe, was as incapable of temporising as he was of pity. At the same time that he destroyed the political balance of Italy and Germany; that he menaced by turns the kings of Spain, of France, and of England; that he affected the tone of a master with the kings of Bohemia, of Hungary, of Bulgaria, of Norway, and of Armenia; in a word, that he directed or repressed at his will the Crusaders, who were occupied in overturning the Greek empire and in establishing that of the Latins at Constantinople;—Innocent III, as if he had had no other occupation, watched over, attacked, and punished, all opinions different from those of the Roman church, all independence of mind, every exercise of the faculty of thinking in the affairs of religion.

Though it was in the countries where the provençal language was spoken, and especially in Languedoc, that the reformation of the Paterins had made the greatest progress, it had also spread rapidly in other parts of Christendom, in Italy, in Flanders, in Lorraine, in Germany, and in Spain. Innocent III, both from character and policy, judged that the church ought to keep no measures with the sectaries; that, if it did not crush them, if it did not exterminate their race, and strike Christendom with terror, their example would soon be followed, and that the fermentation of mind, which was every where manifest, would shortly produce a conflagration throughout the Roman world. Instead therefore of making converts, he charged his ministers to burn the leaders, to disperse the flocks, and to confiscate the property of every one who would not think as he did. At first, he required of those provinces, where the reformation had made but small progress, to give the example of persecution; and, in reality, many leaders of the new church perished in the flames at Nevers, in 1198 and the following years. The emperor Otho IV, who regarded himself as a creature of Innocent III, granted him an edict for the destruction of the Paterins, called also Gazari, in Italy. But there was a certain number of lords and high barons, who had themselves adopted the new opinions, and who, instead of consenting to persecute, protected the sectaries. Others saw in them only industrious vassals, whom they could not destroy without affecting their own revenues and power. Innocent III, therefore, sought to arm a present interest, and brutal avarice, against this calculating economy of the barons. He abandoned to them the confiscation of all the heretics' property, and exhorted them to take possession of it, after they had banished those whom they had plundered, and threatened them with death if they returned to their homes. At the same time, Innocent III, laid under an anathema those of the lords who should refuse to sieze upon the property of the heretics, and placed their dominions under an interdict.

The province of Narbonne was more particularly the object of Innocent's attention. In the year 1193, the first of his pontificate, he sent into it two monks of Citeaux, brother Guy and brother Regnier, who may be considered as having laid the foundations of the Inquisition. Their commission was to discover and pursue heresy; being invested, for that purpose, with all the authority of the holy See. The following year the pope named brother Regnier his legate in the four provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, and enjoined upon the four archbishops, and all the bishops, to execute scrupulously the orders of this monk. Regnier having fallen sick, Innocent joined to him Peter of Castelnau, archdeacon of Maguelonne, whose zeal, more furious than that of his predecessors, is worthy of those sentiments which the very name of the inquisition inspires.

The mission of the pope's commissaries, or inquisitors, was not however limited to scrutinizing the consciences of the heretics, confiscating their property, banishing, or sending them to the stake; they traversed the province, accompanied by a number of friars, who arrived successively to their aid; they preached and disputed against those who had wandered from the faith; and especially, when the lord of the place favoured the new opinions, not being able to employ force, they had recourse to the power of their disputations. They caused judges of these intellectual combats, to be named beforehand, and, if we may believe their own relations, they always came off victorious. Accustomed to the subtilties of the schools, they pressed their adversaries with captious questions, or unlooked-for conclusions, and not unfrequently led them to absurd declarations. Diego d'Azebez, bishop of Ozma, and his companion St. Dominic, under-prior of his cathedral, who, about the year 1204, fixed themselves in the province, to preach against the heretics, had much success in this kind of disputation; it even appears that sometimes they were out of patience with their antagonists, for being so unskilful. But when the missionaries had embarrassed their adversaries, or had vanquished them according to all the scholastic rules, then they said to the inhabitants of the places where they had found them, "Why do you not drive them out? Why do you not exterminate them?"—"We cannot," they replied to the bishop of Ozma; "we have been brought up with them, we have relations amongst them, and we see the goodness of their lives.—"Thus," says a contemporary writer, "does the spirit of falsehood, only by the appearance of a pure and spotless life, lead away these inconsiderate people from the truth."

Another cause, it is true, abated the persecution. The inquisitors had, by their arrogance, offended all classes of society, and had raised up against themselves a cloud of enemies. Some bishops they accused of simony, others of negligence in the fulfilment of their duties; and under such pretences deposed the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishops of Toulouse and Viviers. They offended also all the regular clergy; and at the same time tormented the count of of Toulouse, and all the lords of the country, by accusations continually renewed. Thus they deprived themselves of the means of kindling so many fires as they could have desired. To gain a little popularity, therefore, they took great pains to confound the heretics with the routiers, or hireling soldiers. The companies of these, generally composed, in a great measure, of strangers, were still known, in the South, by the name of bands of Catalans, as they were, in the North, by that of Brabançons. The routiers were lawless banditti; they pillaged the churches and the priests, but had, in truth, no connexion with the heretics, and took no interest in doctrinal questions and controversies. They, however, were offended with the preachings directed against them, and in their turn avenged themselves against the missionaries and inquisitors.

The count of Toulouse, Raymond VI, who had cultivated the friendship of the routiers, and who had employed their arms in his frequent wars, shared also their resentments. We know but imperfectly the history of the count of Toulouse before the crusade. Raymond VI, who succeeded to his father, Raymond V, in 1124, at the age of thirty-eight, had already, at the head of these routiers, of whom he had made himself captain, made war against many of his neighbours. He had disputed with the barons of Baux, and with many of the lords of Languedoc and Provence, as well as with some of his own vassals; and this was apparently the reason of his seeking the alliance of Peter II, king of Aragon, whilst his father and his ancestors had, on the contrary, endeavoured to repress the ambition of that house. Raymond VI married his fourth wife, Eleanor, sister of Peter II, about the year 1200; and in 1205 he promised his son, afterwards Raymond VII, to Sancha, daughter of the same king, who was but just born.

Raymond VI was, in the spring of 1207, upon the borders of the Rhone, occupied with the war which he was carrying on against the barons of Baux, and other lords of those countries, when the legate, Peter of Castelnau, undertook to make peace between them. He first made application to the barons, and obtained their promise, that if Raymond VI would acquiesce in their pretensions, they would employ all their assembled forces in the extermination of the heretics. After having agreed with them upon the form of a treaty, the legate returned to the count of Toulouse, and required him to sign it. Raymond VI was nowise inclined to purchase, by the renunciation of his rights, the entrance into his states of a hostile army, who were to pillage or kill all those of his vassals whom the priests should indicate. He therefore refused his consent, and Peter of Castelnau, in his wrath, excommunicated him, laid his country under an interdict, and wrote to the pope to obtain the confirmation of the sentence.

Audacious as was the conduct of his legate, Innocent III was determined to support him. He appears to have sought for an opportunity to commence hostilities; being well persuaded, that after the progress which had been made in the public opinion, the executioners were not sufficient to destroy heresy, but that the whole people must be exposed to the sword of the military. To confirm the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his legate, he wrote himself to count Raymond, on the 29th of May, 1207, and his letter began with these words: "If we could open your heart, we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation: we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?"

So insulting a letter, addressed to a sovereign, must have revolted his pride; nevertheless, the monk, Peter de Vaux Cernay, tells us, "the wars which the nobles of Provence carried on against him, through the industry of that man of God, Peter de Castelnau, and the excommunication which he published in every place against the count, compelled him, at last, to accept the same conditions of peace, and to engage himself by oath to their observance; but as often as he swore to observe them, so many times he perjured himself."

Neither Peter de Castelnau, nor the pope, knew any other means of conversion than war, murder, and fire. In this same year, 1207, Innocent III thought, for the first time, of preaching a crusade against the sectaries; and since the princes of the country appeared too slow in exterminating them, he projected the calling in of strangers to accomplish this work. On the 17th of November, he wrote to Philip Augustus, exhorting him to declare war against the heretics, the enemies of God and the church; and promising him, in reward, in this life, the confiscation of all their goods, and in the other, the same indulgences as were granted to those who combated the infidels in the holy land. At the same time, he addressed similar letters to the duke of Burgundy, to the counts of Bar, of Nevers, and of Dreux; to the countesses of Troie, of Vermandois, and of Blois; and to all the counts, barons, knights, and faithful, of the kingdom of France. Before, however, these letters had produced any effect, a bloody catastrophe redoubled the rage of the pope and the bigots, and kindled the sacred war.

Count Raymond, when he signed the peace with his enemies, had engaged to exterminate the heretics from his states; but Peter de Castelnau very soon judged, that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal. He went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his indulgence, which he termed baseness, treated him as perjured, as a favourer of heretics, and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where count Raymond had given a meeting to the two legates.

1208. This lord, exceedingly provoked, threatened to make Castelnau pay for his insolence with his life. The two legates, disregarding this threat, quitted the court of Raymond without a reconciliation, and came to sleep, on the night of the 14th of January, 1208, in a little inn by the side of the Rhone, which river they intended to pass the next day. One of the count's gentleman happened to meet them there, or perhaps had followed them. On the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter de Castelnau, respecting heresy and its punishment. The legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of tolerance; the gentleman already irritated by the quarrel with his lord, and now feeling himself personally offended, drew his poignard, struck the legate in the side, and killed him. The intelligence of this murder excited Innocent III to the greatest excess of wrath. Raymond VI had by no means so direct a part in the death of Castelnau, whom the church regarded as a martyr, as had Henry II in the death of Thomas à Becket. But Innocent III was more haughty and implacable, than Alexander III had been. He immediately published a bull, addressed to all the counts, barons, and knights of the four provinces of the Southern Gaul, in which he declared that it was the devil who had instigated his principal minister, Raymond, count of Toulouse, against the legate of the holy see. He laid under an interdict, all the places which should afford a refuge to the murderers of Castelnau; he demanded that Raymond of Toulouse should be publicly anathematised in all the churches; "and as," added he, "following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God, or who are separated from the communion of the faithful, we discharge, by apostolic authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this count, by any oath either of alliance or of fidelity; we permit every catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy."

This first bull was speedily followed by other letters equally fulminating, from Innocent III to all who were capable of assisting in the destruction of the count of Toulouse. He addressed Philip Augustus, exhorting him to carry on in person this sacred war of extermination against heretics, (who are, said he, far worse than the Saracens,) and to strip the count of Toulouse of all his possessions. He wrote, at the same time to the archbishops of Lyons and Tours, to the bishops of Paris and Nevers, and to the abbot of Citeaux, to engage their concurrence in this holy enterprise.

Galono, cardinal deacon of St. Mary dello Portico, whom the pope sent with these letters to France, does not appear to have obtained much credit with king Philip, who was, at that time, more occupied by his rivalry with the king of England, and with Otho of Germany, than with heresy. But the monks of Citeaux, who had, at the same time, received powers from Rome to preach the crusade amongst the people, gave themselves to the work with an ardour which had not been equalled even by the hermit Peter, or Foulques de Neuilly. Innocent III, impelled by hatred, had offered to those who should take the cross against the Provençals, the utmost extent of indulgence which his predecessors had ever granted to those who laboured for the deliverance of the holy land. As soon as these new Crusaders had assumed the sacred sign of the cross, (which, to distinguish themselves from those of the East, they wore on the breast instead of the shoulders,) they were instantly placed under the protection of the holy see, freed from the payment of the interest of their debts, and exempted from the jurisdiction of all the tribunals; whilst the war which they were invited to carry on, at their doors, almost without danger or expense, was to expiate all the vices and crimes of a whole life. The belief in the power of these indulgences, which we can scarcely comprehend, was not yet abated; the barons of France never doubted, that, whilst fighting in the holy land they had the assurance of paradise. But those distant expeditions had been attended with so many disasters; so many hundreds of thousands had perished in Asia, or by the way, from hunger, or misery, or sickness, that others wanted courage to follow them. It was then, with transports of joy, that the faithful received the new pardons which were offered them, and so much the more, that far from regarding the return they were called upon to make, as painful or dangerous, they would willingly have undertaken it for the pleasure alone of doing it. War was their passion, and pity for the vanquished had never troubled their pleasure. The discipline of the holy wars was much less severe than that of the political, whilst the fruits of victory were much more alluring. In them, they might, without remorse, as well as without restraint from their officers, pillage all the property, massacre all the men, and violate the women and children. The crusaders to the East well knew that the distance was so great, as to give them little chacne of bringing home the booty which they had gained by their swords; but instead of riches, which the faithful were to seek at a distance, and tear from barbarians, of whose language they were ignorant, they were offered the harvest of a neighbouring field, the spoil of a house which they might carry to their own, and captives, abandoned to their desires, who spoke the same language with themselves. Never therefore had the cross been taken up with a more unanimous consent. The first to engage, through the commands of their pastors, in this war, which was denominated *sacred*, were Eudes III, duke of Burgundy; Simon de Montfort, count of Leicester; the counts of Nevers, of St. Paul, of Auxerre, of Geneve, and of Forez.

The abbot of Citeaux, Arnold Amalric, distinguished himself with his whole congregation, by his zeal in preaching this war of extermination; the convents of his order (the Bernardins), of which there were already seven or eight hundred in France, Italy, and Germany, appropriated the Crusade against the Albigenses as their special province. In the name of the pope, and of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they promised, to all who should perish in this holy expedition, plenary absolution of all sins, committed from the day of their birth, to that of their death. But whilst the Bernardins were recruiting soldiers for the cross, Innocent III charged a new congregation (at the head of which he placed the Spaniard, Saint Dominic), to go on foot, two by two, through the villages, to preach the faith in the midst of them, to enlighten them by controversial discussions, to display to them all the zeal of Christian charity, and to obtain from their confidence, exact information as to the number and dwellings of those who had wandered from the church, in order to burn them when the opportunity should arrive. Thus began the order of the preaching brethren of St. Dominic, or of the inquisitors. The new bishop of Toulouse, Foulques, or Fouquet, a native of Marseilles, who had formerly distinguished himself as a troubadour, and who, quitting love and poetry, had thrown himself into the ranks of the persecutors, appears to have suggested to Innocent III the principal rules of this order, the experiment of which was made for seven years in his diocese, before the pope confirmed it in the council of Lateran.

1208. The crusaders were not ready to march this year, but their immense preparations resounded throughout Europe, and filled Languedoc with terror. It was well known that the countries destined to vengeance and extermination, by the monks of Citeaux, as being more particularly the seats of heresy, were the states of Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, and those of his nephew, Raymond Roger, viscount of Alby, Beziers, Carcassone and Limoux, in Rasez. Although Raymond of Toulouse had been a soldier of some distinction, he was mild, feeble and timid, desirous of saving his subjects from confiscations and punishments, but still more desirous of saving himself from persecution. His nephew, on the contrary, was generous, lofty and impetuous: he was twenty-four years of age; he had succeeded his father fourteen years before, and during his minority his states had been governed by guardians inclined to the new doctrines. These two princes, having learned that Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, leader of the crusade, had been nominated by the pope, his legate in those provinces from which he designed to eradicate heresy, and that he had assembled a council of the chiefs of the sacred war, at Aubenaz, in the Vivarias, went thither to avert the storm, if possible. They protested that they were strangers to heresy; that they were innocent of the death of Peter of Castelnau; and they demanded at least to be heard before they were condemned. The legate received them with extreme haughtiness, declared that he could do nothing for them, and that, if they wished to obtain any mitigation of the measures adopted against them, they must address themselves to the pope. Raymond Roger perceived by this language that nothing was to be expected from negotiation, and that there remained no alternative but to place garrisons in all their strong towns, and to prepare valiantly for their defence. But Raymond VI, overwhelmed with terror, declared himself ready to submit to any thing; to be himself the executor of the violence of the ecclesiastics against his own subjects; and to make war against his family, rather than draw the crusaders into his states. The two relations, not being able to agree upon the conduct they were to pursue, separated with reproaches and menaces. Raymond Roger retired into his states, and immediately put himself into a defensive conditition; he even began hostilities against the count of Toulouse, whose attacks he apprehended; whilst Raymond VI, after having assembled his most faithful servants at Arles, engaged the archbishop of Auch, the abbot of Condom, the prior of the Hospitalers of St. Gilles, and Bernard, lord of Rabasteens, in Bigorre, to proceed to Rouen, in order to offer his submission to Innocent III, and receive his indulgence.

Raymond VI at the same time applied for the protection of his cousin, Philip Augustus, king of France, and that of Otho, king of Germany. The former at first received him with fair words, but afterward took occasion from the solicitations of Raymond to his rival, Otho, to refuse him all assistance. The ambassadors of Raymond to the pope were, on the contrary, received with apparent indulgence. It was required of them that their master should make common cause with the crusaders; that he should assist them in exterminating the heretics; and that he should surrender to them seven of his best castles, as a pledge of his intentions. Upon these conditions the pope not only gave Raymond the hope of absolution, but promised him his entire favour. Innocent III was, however, far from having pardoned Raymond in the bottom of his heart. For, at this same epoch, he wrote to the bishops of Riez and Conserans, and to the abbot of Citeaux, "We counsel you, with the apostle Paul, to employ guile with regard to this count, for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack, separately, those who are separated from unity, leave for a time the count of Toulouse, employing towards him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone." We cannot but remark, that whenever ambitious and perfidious priests had any disgraceful orders to communicate, they never failed to pervert, for this purpose, some passages of the holy Scriptures; one would say that they had only studied the Bible to make sacrilegious applications of it.

All the fanatics whom the preachings of the monks of Citeaux had engaged to devote themselves to the sacred war, began to move in the spring of the year 1209. The indulgences of the crusade had been offered to them on the lowest terms; they were required to make a campaign of only forty days, (to which the greater part of the vassals were obliged by the service of their fiefs), in exchange for eternal salvation. The shorter the service was, the better it suited the neighbouring provinces.

It was, in fact, principally amongst the near neighbours of the Albigenses, that the Bernardins found means to draw after them nearly the whole population. Some authors have spoken of three hundred, or even of five hundred thousand pilgrims or crusaders, who precipitated themselves upon Languedoc; the abbot of Vaux Cernay reckons but fifty thousand in this first campaign, and the smallest number is the most probable, especially in that age when very numerous armies were so seldom seen. We must not, however, include in this calculation the ignorant and fanatical multitude which followed each preacher, armed with scythes and clubs, and promised to themselves that if they were not in condition to combat the knights of Languedoc, they might, at least, be able to murder the women and children of the heretics. Several places had been assigned for the assembling of the crusaders. Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, legate of the pope, and chief director of the crusade, collected at Lyons the greatest number of combatants, principally those who had taken arms in the kingdom of Arles, and who were vassals of Otho IV; the archbishop of Bourdeaux had assembled a second body in the Agenois; these were subjects of the king of England; the bishop of Puy commanded a third body in the Velay, who were subjects of Philip Augustus.

When count Raymond VI. learned that these terrible bands of fanatics were about to move, and that they were all directed towards his states, he hastened to represent to the pope that the legate Arnold, who conducted them, was his personal enemy, and "it would be unjust," said he, "to profit by my submission, to deliver me to the mercy of a man who would listen only to his resentment against me." To take from the count of Toulouse, in appearance, this motive for complaint, Innocent III named a new legate, Milon, his notary or secretary; but far from endeavouring, by this means, to restrain the hatred of the abbot of Citeaux, his only aim was to deceive Raymond; "for the lord pope expressly said to this new legate, let the abbot of Citeaux do every thing, and be thou only his organ; for in fact the count of Toulouse has suspicions concerning him, whilst he does not suspect thee."

The nearer the crusaders approached the more the count of Toulouse, who had given himself into their power, was struck with terror. On the one hand, he endeavoured to gain the affections of his subjects by granting new privileges to some, and pardoning the offences of others who had incurred his resentment; on the other hand he consented to purchase his absolution from the hands of the pope's legate, by the most humiliating concessions. He consigned to the apostolic notary seven of his principal castles, as a pledge of his fidelity; he permitted the consuls of his best cities to engage to abandon him if he should depart from the conditions imposed upon him; he submitted beforehand to the judgment which the legate should pronounce upon fifteen accusations which the agents of the persecution had laid against him; and finally, he suffered himself on the 18th of June to be conducted into the church of St. Gilles, with a cord about his neck and his shoulders naked, and there receive the discipline around the altar. After all these humiliations he was allowed to take the cross against the heretics, and it was by favour that he was permitted to join those who were about to attack his nephew, becoming their guide for that purpose.

The principal army of the crusaders descended the valley of the Rhone by Lyons, Valence, Montelimart and Avignon. The count of Toulouse went to meet it at Valence; he conducted it to Montpellier, where it passed some days. In this city the young Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers, came also to seek the legate with a view of making his peace. According to the ancient chronicle of Toulouse, he told him "that he had done the church no wrong, and wished to do none; but that if his people and officers had received and supported any heretics or other persons, in his domain, that he was innocent of it and not to blame; and that those ought to pay and satisfy, and not he, considering his disposition; and that the said officers had always governed his territory to this hour; praying and supplicating the said legate and council, to receive him to mercy, for he was servant to the church, and for her wished to live and die towards and against every one." To which the legate replied that what he had to do was to defend himself the best that he could, for he should show him no mercy.

Indeed, from that time, the viscount of Beziers thought only of making a vigorous defence. He called to him all his vassals, all his friends and allies, and communicated to them the offers which he had made; he informed them of the manner in which they had been received, and found them as determined as he was, to defend themselves. It was very far from being the case, that all who took arms with him were heretics, but the mass of the crusaders, whose arrival they had beheld, was so disorderly, so eager to shed blood, in honour of the church, so impatient for action, without asking or receiving any explanation, that no one dared to take the chance of its errors, and that all the barons and knights were eager to shut themselves up in their castles, to summon their peasants, and to provision themselves there, that they might be able to resist the first attack. Some castles, at Servian and Puy-la-roque, were abandoned at the approach of these fanatics; others, as Caussadi and St. Antonin, where there was no suspicion of heretics, ransomed themselves by heavy contributions. Villemur was burned. Chasseneuil, after a vigorous resistance, capitulated. The garrison obtained permission to retire with what they could carry, but the inhabitants, being suspected of heresy, were abandoned to the mercy of the legate. The crusaders regarded their capture as the object and recompense of their enterprise. Men and women were all precipitated into the flames, amidst the acclamations of their ferocious conquerors: all the wealth found in the castle was afterwards given up to pillage.

But Raymond Roger had chiefly calculated on the defence of his two great cities, Beziers, and Carcassonne; he had divided between them his most valiant knights, and the routiers who were attached to his fortune. He had first visited Beziers to assure himself that his place was provided with every thing, and to exhort the citizens valiantly to defend their lives. He had then shut himself up in Carcassonne, a city built upon a rock partly surrounded by the river Aude, and whose two suburbs were themselves encircled by walls and ditches. The citizens of Beziers felt themselves intimidated, when they knew that their young viscount quitted them for a place of greater strength; their inquietude redoubled when they saw the crusaders arrive, whose three bodies united under their walls after the middle of July 1209. They had been preceded by Reginald of Montpeyroux, bishop of Beziers, who after having visited the legate, and delivered to him a list of those, amongst his flock, whom he suspected of heresy, and whom he wished to see consigned to the flames, returned to his parishioners, to represent the dangers to which they were exposed, and to exhort them to surrender their fellow citizens to the avengers of the faith, rather than to draw upon themselves, and upon their wives and children, the wrath of heaven and the church. "Tell the legate," replied the citizens, whom he had assembled in the cathedral of St. Nicaise, "that our city is good and strong, that our Lord will not fail to succour us in our great necessities, and that, rather than commit the baseness demanded of us, we would eat our own children." Nevertheless, there was no heart so bold as not to tremble, when the pilgrims were encamped under their walls; "and so great was the assemblage both of tents and pavilions, that it appeared as if all the world was collected there; at which those of the city began to be greatly astonished, for they thought they were only fables, what their bishop had come to tell them, and advise them."

The citizens of Beziers, though astonished, were not discouraged: whilst their enemies were still occupied in tracing their camp, they made a sally, and attacked them at unawares. But the crusaders were still more terrible, compared with the inhabitants of the south, by their fanaticism and boldness, than by their numbers. The infantry alone sufficed to repulse the citizens with great loss. At this instant, all the battalions of the besiegers, precipitating themselves upon them at the same time, pursued them so eagerly that they entered the gates with them, and found themselves masters of the city before they had even formed their plan of attack. The knights, learning that they had triumphed without fighting, inquired of the legate, Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, how they should distinguish the catholics from the heretics, who made them this much celebrated reply: "*Kill them all; the Lord will know well those who are his.*"

The fixed population of Beziers did not, perhaps, exceed fifteen thousand persons; but all the inhabitants of the country, of the open villages, and of the castles which had not been judged capable of defence, had taken refuge in this city, which was regarded as exceedingly strong; and even those who had remained to guard the strong castles, had, for the most part, sent their wives and children to Beziers. This whole multitude, at the moment when the crusaders became masters of the gates, took refuge in the churches; the great cathedral of Saint Nicaise contained the greater number; the canons, clothed with their choral habits, surrounded the altar, and sounded the bells as if to express their prayers to the furious assailants; but these supplications of brass were as little heard as those of the human voice. The bells ceased not to sound, till, of that immense multitude, which had taken refuge in the church, the last had been massacred. Neither were those spared who had sought an asylum in the other churches; seven thousand dead bodies were counted in that of the Magdalen alone. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all that they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city, in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funeral pile. Not a house remained standing, not one human being alive. Historians differ as to the number of victims. The abbot of Citeaux, feeling some shame for the butchery which he had ordered, in his letter to Innocent III, reduces it to fifteen thousand; others make it amount to sixty.

The terror inspired by the massacre at Beziers, caused all the country places to be deserted. None appeared strong enough to resist an army, which, in a single day, had taken and destroyed the capital. The inhabitants preferred taking refuge in the woods and mountains, to waiting for such enemies, within the enclosure of walls, which might serve them for a prison. As there was not a knight in all France whose dwelling was not fortified, the number of castles, in the two dioceses of Beziers and Carcassonne, was immense; but the crusaders found more than a hundred of them deserted. They still advanced, however, unsatiated with blood, and on the 1st of August arrived before Carcassonne. That city was then entirely built on the right of the Aude; the young viscount had augmented its fortifications, and it was defended by a numerous garrison. On the following day an attack was made upon one of the suburbs, and after a combat of two hours, during which Raymond Roger on one side, and count Simon de Montfort on the other, gave proofs of extraordinary valour, it was taken. The assailants then proceeded to the attack of the second suburb, but were repulsed with loss.—For eight days the besieged continued to defend it with success; they at last evacuated it, and having set it on fire, they abandoned it to their enemies, and retired into the city.

King Peter II of Aragon, whom the viscount of Beziers had acknowledged as his lord, beheld with chagrin the oppression of that young prince, his nephew. He came to the camp of the Crusaders, he addressed himself to the count of Toulouse, his brother-in-law, whom he saw compelled to follow and second the enemies of his country; he offered himself as mediator between him, the duke of Burgundy, and the legate, on one side, and the viscount on the other. Before they entered on any conditions, the abbot Arnold of Citeaux, who wished to obtain some information as to the state of the besieged, engaged the king of Aragon to enter himself into the city, to confer with Raymond Roger. The young viscount, after giving his lively thanks, said to him, "If you wish to arrange for me any adjustment, in the form and manner which shall appear to you fitting, I will accept and ratify it without any contradiction; for I see clearly, that we cannot maintain ourselves in this city, on account of the multitude of countrymen, women, and children, who have taken refuge here. We cannot reckon them, and they die every day in great numbers. But were there only myself and my people here, I swear to you, that I would rather die of famine, than surrender to the legate." When the king of Aragon had related this discourse to the Abbot of Citeaux, he could better judge what sort of propositions he might make to a generous man, with the assurance that they would not be accepted; for whilst he dared not absolutely repel such a mediator as the king of Aragon, yet he wished not to have a peace which should suspend the massacres. He therefore caused the viscount to be informed, that the only terms which could be granted him were, that he might quit the city with twelve others, and that the remainder of the citizens and soldiers should be abandoned to his good pleasure." "Rather than do what the legate demands of me," replied Raymond Roger, "I would suffer myself to be flayed alive. He shall not have the least of my company at his mercy, for it is on my account they are in danger." Peter II approved the generosity of his nephew, and turning towards the knights and citizens of Carcassonne, to whom these conditions had also been announced, he said to them, "You now know what you have to expect; mind and defend yourselves well, for he who defends himself always finds good mercy at last."

The king of Aragon was scarcely departed before the crusaders made an assault upon the walls. They endeavoured to fill the ditches with faggots, which they brought for that purpose, encouraging each other by loud shoutings. But, as soon they approached the walls, the besieged poured upon them streams of boiling water and oil, they crushed them with stones and projectiles of every kind, and forced them to to retire. The attack was prolonged and many times renewed, but the assailants were at last obliged to retreat with great loss. The time was now approaching when the greater part of the crusaders would have finished their forty days' service; they had reckoned upon a miracle in their favour, and already had been repulsed in two assaults. The legate remarked in his army some symptoms of discouragement; he therefore employed a gentleman related to the viscount, who happened to be with him, to enter into the city and renew the negociations. Raymond Roger, on his side, greatly desired an honourable capitulation, for he began to perceive the failure of water in the cisterns of the city, which the extreme heat of the season had dried up. He was so fully satisfied of the rectitude of his proceedings, that he could not but believe, when the injustice of which he had been the victim should be known, that it would excite the commiseration of the great lords and the ecclesiastics, whom zeal for Christianity had alone armed against him. He persuaded himself that if he could gain a hearing he should be able to remove all the difficulties which he had hitherto encountered, and he only asked of the mediator who presented himself, to procure him a safe conduct, that he might repair to the camp of the crusaders. He obtained, both from the legate and the lords of the army, the most complete guarantee for his safety and liberty, and the promise of the crusaders was confirmed by oaths. He then quitted the city, attended by three hundred knights, and presented himself at the tent of the legate, where all the principal lords of the army were assembled. After having nobly and powerfully defended his conduct, he declared that he submitted, as he had always done, to the orders of the church, and that he awaited the decision of the council.

But the legate was profoundly penetrated with the maxim of Innocent III, that "to keep faith with those who have it not, is an offence against the faith." He caused the young viscount to be arrested with all the knights who had followed him, and confided him to the care of Simon de Montfort. By this treachery, he thought to strike with terror the souls of the inhabitants of Carcassonne; but the effect of it was precisely to withdraw from his power the victims whom he had destined to the flames. The citizens were acquainted with a secret passage by which they could escape from the town. It was a cavern, three leagues in length, which goes from Carcassonne as far as the towers of Cabardes. During the night they escaped by this cavern, abandoning all their riches to the avidity of their enemies. The next morning the besiegers were astonished at not seeing any person on the walls of the city; but it required a considerable time to convince them that it was entirely deserted. They then entered, and the legate took possession of the spoil in the name of the church, excommunicating those of the crusaders who should have appropriated the smallest part. Nevertheless, he thought himself obliged to dissemble the villainy to which he had had recourse, and which had so badly succeeded. He announced that on the the 15th of August, the day of the occupation of the city, he had signed a capitulation, by which he permitted all the inhabitants to quit it with their lives only. He thought it also proper, for the honour of the holy church, not to let it be supposed, that all the heretics had escaped him. His scouts had collected in the fields a certain number of prisoners, and amongst the fugitives from Carcassonne some had been overtaken and brought to the camp. He had in his hands, besides, the three hundred knights who had accompanied the viscount. Out of all these he made choice for execution of four hundred and fifty men and women, who might be suspected of heresy. Four hundred he caused to be burned alive, and the remaining fifty to be hanged.

The principal object of the crusade was now accomplished: the count of Toulouse, who had been accused of favouring the heretics, had submitted to the most degrading humiliations to make his peace. The viscount of Narbonne, to avoid the visit of the crusaders, had published against the heretics laws more rigorous than even the church demanded. The viscount of Beziers was a prisoner; his two strongest cities were destroyed, and the greater number of his castles contained not a single inhabitant. The French lords, who, to gain the pardons of the church, had marched to the crusade, began to feel some shame for all the blood which had been shed, and for their word which had been falsified. The knights and soldiers having fulfilled the term of their service, demanded their dismissal; but the abbot of Citeaux, the legate of the pope, alone felt that he had not done enough. The sectaries were frozen with terror; they had concealed themselves; they were silent; they would even be so long after the departure of the crusaders. But they were not destroyed; their opinions would secretly circulate; resentment for the outrages already suffered would alienate them still more from the church, and the reformation would break forth afresh. To turn back the march of civilization, to obliterate the traces of a mighty progress of the human mind, it was not sufficient to sacrifice, for an example, some thousands of victims: the nation must be destroyed; all who had participated in the development of thought and of science must perish, and none must be spared but the lowest rustics, whose intelligence is scarcely superior to the beasts whose labours they share. Such was the object of the abbot Arnold, and he did not deceive himself as to the means of accomplishing it.

Arnold Amalric, chief of the order of Citeaux, and legate of the pope, having assembled a council of the crusaders, required them to dispose of the conquests they had made in favour of a prince who would complete the extirpation of heresy; and he offered at first the viscounties of Beziers and of Carcassonne to Eudes III., duke of Burgundy; but he refused, saying, "that he had plenty of domains and lordships without taking that, to disinherit the said viscount; and that it appeared to him they had done him evil enough without despoiling him of his heritage." This noble refusal touched the honour of the other great lords. The count of Nevers, and the count of St. Paul, to whom the legate made the same propositions, held the same language. The abbot of Citeaux, to give more weight to his offers, associated with himself two bishops and four knights, and the council of the crusaders agreed that these seven commissioners should regulate the fate of the conquered countries. In their name Arnold then offered these same sovereignties to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. This lord of a castle, ten leagues from Paris, was the head of a house that had been illustrious for two hundred years, and which is traced by some to a natural son of king Robert. He had possessed the countship of Evreux, which, a few years since, he had sold to Philip Augustus; and his mother, who was an English woman, had left him as an heritage the earldom of Leicester. He had distinguished himself in the fourth crusade, from which he was recently returned. Skilful as a soldier, austere in his carriage, fanatical in his religion, cruel and perfidious, he united every quality which could please a monk. He was too ambitious to refuse the offer which was made him of elevating himself to the rank of the grand feudatories; but he still thought himself obliged to feign a refusal, very sure that they would overcome this pretended reluctance. He had, indeed, the pleasure of seeing the bishops throw themselves at his feet, to obtain his acceptance of what he the most desired.

Simon de Montfort then took possession of the provinces which the legate offered him as a gift. He received the homage of those of the vassals of the two viscounties of Beziers and of Carcassonne, whom terror had brought to the camp of the crusaders, and who were eager, at this price, to make their peace with the church. He imposed on his new states an annual rent, payable at the court of Rome, and he published rigorous ordinances against those of his subjects who should not anxiously endeavour to free themselves from excommunication. Yet the war was not terminated; many castles, even at the gates of Carcassonne, served as refuges to the heretics, whilst every day numerous bands of crusaders, having finished the time of service for which they were engaged, abandoned the army. The count of Nevers rejected all the solicitations of the legate, and departed precisely at the termination of his forty days. The count of Toulouse did the same. The duke of Burgundy consented to prolong the campaign a little, and assisted Simon de Montfort to take possession of Fanjaux, Castres and Lombers, as well as at the attack upon the castle of Cabaret, from which the crusaders were repulsed with loss; but three days after this affair he returned to his own country.

Notwithstanding the departure of so many of the crusaders, there remained to Simon de Montfort soldiers enough to continue the war. Some came from his fiefs, or from those of his wife's family; for about the year 1190 he had allied himself to a powerful house at the gates of Paris, by his marriage to Alice, daughter of Bouchard, of Montmorency. Others attached themselves to a skilful general, who promised them frequent occasions of pillage, and perhaps permanent establishments in a conquered country. Many also were still influenced by that same fanaticism which had at first led them to the crusade. During the remainder of the campaign, Simon de Montfort directed their arms against the count of Foix, who, as well as the viscount of Carcassonne, was called Raymond Roger. This count must have been about fifty-five years of age; he had reigned ever since 1188, and had accompanied Philip Augustus to the third crusade. He possessed the greater part of Albigeois, which was regarded as the seat of the new doctrines; and he was himself accused of having secretly adopted them. In the first terror spread by the massacre at Beziers, the count of Foix dared not any longer continue the campaign; he retired into the most inaccessible part of his states, whilst the catholic clergy of his principal cities rallied round Simon de Montfort. This last was received without a combat into Pamiers and Albi. The castle of Mirepoix was also delivered to him, and Montfort bestowed it on Guy de Levis, his marshal, in whose posterity this fief has remained, with the title of count. The count of Foix, still troubled by a storm, which nevertheless began to abate from those countries, demanded to treat. Simon de Montfort, who perceived his real force diminish each day, and who never suffered his fanaticism to blind him as to his policy, accepted his propositions; and during some weeks towards the end of the year 1209 the war appeared suspended on that frontier.

In the mean time, Simon de Montfort detained in prison the legitimate sovereign of the states of which he had taken possession. He could perceive, even amongst his companions in arms, that pity towards this prince had already succeeded to fury. His neighbours loved him; his people regretted him; his relation and lord, the king of Aragon, might be disposed to resume his protection. Simon de Montfort gave the necessary orders that Raymond Roger should die of a dysentery on the 10th of November, in a tower of the viscountal palace at Carcassonne, where he was carefully guarded. He then took care to display his body to his subjects, and to give him an honourable funeral. Yet, by the public voice he was accused of having poisoned him, and even Innocent III acknowledged that he perished by a violent death.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the Crusade against the Albigenses, to the Battle of Muret, 1210—1213.

Those who had marched to the First Crusade against the Albigenses, or who had made the campaign of 1209, regarded their object as completely attained, and the war as terminated. Indeed, desolation had been carried into the bosom of the country where the reformation had commenced. Two large cities had been destroyed, and thousands of victims had perished by the sword, whilst thousands of others, driven from their burning houses, were wandering in the woods and mountains, and sinking each day under the pressure of want. Amongst the princes who had wished to maintain in their dominions a certain liberty of conscience, one had perished in prison, and had been replaced by the most pitiless of persecutors. Two others had submitted, and, to make their peace, refused not their tribute to the fires of the inquisition, so that, every day, the church celebrated the sacrifice of numerous human victims.

The ruin of so fair a country, the contrast between its former opulence and its present desolation, the remembrance of its fêtes, of its tournaments, of the courts of love assembled in every castle, of the troubadours, the singers, the minstrels, visiting by turns the lords and noble ladies, welcomed at their arrival, loaded with presents at their departure, and the sight of the fires for executions, of deserted villages, of burning houses, would soon have caused the fury of war to have been succeeded by a deep-felt pity, if any other cause than religious fanaticism had armed the hands of the crusaders.

Those who had committed so many crimes were not, for the greater part, bad men. They came from that part of Burgundy and northern France, where crimes have always been rare, where long contentions, hatred and vengeance, are passions almost unknown—and where the unhappy are always sure to find compassion and aid. The crusaders themselves were always ready to afford each other proofs of generosity, of support, and compassion; but the heretics were, in their eyes, outcasts from the human race. Accustomed to confide their consciences to their priests, to hear the orders of Rome as a voice from heaven, never to submit that which appertained to the faith to the judgment of reason, they congratulated themselves on the horror they felt for the sectaries.—The more zealous they were for the glory of God, the more ardently they laboured for the destruction of heretics, the better Christians they thought themselves. And if at any time they felt a movement of pity or terror, whilst assisting at their punishment, they thought it a revolt of the flesh, which they confessed at the tribunal of penitence; nor could they get quit of their remorse, till their priests had given them absolution. Woe to the men whose religion is completely perverted! All their most virtuous sentiments lead them astray. Their zeal is changed into ferocity. Their humility consigns them to the direction of the impostors who conduct them. Their very charity becomes sanguinary; they sacrifice those from whom they fear contagion, and they demand a baptism of blood, to save some elect to the Lord.

Besides, never had more energetic means been employed to confound the understanding and corrupt the human heart. That is a very superficial, and a very false, judgment, which condemns whole nations for the crimes committed in their bosom. In proportion to the faithfulness of history, are the horrors with which it charges all great societies of men; and if every thing were known, no nation would have much wherewith to reproach another. Let no one, then, pride itself because all has not been told concerning it. As to the persecution of the Albigenses, it was not the work of the French alone. The Italian, Innocent III, first gave the signal, and he also bestowed the recompense. He continually sharpened the sword of the murderers, by his legates and missionaries. The two Spaniards, the bishop of Ozma and Saint Dominic, (the founders of the inquisition) first taught the art of seeking out, in the villages, those whom the priests were afterwards to fasten to their stakes. The Germans, invited by their monks, came to take a part in this work, even from the extremities of Austria; and the English Matthew Paris renders testimony to the zeal of his countrymen in the same cause, and to their triumphant joy at the miracle (for so he called the massacre of Beziers) which had avenged the Lord.

But if we are bound to absolve large masses of men from the atrocities committed, in the name of religion, against the Albigenses, it would be to destroy the only responsibility which rests upon the powerful, the only resort for the oppressed upon this earth, not to hold up to public execration the fanatical monks who directed this movement, and the ambitious who profited by it. Amongst the first, the vengeance of public opinion ought not to rest only upon those who accompanied the crusaders, in their expeditions, who dragged the reformers to the flames, and who mingled their songs of triumph with the groans of their miserable victims; these were, at least, blinded by the same mad passion with which they had inspired the combatants. There was something more personal, more deliberate, more coldly ferocious, in those clouds of monks who, issuing from all the convents of the order of Citeaux, spread themselves through the states of Europe, occupied all the pulpits, appealed to all the passions to convert them into one, and showed how every vice might be expiated by crime, how remorse might be expelled by the flames of their piles, how the soul, polluted with every shameful passion, might become pure and spotless by bathing in the blood of heretics. After the conquest of the suspected country had been accomplished, after peace had been granted to the princes, and a safeguard to the submissive people, the monks of Citeaux continued, in every church, to preach a war of extermination, because they had done it with success in the preceding year, and because they were unwilling to relinquish the honours and profits of their mission. By continuing to preach the crusade, when there were none to combat, they impelled, each year, waves of new fanatics upon these miserable provinces; and they compelled their chiefs to recommence the war, in order to profit by the fervour of those who still demanded human victims, and required blood to effect their salvation.

1209. After the departure of the crusaders, towards the end of the summer of 1209, the count Raymond VI of Toulouse thought himself on the point of being reconciled to the church, to which he had given sureties, and which he had served in the preceding campaign. The count of Foix had made his peace with Simon de Montfort, who was endeavouring to establish himself in the viscounties of Carcassonne and Beziers, at the same time that he was negociating with Don Pedro, king of Aragon, then at Montpellier, to prevail on him to receive his homage. The arrival of new crusaders, conducted by Guy abbot of Vaux-Cernay, of the order of Citeaux, inspired Simon de Montfort with fresh courage. On one hand, he thought it time to throw away the mask with Raymond VI, count of Toulouse. He caused him to be excommunicated by the two legates, and laid all his territory under an interdict, after which he began hostilities against him. On the other hand, he caused the abbot of Eaulnes, who had made the peace between him and the count of Foix, to be assassinated; he then accused the count of this crime, and declared all negociation between them to be at an end. Simon de Montfort was, however, too eager in attacking new enemies before he had entirely subjugated the old. The king of Aragon, after amusing him with long negociations, peremptorily refused his homage, and would acknowledge no other viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne than Raymond Trencavel, son of the last viscount, two years of age, who was then under the care of the count of Foix. At the same time, he solicited the knights, who held from these two viscounties, to take arms for the son of their lord, promising them powerful succours. Towards the end of November, they all revolted, almost at the same time. Many of the French, the creatures of Simon de Montfort, were surprised in the castles which they regarded as their conquest. Some became victims of the resentment excited in the country by the cruelties of the crusaders; and at the end of the year, the domination of Simon de Montfort in Languedoc was reduced to eight cities or castles, whilst it had at first comprised more than two hundred.

Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, would have been afraid of compromising himself still more with the court of Rome, if he had given any appearance of exciting these revolts, or of making common cause with the enemies of Simon de Montfort. Although Montfort had already commenced hostilities against him, he judged it more expedient to repair first the court of Philip Augustus, and afterwards to that of the pope, than to remain in his states, and defend them by open force. He arrived at Rome at the commencement of the year 1210, and addressed himself to the pope to obtain his absolution. He was prepared to make great concessions, that he might avoid the fate of his nephew, the viscount of Beziers. He thought no longer of defending his heretical subjects; it was sufficient for him to shelter himself from the ambition of Simon de Montfort, from the hatred of the legate, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, and from the sanguinary fury of Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, who would have gladly seen the half of the flock entrusted to his care perish on the scaffold.

1210. Innocent III found himself, at that time, in one of those moments when he felt the power of the resistance he was called upon to conquer, and too much accustomed to despise. He had elevated himself to universal monarchy, and gave laws to the two empires of the east and west. In that same year he scolded the king of Portugal, and encouraged the king of Castille; he set himself as judge of the divorce of the king of Bohemia, and he incited the king of Denmark to take the cross. He had also just confirmed the rule which St. Francis d'Assise had given to the fraternity, the most devoted to the holy see of all the orders of monks. But, on the other hand, the emperor Otho IV, whom he regarded as his creature, had just escaped from him, and incurred excommunication by his resistance to the holy see. John, the king of England, lived in open enmity with the church. Philip Augustus had dared to seize upon the temporalities of two bishops. A system of opposition to the pope appeared to be preparing in the Christian world, and, in spite of all his pride, Innocent III was too politic not to temporize when occasion required.

Whether Innocent proposed only to separate Raymond from his partisans, to inspire him with a deceitful confidence, and to gain time, as the most zealous amongst the orthodox writers affirm, or whether he really felt good will towards the count of Toulouse, and was afterwards prevented from pardoning him by his legates, who deceived him, as some writers the most disposed to tolerance have supposed, certain it is that he gave this prince a gracious reception. He released him, provisionally, from the excommunication pronounced against him, but referred him, for final absolution, to a council which should assemble in the province three months after the count's return. The purpose of this council was only to judge whether Raymond was, or was not, guilty of heresy, and whether he had, or had not, prompted the murderer of the legate Peter of Castelnau. These were the two accusations which exposed the count to the severest penalties; but on the other hand, they were those respecting which he felt himself the most innocent, and of which he was the most eager to purge himself.

1210. But the legate Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, joined to the ambitious zeal of the pope an inplacable hatred against count Raymond. He had summoned the council, to which Innocent III had referred the cause of the count, to meet at Saint Gilles, but, before its assembling, new successes of Simon de Montfort against the lords of the castles, who still defended either the independence of their jurisdiction or that of their conscience, and new judicial massacres had inspired him with more confidence in the cause which he wished to see triumphant. Master Theodise, a canon of Genoa, whom the pope had sent to advise with the legate, had a secret conference with him at Toulouse. "He was," says Peter de Vaux-Cernay, "a circumspect man, prudent and very zealous for the affairs of God, and he desired above all things to find some pretext of right to refuse the count that opportunity of justifying himself which Innocent had granted him. He agreed, at last, with the abbot of Citeaux and the bishop of Riez, that he should seek some cause of dispute with the count, respecting the accomplishment of some subordinate conditions which the pope had enjoined upon him, founding himself upon the words of the bull of Innocent III—We desire that he execute our orders.

When in fact, Raymond VI presented himself to the council of St. Gilles, to justify himself, and offered to establish, by indubitable proofs, that he had never participated in heresy, and was a stranger to the murder of the legate, Peter of Castelnau, Master Theodise stopped him, by declaring that he had not yet destroyed all the heretics of the county of Toulouse; that he had not yet suppressed all the tolls, whose abolition was demanded by the pope; that he had not yet abolished or restored all the collections, which his officers had made upon different convents; and since he had disobeyed the orders of the church in smaller matters, they might conclude that he would, the more certainly, have disobeyed in the two crimes of which he was accused. Thus, the council, to prevent perjury either in himself or his witnesses, refused him the permission to clear himself of these two capital accusations. When the count, who thought himself fully assured that this day would establish his innocence, heard this unexpected declaration, he burst into tears. But Master Theodise remembered a passage of holy Scripture, by which to free himself from feelings of humanity. How great soever be the overflow of waters, said he, turning his tears into derision, they will not reach unto God; and he fulminated, in the name of the church, an excommunication against the count of Toulouse. The council of St. Gilles did not assemble till the end of September, and its rigour augmented in proportion to the success obtained by Simon de Montfort in the course of this same campaign. During the winter, Montfort had been reduced to stand upon the defensive, and revolts in every part of the province had sufficiently proved to him how much his yoke was detested. But the monks of Citeaux had recommenced the preaching of the crusade in the north of France. There was, said they to those ferocious and superstitious warriors, no crime so dark, no vice so deeply rooted in the heart, the very trace of which, a campaign of forty days, in the south of France, would not obliterate. Paradise, with all its glories, was opened for them, without the necessity of purchasing it by any reformation in their conduct. Alice of Montmorency, Simon de Montfort's wife, undertook the direction of the first army of crusaders, raised by the monks. At the beginning of Lent, her husband came to meet her at Pezenas, and no sooner found himself at the head of an imposing force than he gave full scope to his cruelty."

He attacked, in the first place, the castle of Lauraguais and Minervois. The feudal state of independence had multiplied these fortresses, and the smallest province was covered with citadels. They did not at all however appear to their possessors capable of sustaining a siege; the terror which the crusaders inspired caused a great number to be abandoned. Simon de Montfort generally caused all their inhabitants, whom he could lay hands upon, to be hanged upon gibbets. Some castles, calculating too favourably upon their strength, endeavoured to resist him; that of Brom was taken by assault the third day of the siege, and Simon de Montfort chose out more than a hundred of its wretched inhabitants, and having torn out their eyes, and cut off their noses, sent them, in that state, under the guidance of a one-eyed man, to the castle of Cabaret, to announce to the garrison of that fortress the fate which awaited them. The castle of Alairac was not taken till the eleventh day, and even then a great part of its inhabitants were able to escape from the ferocity of the crusaders. Montfort massacred the remainder. Farther on he found castles abandoned and absolutely empty; and, not being able to reach the men, he sent out his soldiers to destroy the surrounding vines and olive-trees.

1210. Montfort afterwards conducted his army to a more important siege, that of the castle of Minerva, situated at a small distance from Narbonne, on a steep rock, surrounded by precipices, and regarded as the strongest place in the Gauls. This castle belonged to Guiraud of Minerva, vassal of the viscounts of Carcassone, and one of the bravest knights of the province. The army of the crusaders appeared before Minerva, at the beginning of June; the legate Arnold, and the canon Theodise, joined it soon after. The inhabitants, among whom were many who had embraced the reform of the Albigenses, defended themselves with great valour for seven weeks; but when, on account of the heats of summer, the water began to fail in their cisterns, they demanded a capitulation. Guiraud came himself to the camp of the crusaders, one day when the legate was absent, and agreed with Simon de Montfort on conditions for the surrender of the place. But, as they were proceeding to execute them, the abbot Arnold returned to the camp, and Montfort immediately declared that nothing which they had agreed upon could be considered as binding, till the legate had given his assent. "At these words," says Peter de Vaux-Cernay, "the abbot was greatly afflicted. In fact, he desired that all the enemies of Christ should be put to death, but he could not take upon himself to condemn them, on account of his quality of monk and priest." He thought, however, that he might stir up some quarrel between the negociation, profit by it to break the capitulation, and cause all the inhabitants to be put to the sword. For this purpose, he required the count on one part, and Guiraud of Minerva on the other, to put into writing, without communicating with each other, the conditions on which they had agreed. As Arnold had flattered himself, he found some difference in the statements, and Montfort immediately availed himself of it, to declare, in the name of the legate, that the negociation was broken off. But the lord of Minerva instantly replied, that, though he thought himself sure of his memory, yet he accepted the capitulation as Simon de Montfort had drawn it up. One of the articles of this capitulation provided, that the heretics themselves, if they were converted, might quit the castle, and have their lives saved. When the capitulation was read in the council of war, "Robert of Mauvoisin," says the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "a nobleman, and entirely devoted to the catholic faith, cried, that the pilgrims would never consent to that; that it was not to show mercy to the heretics, but to put them to death, they had taken the cross; but the abbot Arnold replied—fear not, for I believe there will be very few converted." The legate was not deceived in this bloody hope. The crusaders took possession of the castle of Minerva the 22d of July, 1210; they entered, singing *Te Deum*, and preceded by the cross and the standards of Montfort. The heretics were, in the mean time, assembled, the men in one house, the women in another, and there, on their knees, and resigned to their fate, they prepared themselves, by prayer, for the punishment which awaited them. The abbot, Guy de Vaux-Cernay, to fulfil the capitulation, came, and began to preach to them the catholic faith; but his auditors interrupted him by a unanimous cry—"We will have none of your faith," said they, "we have renounced the church of Rome: your labour is in vain; for neither death nor life will make us renounce the opinions that we have embraced." The abbot of Vaux-Cernay then passed to the assembly of the women, but he found them as resolute, and more enthusiastic still in their declarations. The count of Montfort, in his turn, visited both. Already he had piled up an enormous mass of dry wood: "Be converted to the catholic faith," said he to the assembled Albigenses, "or ascend this pile." None were shaken. They set fire to the pile, which covered the whole square with a tremendous conflagration;—and the heretics were then conducted to the place. But violence was not necessary to compel them to enter the flames; they voluntarily precipitated themselves into them, to the number of more than one hundred and forty, after having commended their souls to that God, in whose cause they suffered martyrdom. Three women only, forcibly retained by the noble dame of Marly, mother of Bouchard, lord of Montmorenci, were saved from the flames; and terror and consternation succeeding to their enthusiastic fervor, they consented to be converted.

The capture of Minerva was quickly followed by the siege of the castle of Termes, upon the frontiers of Roussillon. This castle was extremely strong, and commanded by a valiant captain, Raymond of Termes. He made a long resistance, and tired the patience of the crusaders, who would willingly have granted an advantageous capitulation. As the pilgrims after a service of forty days, which was sufficient to obtain the indulgences, quitted the army, Simon de Montfort found himself, on many occasions, left with so small a force, that he was on the point of raising the siege. But all the provinces of the Gauls, excited by the same fanaticism, sent, in their turns, contingents to the sacred war. After the arrival of the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais, who had conducted thither the inhabitants of Orleanais, and the isle of France, and the counts of Dreux and Ponthieu followed by their vassals, there came in succession, Bretons, Germans, and Lorrains. The strength of the beseiged sunk at last, after four months combats, under so many repeated attacks, and so much the more, as, having filled their cisterns a second time from the rains which fell during the great heats, numerous dysenteries, from that cause, prevailed amongst them. During the night between the 22d and 23d of November, they attempted to escape by abandoning the place. They did, indeed, pass the first entrenchments, and dispersed themselves in the mountains, with the hope of reaching Catalonia; but the moment their flight was perceived, a general cry arose in the army. The crusaders exhorted each other not to let those, who had cost them so much sweat and blood, escape from punishment. The whole body of the pilgrims followed the fugitives, the greater part of whom were overtaken, and killed on the spot; others were conducted alive to Simon de Montfort. Of these, he spared Raymond, lord of Termes, and, instead of burning him, confined him at the bottom of a tower in Carcassonne, where he suffered him to languish for many years.

The taking of two such strong places as Minerva and Termes made all the garrisons of the neighbouring castles lose their courage; they dared no longer trust to their walls, and the army advancing into the Albigeois to the left of the Tarn found all the places deserted. By this means they occupied the castles of Constasse, of Puyvert, of Lombers, and a great number of others; but the miserable inhabitants were not able to save themselves by flight. They were followed into the woods and mountains; the greater part perished there by the sword, and those that were brought prisoners to the camp were burned for the edification of the army.

Whatever care the legates had taken, to prevent the count of Toulouse from justifying himself, Innocent III had not yet confirmed the sentence of excommunication, which had been newly fulminated against him. So powerful a feudatory required to be treated with greater caution than had been used towards the inferior lords, who were, like him, accused of favouring the heretics. Philip Augustus had written to the pope to recommend him to his indulgence. Don Pedro, king of Aragon, who had long since given his sister in marriage to Raymond VI, and had afterwards promised his own daughter to his son, having lost that daughter at an early age, had married, in the beginning of the year 1211, another of his sisters, also named Sancha, to the young Raymond VII, and thus strengthened still more the alliance which united him to this house. Simon de Montfort, whose fanaticism never prevented him from managing his temporal interests like a wily politician, undertook to deprive the count of Toulouse of the support which he found in Spain, and, for this purpose, carefully sought to gain the friendship of the king of Aragon. Pedro thought perhaps that by reconciling himself with Montfort, he might afterwards the more easily serve his two brothers-in-law. He began therefore by receiving his homage for the viscounties of Carcassonne, and of Beziers: afterwards he consented, by a strange and inexplicable arrangement, not only to betroth his son Don Jayme or James, to a daughter of Montfort, but to commit his only son, then three years of age, to that lord whom he disliked and distrusted. When Don Pedro took, in the beginning of the year 1211, this strange resolution, he was impelled perhaps by one of those fits of devotion which in that age deranged all the calculations of policy; perhaps, he feared, for his French provinces, the attacks of those swarms of crusaders, whom he saw every year arrive, and was willing, at any price, to ensure the friendship of their chief.

1211. But neither the manœuvres of Montfort, with regard to the count of Toulouse, nor his alliance with the king of Aragon, was of long duration. Informed that the preachers of the crusade, instead of growing cool, were inflamed by his last success, and that the crusaders who would join him during the year, would be more numerous than those of the years preceding, he prepared to second the hatred of the abbot of Citeaux and the bishop Fouquet against the count of Toulouse, in the hope of joining the fine sovereignty of that prince to his former conquests. He wished, however, to profit to the last by the weakness of Raymond, and by his desire to be reconciled to the church, and he awaited the result of a citation of the legates, who had summoned him to appear, about the middle of February, before a provincial council, which they were assembling at Arles. Count Raymond and the king of Aragon attended there together, and were no sooner entered into the city, than they received orders not to quit it without the permission of the council. A note containing thirteen articles was afterwards communicated to them, on the reception and execution of which, the fathers of the church announced that they would restore to the count of Toulouse, all his territories and lordships, when it should please the count of Montfort and the legate. Never was a more absurd and insulting treaty proposed to a sovereign prince, who was still in full possession of his states. Raymond VI was required to dismiss all the soldiers armed for his defence; to rase all his fortifications; to exclude from the strong cities of his dominions all the knights who might serve for their defence; to renounce all the customs which formed the greater part of his revenue; to reduce all the inhabitants of his states, both nobles and plebeians, to wear the dress of penitence, and submit to an abstinence almost monastical; to deliver to Simon de Montfort and the legate, at the first demand, all those of their subjects whom they should require, that they might burn them according to their good pleasure: in fine, to proceed himself to the Holy Land, to serve amongst the hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, until he was recalled by the legate. The indignation and surprise of count Raymond and the king of Aragon, at reading these demands, was proportionable to their insolence. They had been prohibited from quitting Arles, but no precautions had been taken for retaining them in that city. They instantly set out, without taking leave of the bishops, who, throwing off all disguise towards the count of Toulouse, excommunicated him afresh, declared him an enemy to the church, and an apostate from the faith, and abandoned his domains to the first occupant.

We may be assured that these churchmen, when they showed themselves so arrogant and pitiless, were sensible of the augmentation of their forces. In fact, the fanatic Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had been preaching the crusade in France with great success. It was at Toulouse, especially, that he wished to kindle the flames; it was in the flock which God had confided to him that he wished, he said, to separate the sheep from the goats. Many of those who attended on his ministry, who conformed to all the laws of the church, appeared to him either too lukewarm in their zeal, or suspicious in their faith, and he wished to purify them by fire. He succeeded in causing the bishop of Paris, Robert de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, Enguerrand de Coucy, Joel de Mayenne, and a great number of other French barons and knights, to take the cross against the Albigenses. These, in the course of the same campaign, were followed by Leopold duke of Austria, Adolphus count of Mons, and William count of Juliers. The Holy Land was nearly abandoned by the western knights, since they could gain the same indulgences by these, as it were, domestic crusades. About the 10th of March, Simon de Montfort found himself at the head of a very large army, with which he opened the campaign.

His first attack was directed against the castle of Cabaret, which had hitherto braved all the threats of the crusaders: but long reverses had broken the spirit of the Albigenses. Peter Roger, lord of Cabaret, submitted voluntarily to Montfort, and opened to him the gates of his fortress. His example was followed by the lords of many other castles, in the mountains which separate the diocese of Carcassonne from that of Toulouse. It seemed to be the design of Montfort to open to himself these passages, by treating the places with a humanity which he rarely exercised. The crusaders then advanced as far as Lavaur on the Agoût, five leagues from Toulouse. Lavaur, which was afterwards raised to the rank of an episcopal city, was then only a strong castle. It belonged to a widow named Guiraude, whom her brother, Aimery de Montreal, had joined with eighty knights, after having been despoiled by the crusaders of his own fiefs. Aimery and Guiraude, as well as many of their defenders, professed the reform of the Albigenses. They had opened an asylum, within their walls, to those of the reformed who were persecuted in the other parts of the province; so that their fortress, which was well stored with provisions, surrounded with strong walls, and girded with deep ditches, was considered as one of the principal seats of heresy. This consideration prevented count Raymond, who still courted the church, from openly sending them assistance; but, he is accused of having caused his seneschal to enter it secretly with a body of knights. During this time, Fouquet returning to Toulouse had communicated his fanaticism to a part of the inhabitants of that city. He told them that their mixture with the heretics rendered them an object of horror to all Christians; and, that they might not be confounded with them, they should be the first to arm themselves against those of their fellow-citizens who had abandoned the catholic faith. He had enrolled them into a society which named itself, *the White Company*, and engaged to destroy the heretics by fire and sword. Having thus inflamed their zeal, he sent five thousand of these fanatics to the siege of Lavaur.

Whilst this siege was going on, count Raymond made one more attempt at reconciliation with the legate and Simon de Montfort; but all his offers having been rejected, he saw, at last, that a more vigorous conduct was his only resource; and upon this he ought doubtless, long since, to have determined, if so much resolution had belonged to his character. He formed a close alliance with the counts of Cominges and of Foix; with Gaston, viscount of Bearn; Savary de Mauleon, seneschal of Aquitaine, and the other lords of those provinces, who were accused of tolerance or of heresy, and whose interests were become one with his own. These lords, informed that the German body of crusaders, from the duke of Austria, and the counts of Mons and Juliers, had advanced as far as Montjoyre, between the Tarn and the Garronne, and that it was marching to the siege of Lavaur, six thousand strong, detached a chosen body of troops, under the command of the count of Foix, of his son, and of Guiraud de Pepieux, who laid in ambush for the Germans, and cut them in pieces before Simon de Montfort could come to their assistance. On the other side count Raymond had prohibited all his subjects from carrying provisions to the camp of the crusaders, who were thereby reduced to great extremities. But they were commanded by a chief, as much superior to the other captains by his skill and prudence, as he outdid the rest of the fanatics by his cold ferocity. Simon de Montfort had profited by all the progress which the art of war had made in that age. He had himself served in the Holy Land, and there were in his camp a great number of knights who had combated against the Turks and the Greeks, and who had, in the East, acquired the knowledge of the attack and defence of fortified places. He employed, therefore, to overthrow the walls, ingenious machines, whose introduction was quite recent amongst the Latins, and which were as yet unknown to the inhabitants of the Pyrenees.

The most fearful was that which was called *the cat*. A moveable wooden tower, strongly constructed, was built out of the reach of the besieged. When it was entirely covered with sheepskins, with the fur outwards to guard it from fire, and provided with soldiers at its openings, and on the platform at its summit, it was moved on rollers to the foot of the wall. Its side then opened, and an immense beam, armed with iron hooks, projected like the paw of a cat, shook the wall by reiterated strokes, after the manner of the ancient battering ram, and tore out and pulled down the stones which it had loosened. Simon de Montfort had constructed a cat, but the wide ditches of Lavaur prevented him from bringing it near enough to the walls. The crusaders, under the orders of Montfort, laboured unceasingly to fill up the ditch, whilst the inhabitants of Lavaur, who could descend into it by subterranean passages, cleared away each night all that had been thrown in during the day. At last Montfort succeeded in filling the mines with flame and smoke, and thereby prevented the inhabitants from passing into them. The ditches were then speedily filled; the cat was pushed to the foot of the wall, and its terrible paw began to open and enlarge the breach.

On the day of the finding of the holy cross, the 3d of May, 1211, Montfort judged the breach to be practicable. The crusaders prepared for the assault. The bishops, the abbot of Courdieu, who exercised the functions of vice-legate, and all the priests clothed with their pontifical habits, giving themselves up to the joy of seeing the carnage begin, sang the hymn *Veni Creator*. The knights mounted the breach. Resistance was impossible; and the only care of Simon de Montfort was to prevent the crusaders from instantly falling upon the inhabitants, and to beseech them rather to make prisoners, that the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys. "Very soon," continues the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "they dragged out of the castle Aimery, lord of Montreal, and other knights to the number of eighty. The noble count immediately ordered them to be hanged upon the gallows; but as soon as Aimery, the stoutest among them, was hanged, the gallows fell; for in their great haste they had not well fixed it in the earth. The count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them all upon the spot. The lady of the castle, who was sister of Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the count's order, thrown into a pit, which was filled up with stones; afterwards our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics that the castle contained, *and burned them alive with the utmost joy*."

Open hostilities had not yet commenced between Simon de Montfort and the count of Toulouse, but they followed immediately on the taking of Lavaur. The refusal to send provisions to the besiegers might serve as a pretext, but none was wanted for attacking those who were excommunicated. The castle of Montjoyre was the first place, immediately belonging to the count of Toulouse, before which the crusaders presented themselves; and being abandoned, it was burned and rased from top to bottom by the soldiers of the church. The castle of Cassero afforded them more satisfaction, as it furnished human victims for their sacrifices. It was surrendered on capitulation; *and the pilgrims seizing nearly sixty heretics, burned them with infinite joy*. This is always the phrase employed by the monk, who was the witness and the panegyrist of the crusade. A great number of castles were afterwards either surrendered to the crusaders or abandoned; and these crusaders finding themselves, about the middle of June, reinforced by a new army from Germany, undertook the siege of Toulouse.

This city was very far from having been converted to the reformation of the Albigenses; the catholics still formed the greater number. But their consuls refused either to renounce their fidelity to their count, though he had been excommunicated, or to deliver up to punishment those of their citizens who were suspected of inclining towards the new opinions. The bishop Fouquet had succeeded in forming in the city an association, named the white company, who engaged to pursue the heretics unto death. This company, by its own authority, erected a tribunal, before which it carried those whose faith it suspected, with those whose conduct it accused, or against whom it alleged usurious loans. It afterwards executed its own judgments by open force, by the destruction and pillage of their houses. The partisans of tolerance very soon formed a counter association, which they called the black company; the two troops frequently came to arms in the streets, with ensigns displayed; and many towers which belonged to one side or the other, were alternately besieged. "Thus," continues master William Puylaurens, (a contemporary historian), "did our Lord, by the ministry of his servant the bishop, instead of a bad peace, excite amongst them a good war."

But whilst the bishop was endeavouring to kindle war amongst his flock, the count was labouring to restore peace amongst his subjects. At the return of the five thousand men of the white company, who had been at the siege of Lavaur, he represented to them that their dissentions would bring ruin on their country; that an attack of the crusaders would involve them all in one common destruction; and that, whatever might be their differences of opinion, they ought to repair their walls, and prepare for their defence, if they would not expose themselves to the hazard of being put to the sword. He succeeded in producing a reconciliation between the two companies, and the legate took occasion from it to subject all the Toulousians to a sentence of excommunication. On his part, the bishop Fouquet recalled his clergy, that he might save his priests from that punishment to which he destined the remainder of his flock. All the priests of Toulouse, with the provost of the cathedral at their head, quitted the city, barefoot, carrying the holy sacrament in the procession, and singing litanies. However, the Toulousians did not at that time suffer the fate to which their pastors destined them. Raymond VI, seconded by the counts of Foix and of Cominges, so incommoded the besiegers by frequent sallies, killed so many of them, and made them so soon endure privations and famine, that Simon de Montfort was obliged to raise the siege on the 29th of June, and soon afterwards saw himself abandoned by the greater part of the crusaders, whose time of service had expired.

To efface the remembrance of this check, Simon de Montfort extended his ravages into the county of Foix, which he desolated with fire and slaughter. He then passed into Quercy, the lordship of which he compelled the inhabitants to give him. But at the same time the count of Toulouse, having collected succours from all his allies, came in his turn to besiege Castelnaudary. He appeared before that city towards the end of September, with the counts of Foix and of Cominges, the viscount of Béarn, and Savary de Mauléon. Although the crusaders were reduced to an inferiority of number, Simon de Montfort did not abandon the besieged. He shut himself up in their walls, with a chosen troop of his old companions in arms, who did not exceed one hundred knights. At the same time he solicited his lieutenants, his vassals and his wife, to collect all the soldiers who were at their disposal, and march to his deliverance; but as soon as his fortune began to waver, the hatred he had excited through the country broke out in every part, and those upon whom he had reckoned the most declared against him. His marsechal Guy de Levis, and his brother-in-law, Bouchard de Marli, or Montmorency, succeeded at last in collecting a numerous body of knights from the dioceses of Narbonne, Carcassonne and Beziers. These were crusaders, who, like Montfort, had gained establishments in the country, and who saw that without an effort of valour their conquests would be lost. The valiant count of Foix intercepted them about a league from Castelnaudary, attacked and dispersed them two several times, but his troops having broken their ranks to pillage the vanquished, were attacked anew either by another body of the crusaders or by Montfort himself, who at the head of sixty knights had sallied from Castelnaudary, and were in their turn put to the rout. In spite of this success, in spite of the arrival of Alain de Rouci, a French knight, with a fresh body of crusaders, the affairs of Simon de Montfort continued to decline to the end of the year. The count of Toulouse reconquered all the strong places of Albigeois, and in more than fifty castles the inhabitants eagerly expelled or massacred their French garrisons, to surrender themselves to their ancient lord.

The hatred against the crusaders which seemed rooted in the hearts of all the inhabitants of the country, and of all who spoke the provençal language, gave occasion to the legates, the vice-legates, the monks of Citeaux, and to all that ecclesiastical council which hitherto had directed the crusade, to announce that it was time to complete the regeneration of the country, by changing the secular clergy. They had long accused the bishops of lukewarmness, or indifference to the triumphs of the church, and had solicited their destitution. This they at last obtained, in the year 1212, either from the pope or from the timidity of the persecuted prelates themselves. Bernard Raymond de Rochefort, bishop of Carcassonne, consented to give in his resignation; and Guy, abbot of Vaux-Cernay, was invested with his bishopric. It is not know whether Berenger, archbishop of Narbonne, escaped by death from the persecutions which he had so long suffered, or whether he was deposed; but Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, and chief of all the legations to the Albigenses, took possession of this archbishopric. Amongst the bishops of his province, who assisted at his consecration, two others were taken from that order of Citeaux, which had preached and conducted the crusade. The abbot Arnold did not, however, content himself with the spiritual dignity which he acquired, as the fruit of his labours for the extirpation of heresy. To the archiepiscopal throne of Narbonne, and to the rich revenues of that metropolitan see, he resolved also to join the ducal crown. The count of Toulouse bore, at the same time, the title of duke of Narbonne, and the viscount of that same city was his vassal, and owed him homage. The abbot Arnold, in excommunicating Raymond VI, had abandoned his states to the first occupant, and he had taken care, in consequence, to be the first to occupy the duchy of Narbonne. He had taken possession of the arbishopric on the 12th of March, 1212, and on the 13th he demanded homage of the viscount of Narbonne, and an oath of fidelity.

The fanaticism and cruelty of a monk were more easily pardoned, in that age, than the cupidity which induced him to seize upon the spoils of him whom he had persecuted. The monks of Citeaux began to sink in the estimation of the people, when it appeared that they had shed so much blood only for the opportunity of gaining possession of those episcopal sees which they coveted. Perhaps the legate, Arnold Amalric, who, by this conduct, had highly offended Simon de Montfort, and had dissolved that intimate union which had hitherto subsisted between those two ferocious men, endeavoured to cause this symptom of ambition to be forgotten, by rendering new services to the church; or perhaps he might be drawn, by his enthusiasm alone, to a new crusade, different from that which he had hitherto preached. Be this as it may, he had scarcely taken possession of the arbishopric of Narbonne before he passed into Spain, to aid the kings of Castille, of Aragon, and of Navarre, against Mehemed-el-Nasir, king of Morocco.

This Emir-al-Mumenim had been called into Spain by the victories of the Christian kings over the Moors of Andalusia. A mussulman crusade had been preached in Africa: innumerable swarms of warriors had crossed the strait of Cadiz; and the victory of the Moors at Alarcos, on the 18th of July, 1195, had given them a prodigious ascendency over the Christians. After losing many provinces, Alphonso IX, of Castille, had been obliged to demand an armistice; but this truce expired in 1212. The fanaticism of the Almohadans, who had annihilated the African church, gave reason to apprehend the entire extirpation of Christianity from Spain. Innocent III had therefore granted the preaching of a new crusade, to succour the Spaniards. The abbot Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, was not the only Gallic prelate who passed the Pyrenees; the archbishop of Bourdeaux and the bishop of Nantes arrived also at Toledo, and with them a considerable number of barons, knights and pilgrims, from Aquitaine, France and Italy. This multitude, rendered ferocious by the war against the Albigenses, distinguished itself, however, only by the massacre of the Jews of Toledo, which it effected, notwithstanding the efforts of the noble Castillians to protect them; and by its earnestness to put to death the Moorish garrison of Calatrava, in contempt of the capitulation. The French crusaders afterwards pretended that they could no longer support the heat of the Spanish climate, and they retired before the terrible battle of Navas de Tolosa, fought on the 16th of July, 1212. This battle saved the Christians of Spain, and overturned the power of the Almohadans.

The crusade against the Moors of Spain occasioned but a short interruption to that against the Albigenses. During the winter, Simon de Montfort had been reduced to the small number of knights attached to his fortunes; but, at the same time, the monks of Citeaux had recommenced their preaching, throughout all Christendom, with more ardour than ever; and the expedition against the Albigenses, to which, according to their assurances, such high celestial favours were attached, was, nevertheless, so short and so easy, that the army of the crusaders was renewed, four times in the course of the year, by pilgrims, who, after forty days' service, returned to their homes. Guy de Montfort, the count's brother, (who had just returned from the Holy Land), the provost of the church of Cologne, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Laon, the bishop of Toul, and an archdeacon of Paris, were amongst the principal chiefs who, in the year 1212, came to range themselves under the banners of Montfort. Their hope of contributing to the slaughter and punishment of the Albigenses was not entirely disappointed, but they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves by great achievements in arms. Upon the arrival of these fanatical bands, almost all the castles of the Toulousians were abandoned by their inhabitants, who sought a refuge in the cities of Toulouse and Montauban, almost the only places which they thought proof against a siege. But the crusade had been preached only for the destruction of heretics; the indulgences of the church were only promised at this price. All the prelates, who arrived in Albigeois surrounded by bigots to whom they had promised the forgiveness of their sins, would have thought their vow unfulfilled if they had not avenged God against his rebels. They were, however, forced to content themselves with such fugitive peasants as they could surprise in the fields, or some prisoners, taken in the castles which had dared to resist them. Those of Saint Marcel and of Saint Antonin furnished them with a considerable number of human victims. But when Simon de Montfort saw that the greater part of the population of the countries, where heresy had prevailed, was exterminated, and that the remainder had placed themselves out of the reach of his attacks, he resolved to take advantage of the zeal of the crusaders, by conducting them into Agenois, whose entire population was catholic, and to make them gain their indulgences at the siege of la Penne, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the 25th of July. The siege of Boissac, which followed, was remarkable only for the perfidy which Montfort compelled its inhabitants to practice. He refused to grant them their lives, till they had consented to sacrifice, with their own hands, three hundred *routiers*, who formed their garrison, and who had, to that time, valiantly defended them. On this condition the gates of the city were opened to him on the 8th of September; and the crusaders, contenting themselves with this carnage, received from the citizens a sum of money, to save their houses from the flames. Simon conducted his army, afterwards, into the counties of Foix and of Cominges, which he ravaged afresh, whilst the count Raymond of Toulouse, despoiled of almost all his states, passed into Aragon, to implore the intercession of his brother-in-law, the king Don Pedro, with the court of Rome.

At the end of November, 1212, Simon de Montfort assembled a *parliament* at Pamiers. Under this title was commonly understood a diet, or conference of lords, who united voluntarily to deliberate and decide upon their own interests. The parliament of Pamiers was composed of archbishops and bishops; of French knights drawn into the country by the crusades, or attached to the fortunes of Montfort; of certain knights who spoke the provençal language; and of some inhabitants of the principal cities of the country. The general of the crusade wished them to draw up statutes, for the government of the conquered provinces, and it was necessary that each order of his new subjects should be represented in his parliament, that he might ensure their obedience. But he had also taken care, beforehand, to ensure to himself a great majority. All the bishops were absolutely devoted to him; the knights-crusaders had no other interest than his; the inhabitants of the country were intimidated; and the statutes of Pamiers bear the impress of their oppression, and of the suspicions of the conqueror. Amongst fifty-one articles, some of which, nevertheless, are favourable to the peasants and lowest classes of society, we may remark the prohibition to rebuild any of the fortresses which had been destroyed, without the express permission of the count; the order to all the catholic women, whose husbands were amongst the enemies of Montfort, to quit the estates under his dominion; the order to widows, or heiresses of noble fiefs, to marry none but Frenchmen, during the space of ten years. These marriages, joined to the confiscations and new infeodations which Montfort granted to his creatures, multiplied, in the province, the noble families of the north of France, who adopted, in their legislation, the customs of Paris, and caused the extinction of the greater number of ancient families, who prided themselves on descending either from the Romans or the Goths.

It was not in vain that the count of Toulouse took refuge with the king of Aragon, and implored his protection at the court of Rome. This king was held in high consideration by Innocent III, and had rendered great services to the church. He could not see, without regret, his two sisters, one married to the count of Toulouse, the other to his son, stripped of their inheritance by Simon de Montfort; or that all the princes of those provinces, the allies and the vassals of the crown of Aragon, should be ruined; that Simon should have refused to himself the service which he owed for his viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne; and that he had not permitted the other feudatories of the province to render it, even in those moments of danger when Spain appeared on the point of sinking under the invasion of the Almohadans; in a word, that he should destroy that dominion, which Don Pedro himself, and the princes of Aragon, his ancestors, had gradually obtained over the south of Gaul.

The ambassadors of the king, Don Pedro, at the court of Rome, did their utmost therefore to convince the pope that Simon de Montfort was only an ambitious usurper; that, whilst he invoked the name of religion, he thought of nothing but his own aggrandisement; that he attacked, indifferently, catholics and heretics; and that he had changed a crusade against heresy into a war of extermination against that Provençal nation of which the king of Aragon prided himself in being the chief.

Whether it was that Innocent III had been constantly deceived by his legates, and that the ambassadors of the king of Aragon showed him the truth for the first time; or whether he felt some pity for the princes and people to whom he had already occasioned so much injury; or whether he at last began to suspect those whom he had rendered too powerful, and thought it more conformable to the policy of the church, to raise from the ground the rival of Simon de Montfort, and oppose him to his conqueror, than to complete his ruin; he entirely changed his language, in the letters, which, at the beginning of the year 1213, he wrote to his legates and to Montfort.

1213. The first of these letters, dated the 18th of January, is addressed to the legate Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, to the bishop of Riez, and to master Theodise of Genoa. In this letter Innocent III reproaches them with the murder of the viscount of Beziers, the usurpation of provinces, even where there was no heresy, and with the cupidity they had displayed throughout the whole war. He informs them that Raymond had surrendered himself, with his son and all his states, into the hands of the king of Aragon, declaring that he submitted entirely to the sentence of the church; that this king, in possession of such pledges, announced, on his part, that he was ready to execute the judgment of the church, which he awaited; that he engaged to provide that the son of the count of Toulouse, who had never been suspected of heresy, should be brought up in all the rigour of the catholic faith; and he undertook that the father should proceed to the Holy Land, or to Spain, according as the pope should command, to combat the infidels, for the remainder of his days. Don Pedro, whose letter Innocent III almost entirely copied into his own, only demanded, that they should cease to preach the crusade against a country which had already submitted; that they should not continue to invite the French, by all their spiritual rewards, to exterminate the Languedocians; that, whatever determination Innocent III should take against the count of Toulouse, they should cease to confound the innocent with the guilty; and that, should they even find Raymond VI in fault, they should not, on that account, punish his son, who was not even suspected, or the counts of Foix and of Cominges, and the viscount of Béarn, who had been involved in the war only for having fulfilled their feudal duties towards the count of Toulouse, their lord. After having inserted in his letter almost the entire contents of that of the king of Aragon, Innocent III reproved his legates in a language which they were not accustomed to hear from him. He reproached them with their cupidity and ambition; he accused them of having shed the blood of the innocent, and of having invaded lands where heresy had never penetrated; he commanded them to restore to the vassals of the king of Aragon, all that they had taken from them, that the king might not be diverted from the war which he was maintaining against the infidels. Two following letters, written by the pope to Simon de Montfort, are not less energetic, and show no less that the atrocities of the war in Albigeois, were at last known at Rome.

The king of Aragon obtained equal success in an embassy that he sent to Philip Augustus. He engaged this king to retain his son Louis, who was ready to set out for the crusade against the Albigenses; he, at the same time, announced in the Isle of France, in Champagne and Burgundy, that the pope ceased to encourage this crusade, and exhorted the faithful rather to march to the relief of the Holy Land. The cardinal, Robert de Courgon, legate of the pope in France, declared himself against the continuation of the war; so that the bishops of Toulouse and of Carcassonne, who were again going through the provinces of the North, to arm them against those of the South, found much difficulty in issuing their indulgences. At the same time, a new provincial council was called at Lavaur, either to hear the justification of Count Raymond, or to accept the submission promised by the king of Aragon, and to establish peace in the province.

1213. But Simon de Montfort had such zealous partisans in the bishops of the province of Narbonne, he had connected his cause so intimately with theirs, he had taken so much care to provide the monks of Citeaux, the principal instigators of the crusade, with all the pontifical sees which had become vacant, that he was sure of gaining his cause before such prejudiced judges as those to whom the pope had referred it. In fact, the authority of the holy see was never more completely set at nought by its agents. Innocent III had repeatedly given positive orders to the bishops of the province, to hear, and to judge of, the justifications of count Raymond; and the bishops assembled at the council of Lavaur, in the month of January, 1213, again explicitly refused to hear him, or to admit any of his justifications. They pretended that the count of Toulouse, by not executing all the orders they had given him before, and by causing the murder of nearly a thousand Christians, through the war which he had maintained against the crusaders, had lost all right of pleading his cause. They even refused to extend the benefits of the pacification to the counts of Foix and of Cominges, and to the viscount of Béarn, whom they declared to be supporters of heretics. Above all, they insisted upon the necessity of destroying the city of Toulouse, and of exterminating its inhabitants, that they might complete the purification of the province. And, as they had this object more at heart than all the others, the fathers of the council first addressed a common letter to the pope, recommending it to him; and then, each prelate wrote to him separately, earnestly to press upon him the entire annihilation of that city, which they compared to Sodom and Gomorrah, and the destruction of all the villains who had taken refuge in it.

The agreement of all these bishops with Simon de Montfort and his numerous friends, the authority of the crusaders, of all those who had previously marched to the crusade, and of all who still intended to do so, made an impression upon Innocent III. It was he who had, at first, excited the sanguinary spirits which then lorded it over Europe; but he was himself, afterwards, the dupe of their concert. It was but too true, that the whole of Christendom then demanded the renewal of those scenes of carnage, that it prided itself on the slaughter of the heretics, and that it was in the name of public opinion that the fathers of Lavaur required new massacres. Those who had contributed to create such a public opinion were, however, on that account, only the more guilty. Innocent III. deceived by the echo of his own voice, thought that he had showed too much indulgence. He wrote again to the king of Aragon, the 21st of May, 1213, to revoke all the concessions he had made, to accuse him of having taken advantage of the Roman court, by a false statement, and to confirm the excommunication of the counts of Toulouse, of Cominges, of Foix, and of the viscount of Béarn.

These negociations, at the court of Rome, had on neither side suspended the preparations for war; but the number of the French crusaders had diminished, through the pains which the king of Aragon had taken to announce the pacification of the province, and through the declarations of the pope's legate himself. But the two bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, thought it, on this account, much more their duty to proceed to the aid of Simon de Montfort, and they joined him at Carcassonne with many knights from their province. On the other hand, the king of Aragon, flattering himself that if his brother-in-law could obtain a victory over Montfort, he would, by this means, put an end to the vacillations of the court of Rome, passed the Pyrenees with a thousand knights, and came to join the counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Cominges. Don Pedro was at once a brave warrior, a skilful politician, and an elegant troubadour; he was subject to no other reproach than that of too passionate a love for women. At this very time he wrote to a lady of Toulouse, that it was for her sake he was come to combat the French knights, that he should be indebted to her beautiful eyes for the valour which he should show in the battle, and that from them he should expect the recompense of his achievements. This was the language consecrated to the gallantry of the age; nor is there any reason to believe, as some moderns have supposed, that the letter was addressed to one of his sisters married to the two Raymonds of Toulouse. It fell, however, into the hands of Simon de Montfort. "Our fortune is not doubtful," he exclaimed, "God is for us. He has for him only the eyes of his lady."

The king of Aragon, having united his forces with those of the counts his allies, went to lay siege to the little town of Muret, three leagues distant from Toulouse, on the southwest. He arrived before it on the 10th of September. He had joined to his thousand knights of Aragon, those of the counts of Toulouse, of Foix, of Cominges, and of Gaston de Béarn, which might, at most, form a number equal to his own. But the cavalry of the Pyrenees could not, any more than that of Spain, be compared with the French cavalry, either in respect to the weight of the armour, or the strength of the horses. The Spaniards, principally accustomed to contend with the Mussulmans, had acquired their method of fighting; and their squadrons more resembled light cavalry, than the heavy horse of the French. Simon de Montfort, who had assembled his troops at Saverdun, in the countship of Foix, had with him about a thousand knights, or serjeants at arms. These might be regarded as the flower of French knighthood; they were men enveloped in iron; and their bodies seemed as iron as their armour. Amongst them was distinguished, William des Barres, uterine brother of Montfort, the ancient rival of Richard Cœur-de-lion, and the most renowned of all the warriors of France. Many others, without equalling him in reputation, did not yield to him either in strength or courage. Amongst them all, not a heart could be found susceptible of terror, or accessible to pity. Equally inspired by fanaticism and the love of war, they believed that the sure way to salvation was through the field of carnage. Seven bishops, who followed the army, had blessed their standards and their arms, and would be engaged in prayer for them whilst they were attacking the heretics. Thus did they advance, indifferent whether to victory or martyrdom, certain that either would issue in the reward which the hand of God himself had destined for them. Simon de Montfort, passing the Garonne at their head, entered, without any obstacle, into the town of Muret, and prepared for battle on the following day, the 12th of September.

The cavalry, at that time, formed the only force of armies. A warrior, entirely covered with iron as well as his horse, overturning the infantry, piercing them with his heavy lance, or cutting them down with his sabre, had nothing to fear from the miserable footmen, exposed in every part to his blows, scarcely armed with a wretched sword, and who had neither been exercised to discipline or danger. Nevertheless, it was the custom to summon these also to the armies, either that they might labour at the sieges, or that they might despatch the vanquished, after a defeat. Simon de Montfort had assembled the militia of the cities which were subject to him; Raymond, on his part, had caused the levies of the Toulousians to march, and these were much the most numerous. As it was afterwards attempted to find out something miraculous, both in the disproportion of number, and in the extent of the carnage, the historians of the church affirmed, that the militia, under the orders of the king of Aragon, amounted to sixty thousand men; they allow, however, that they were not engaged.

Simon de Montfort, quitting on the morning of the 12th of September, the gates of Muret, in order to seek his enemies, did not march strait towards them, but kept along the side of Garonne, from the eastern gate, so as to make it appear to the king of Aragon and his allies, who were also under arms, that his design was to escape. But, all at once, turning sharply upon the army of Don Pedro, he repulsed the count of Foix, who commanded the advanced guard, and encountered the body led by the king of Aragon himself. Two French knights, Alain de Roucy, and Florent de Ville, had agreed, unitedly to attack the king, to attach themselves wholly to his person, and to suffer no assailant to divert them from the pursuit, until they had killed him. Pedro of Aragon had changed armour with one of his bravest knights. But, when the two Frenchmen had, at the same time, broken their lances against him who wore the royal armour, Alain, seeing him bend under the stroke, cried out immediately, This is not the king, for he is a better knight. No truly, that is not he, but here he is, instantly replied Don Pedro, who was near at hand. This bold declaration cost him his life. A band of knights, who were waiting the orders of Alain and

Florent, surrounded him immediately, and neither left him, nor suffered him to escape, till they had thrown him lifeless from his horse. As the French had anticipated, the death of the king of Arragon occasioned the rout of his army. Simon, who had remained at the head of the rear-guard of the crusaders did not come up with his enemies till the news of this event had already circulated amongst them, and he profited by it to press, more vigorously, the three counts, and Gaston de Béarn, whom he compelled to flight. Arrived at the place where Don Pedro had fallen, and where his body was already stripped by the infantry of the crusaders, it is said, he could not forbear shedding a few tears; but this apparent compassion was only the signal for new displays of fury. He fell upon the infantry of the Toulousians, who had taken no part in the battle, and who, abandoned by their knights, could make no resistance against a powerful cavalry; and having first cut off their retreat, he destroyed nearly the whole, either by putting them to the sword, or drowning them in the waters of the Garonne.

CHAPTER III.

Submission of the Albigenses—Revolt and New War to the Death of Simon de Montfort, 1214—1218.

1214. The activity of Simon de Montfort always seconded his unmeasurable ambition. He never estimated riches and power any otherwise than as they might promote the acquisition of still greater riches and power. He had never known any other relaxation from his victories than the preparation for new conquests. He had never understood any other way of rending himself acceptable to God, than by shedding the blood of infidels, nor felt any other religious emotion than the delight of being the spectator of their torments. Nevertheless he gained no extraordinary advantages from the battle of Muret. The crusaders, after that great victory, thought their task accomplished, and their duty towards God fulfilled, so that they, with one consent, hastened to their homes. The court of Rome hesitated, for fear of rendering its creature too powerful. Philip Augustus indirectly placed obstacles to the zeal of the crusaders, by publishing an ordinance to limit their privileges. He no longer permitted them to withdraw from the defence of their country, by abstaining from marching at their lord's summons, though he still left them the choice between service and payment. He no longer permitted them to decline the jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals, either when they were accused of crimes, or when they pleaded for their fief or their manor. Besides, the Catalans and the Aragonese were indignant at seeing the son of the king, whom they had lost, under the tutelage of him who had shed his father's blood. They had declared war against Simon de Montfort, and were preparing to attack him on the side of the Pyrenees, whilst their ambassador to Innocent III was endeavouring to obtain the interference of the court of Rome, in defence of their independence. And they laboured so effectually, that Innocent III, by his letter of the 23d of January, 1214, commanded Simon to restore the young Don Jayme to his subjects; which order was executed, at Narbonne, in the month of April following.

A new legate, the cardinal Peter of Benevento, had this year come to the province. He had fixed his residence at Narbonne, and all the lords, who had been so ill treated in the last war, had flocked to him to obtain, by his intercession, their reconciliation with the church. Much more accommodating, at least in appearance, than his predecessor, he re-opened, to them all, the door of the sanctuary. During the month of April, the counts of Foix, and of Cominges, were reconciled to the church; the same grace was afterwards extended to Raymond VI, and, at last, to the inhabitants of Narbonne and Toulouse. It is true that by the oath which these lords, and the consuls of the cities, took to the legate, they resigned their bodies and goods to his disposal, without any guarantee; they engaged to obey all his orders; opened to him all their castles; reserved no lordship; nor made any stipulations in their own favour. Raymond, who had previously ceded all his rights to his son, withdrew, at the same time, from the Narbonnese castle, the ancient residence of the sovereigns, and went to dwell with his son, as a simple individual, in a private house at Toulouse, waiting the decision of the sovereign pontiff whether he should retire to the king of England, to the Holy Land, or to Rome.

At the very time when the lords of the Albigenses were thus submitting themselves to the discretion of the church, a new army of crusaders, conducted by the bishop of Carcassonne and the cardinal Robert de Courçon, arrived at Montpellier. "How great was then the mercy of God," cries the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "for every one may see that the pilgrims could have done nothing great without the legate, nor the legate without the pilgrims. In reality the pilgrims would have had but small success, against such numerous enemies, if the legate had not treated with them beforehand. It was then by a dispensation of the divine mercy, that whilst the legate, by a pious fraud, cajoled, and enclosed in his nets, the enemies of the faith who were assembled at Narbonne, the count of Montfort, and the pilgrims who were arrived from France, could pass into Agenois, there to crush their enemies, or rather those of Christ. O pious fraud of the legate! O piety full of deceit."

Nevertheless, this treason, which the pious cenobite celebrates with such enthusiasm, does not appear to have produced results proportioned to the admiration with which it inspired him. The campaign was devoted to the besieging and taking of several castles of Quercy and Agenois, some of which made a pretty long resistance, and cost much blood to the crusaders. In the greater part they found no heretics, which reduced the soldiers of the church to the necessity of mournfully burning the castle, or at the most of only putting the inhabitants to the sword, as in an ordinary war. But at Maurillac they were more happy. "I must not pass it over," says the monk of Citeaux, "that we found there seven heretics, of the sect called Waldenses, who being conducted to the legate, and having confessed their incredulity, were seized by our pilgrims, and burned with unspeakable joy."

Simon de Montfort did not trust to his arms alone for making conquest. In 1214 he married his son Amaury, to Beatrice, daughter of Guigue VI, dauphin of Viennois, in the hope that she would one day inherit Dauphiny; for this name had then been given to the heritage of the counts of Albon, which had passed into the house of Burgundy, and held from the kingdom of Arles; whilst those lords had taken the title of dauphins from their armorial bearings. On the other hand, a provincial council, summoned at Montpellier for the month of December, but which did not commence its sittings till the eighth of January, 1215, was to determine the fate of the provinces, formerly occupied by the counts of Toulouse, of Béarn, and of Cominges, whom the cardinal legate had reconciled to the church without explaining the conditions that he should impose upon them.

1215. The inhabitants of Montpellier did not consider their lordship as one of those which the council, assembled in their city, had the right to dispose of. The marriage of Mary, daughter of William VIII of Montpellier, with Don Pedro of Aragon, had, in 1204, subjected their city to the king, who had been recently killed at Muret. But the inhabitants of Montpellier possessed great privileges and a municipal government. For two centuries, at least, they had obeyed their own lords residing in their city, to those houses they were strongly attached. Nor was it without regret that they saw themselves transferred to a distant monarch, who governed them negligently by a subaltern, and who on all occasions sacrificed their interests to those of his own subjects. When Don Pedro was killed, at the battle of Muret, they considered their connexion with the crown of Aragon as dissolved, and refused to acknowledge his son Don Jayme. At first they thought of forming themselves into a republic, after the example of the Italian cities, with whom they had constant commercial intercourse; but those cities acknowledged in the emperor a supreme lord, whose authority over them had been determined at the peace of Constance. The city of Montpellier thought it therefore right to place itself in the same relation to king Philip Augustus, the supreme lord of all France. They regarded him as too distant for them to fear any abuse of authority, whilst they flattered themselves, that his name only would protect them both against the pretensions of the Aragonese, and, what was more to be dreaded, against the ambition of Simon de Montfort. Philip Augustus, in fact, consented to take under his safeguard, for five years, the lives of the citizens of Montpellier, their goods, and their city. He made, however, this condition, that his protection should remain only as long as the pope should not give orders to the crusaders to attack them, for he was resolved not to oppose his authority to that of the church.

It appears that the church formed no projects against them, and that there was no ground for regarding them as submitted to the jurisdiction of the crusade; but, their orthodoxy was not a sufficient security against the enterprises of Simon de Montfort. When all the bishops of the province were assembled in council at Montpellier, to decide upon the sovereignty of the countries conquered by the crusaders, Montfort, who wished to direct that assembly, and who looked to it to legitimate those titles, which he held by perfidy and robbery alone, formed also the project of profiting by the conferences which he might have with the prelates, to obtain possession of the city of Montpellier. The citizens, who suspected his designs, would not permit his entrance into their city, and assigned for these conferences the house of the Templars, situated without their walls. But Peter of Benevento, cardidinal legate, abusing the respect with which his high dignity inspired the guards of the gates, took Simon de Montfort by the arm, mingled the two sons of that count, and a great number of knights, in his suite, and in this manner entered the city. However, when the citizens of Montpellier saw these knights marching, on horseback, through their streets, a universal cry, to take arms and defend their liberties, soon assembled them in crowds. They barracadoed the streets, and surrounded the church of Notre Dame, where the council was setting, and Simon de Montfort thought himself happy to escape from the city through a by-way.

This little check did not prevent Simon de Montfort from succeeding in the principal object of his ambition. The council of Montpellier was composed of five archbishops, of Narbonne, of Auch, of Embrun, of Arles, and of Aix, with the bishops their suffragans, to the number of twenty-eight. These fathers decreed, with a unanimous consent, as the monk of Vaux-Cernay assures us, that Simon de Montfort should occupy Toulouse, and all the other conquest which the Christian crusaders had made, and should govern them in quality *of prince and monarch of the country.* Count Raymond VI, who, before every thing, and at any price, wished to be reconciled to the church, offered no resistance to this decree. He left the monarch, his sovereign, the care of protesting against so strange an invasion of the secular power. He delivered the Narbonnese castle, the palace of the sovereigns, to the bishop Fouquet, who came with armed men to take possession of it, and went to lodge, with his son and the two countesses, at the house of a private individual of Toulouse, named David de Roaix. The prelate demanded, at the same time, hostages from the city, and caused to be delivered to him twelve out of the twenty-four consuls, whom he conveyed to Arles.

The conquest of the province appeared to be completed. The greater part of the Albigenses, with thousands of Catholics, had perished by the executioners. The light of the first reformation was extinguished in blood, and even Simon himself was much more occupied with governing his conquests, than with exciting new persecutions. But the movement impressed on the minds of the people, by the preachers of the crusade, did not cease with the suppression of heresy. There were no longer any Albigenses to sacrifice, but thousands of missionaries still continued to ramble about the towns and villages, stirring up the people, by promising them the joys of paradise in recompense for the blood they should shed. This new method of gaining indulgences was so much more easy than the crusade to the holy land; the expedition might be accomplished with so little fatigue, expense, or danger, that there was not a knight who did not wish to wash away his sins with the blood of the heretics; and thus each spring produced a new swarm of crusaders. At the commencement of the year 1215, prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, wished, in his turn, to perform a pilgrimage and to serve forty days against the Albigenses. He arrived at Lyons the 19th of April, with a much more considerable force than he could have assembled, if he had only been going to combat temporal enemies, such as the Flemings or the English. The bishop of Beauvais, the counts of Saint Paul, of Ponthieu, of Séez, and of Alençon, the viscount of Melun, the lords of Beaujeu and of Montmorency had desired to participate, with a great number of knights of less illustrious names, in this work of sanctification; and immense was the number of citizens, peasants, and adventurers, who had followed his standard, to live for six weeks at discretion in Languedoc, to pillage houses and castles, and to sing, in chorus, the hymn *Veni Creator*, around the stake at which the heretics were burning.

When Simon de Montfort and the legate were informed of the approach of this army, which was marching against them although the war was terminated, and which had no country to ravage but that now become their property, they were greatly alarmed. They feared that Louis, if he once got into the country, would either defend the count of Toulouse, his near relation, or the rights of the crown, usurped by the council of Montpellier. Simon de Montfort went to meet him at Vienne, and from that time never quitted him. The legate on his side, took care to inform the prince royal, that coming, as a crusader and pilgrim, into a country conquered by the crusaders, he neither could nor ought to oppose himself, in any thing, to the arrangements which had been made by the ecclesiastics.

But the suspicions of these two ambitious adventurers were without foundation. Neither prince Louis nor his knights had any political object, but came into the south solely to fulfil their vows. He visited, in company with Simon, the cities of Montpellier, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse; he permitted the count of Toulouse and his son to go and seek an asylum with the king of England; and returned by Montauban, at which place it appears that Simon de Montfort took leave of him.

It was now two years since Innocent III had summoned, for the year 1215, an œcumenical or general council, in which the whole church should be called to decide the great interests which were then simultaneously in discussion. This, which was the twelfth of the general councils, and the fourth of those of Lateran, was composed of seventy-one metropolitans, of four hundred and twelve bishops, and nearly eight hundred abbots. Two of the patriarchs were present, and the two others were represented by their deputies. The two orders of the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, those terrible soldiers of the pope, received then the sanction of the universal church; a new expedition, for the defence and recovery of the Holy Land, was resolved upon, which was the fifth crusade; some heresies were condemned, and some canons established for the discipline of the church; and amongst them we ought particularly to remark the twenty-second, which imposed on each Christian, for the first time, the obligation of confessing himself once in the year, to receive the communion at Easter, and which transformed a habit of devotion into a duty, the observance of which was, from that time, enforced by the heaviest penalties. In fine, the council of Lateran put an end to the preaching of the crusade against the Albigenses, and disposed of the countries conquered by the crusaders.

Count Raymond VI, his son Raymond VII, and the counts of Foix and Cominges, had all proceeded to Rome to plead their cause before the assembled church, whilst Simon had, on his part, sent his brother Guy de Montfort. The counts presented to the pope a recommendation from the king of England; they threw themselves at his knees; they exposed the crying injustice which Montfort had committed against them, in contempt of the pontifical authority itself. Many fathers in the council strenuously defended the persecuted counts; they spoke, with execration, of the horrors committed in the province, and repeatedly reproached the bishop Fouquet with having destroyed more than ten thousand persons of the flock committed to his care. Innocent III himself appeared touched. He expressed much good-will both to Raymond VI and his son; but the greater number of the fathers were heated by the fanaticism of the crusade, and thought that all disfavour showed to Montfort, would tend to the discouragement of the faithful; and they at last agreed with the pope to publish a decree, which gave to Montfort the cities of Toulouse and of Montauban, the countship of Toulouse, and all the countries conquered by the crusaders, reserving to Raymond VII the countship of Venaissin and the marquisate of Provence. The decision respecting the countships of Foix and Cominges was adjourned; but it appears, that the two counts were provisionally put into possession of their states.

We have thus traced the total extinction of the first reformation. The slaughter had been so prodigious, the massacres so universal, the terror so profound, and of so long duration, that the church appeared to have completely attained her object. The worship of the reformed Albigenses had every where ceased. All teaching was become impossible. Almost all the doctors of the new church had perished in a frightful manner; and the very small number of those who had succeeded in escaping the crusaders, had sought an asylum in the most distant regions, and were able to avoid new persecutions only by preserving the most absolute silence respecting their doctrines and their ancient destinies. The private believers, who had not perished by the fire and the sword, or who had not withdrawn by flight from the scrutiny of the inquisition, knew that they could only save their lives by burying their secret in their own bosoms. For them there were no more sermons, no more prayers, no more Christian communion, no more instruction; even their children were not made acquainted with their secret sentiments.

1216. The triumph appeared so complete, that the persecutors, in the confidence of their victory, became divided, made war reciprocally against each other, and were ruined. We are about to see their errors at the end of the reign of Philip Augustus, and, during that of his son, the relaxation of their vigilance, and the apparent resurrection of the sect which they had crushed. But, this momentary interruption to the persecution served only to render it the more destructive. After the extinction of the fire, some scattered sparks were still concealed under the ashes; those who had laboured to extinguish it, by turning off their attention, permitted those sparks to kindle a new flame; and this, having devoured all the combustible matter that remained, was then quenched in its turn. The momentary toleration in Albigeois recalled thither the preachers and the sectaries who had escaped the first massacre, and involved them all in the second.

Thus the reformation, of which the church had so much need, the light which was to illuminate the mind, restore to morals their purity, and to reason its empire, was repelled for three whole centuries; and even much longer with regard to those nations which spoke the romanesque languages.—They had been the first to perceive the necessity of a better economy in the church; and the light had appeared at the same time in Italy, in France, and in Spain. The Paterins, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, had spread their instructions through all the countries which had been comprised in the western empire; whilst the intellect of the Germanic nations was not yet sufficiently advanced to admit the new doctrines. But, the greater part of those preachers of a purer morality having perished in the flames of the inquisition, the effort which the romanesque race had made for its amelioration having failed, its energy remained long exhausted; the chains which had been imposed upon it were drawn tighter by the very effort which had been made to break them; and when the new reformers appeared, in the sixteenth century, the doctrines, which they proposed to the people, had lost the attraction of novelty, and only awakened the terrors which the ancient chastisements had left in every soul.

The two first leaders of the crusade, those who had signalised their devotion by the greatest crimes and atrocities, the count of Montfort and the abbot Arnold of Citeaux, quarrelled about the division of their conquests. Arnold had seized upon the rich and powerful archbishopric of Narbonne, to which he pretended that sovereign rights were attached. Simon, in taking possession of the spoils of Raymond VI, had assumed the title of duke of Narbonne as well as that of count of Toulouse. In this conflict of jurisdictions, the inhabitants of Narbonne inclined towards the archbishop, which was a sufficient reason for Montfort to accuse them of being suspected of heresy, and to demand the demolition of their walls. The archbishop opposed it; Simon entered the city by force, in spite of the opposition of Arnold, and displayed his ducal standard in the viscount's palace. On his part, the archbishop fulminated an excommunication against his ancient colleague, against that Simon de Montfort, who had gloried, on all occasions, in being the executioner of the excommunicated. During the time that Montfort remained at Narbonne, Arnold placed all the churches of the city under an interdict; a sentence to which Montfort payed no regard. The death of Innocent III, whose support Arnold had implored, and the succession of Honorius III, retarded the decision of this cause, and we know not how it terminated. Simon de Montfort continued, however, to bear the title of duke of Narbonne, and he threw down many parts of the wall of that city, into which he wished to have the power of entering at all times.

Simon de Montfort's other capital, Toulouse, had no less aversion for its new lord. Simon quitted Narbonne to proceed thither, and summoned, for the 7th of March, 1216, an assembly of all the inhabitants, in the palace of the counts, to receive their homage and oath of fidelity. In return, he and his son engaged towards them, by an oath sufficiently vague, to observe all their franchises. Nevertheless, he appeared to trust much more to force than to the affection of the inhabitants, for the guarantee of their obedience; and for this purpose, he laboured with activity, on the one hand, to augment the fortifications of the Narbonnese castle, and on the other, to ruin those of the city and its suburbs. Whilst these two works were going on, he set out, in the month of April, for the court of Philip Augustus, to receive, from that monarch, the investiture of the fiefs which the crusaders had conquered. During all his journey he was received and honoured as the champion of the faith; the most pious formed processions to meet him, and thought themselves happy if they could touch his garments. Philip, who was then at Pont-de-l'Arche, gave him the most favourable reception, invested him with the dukedom of Narbonne, the countship of Toulouse, and the viscountships of Beziers and Carcassonne, and acknowledged him for his vassal and liegeman. Raymond VI had, however, received the absolution of the church, and was reconciled to it; but though he was cousin-german to the king of France, brother-in-law to the emperor Frederic and the king of England, father-in-law to Sancho king of Navarre, and uncle to the kings of Castille and Aragon, he saw himself abandoned by them all; or at least, if the king of England continued to show him some attachment, he could not render him any assistance.

A part of Provence, which the house of Toulouse possessed under the title of marquisate, had been reserved by the council of Lateran to Raymond VI and his son. Those two princes, returning by Marseilles from that assembly, began by causing the Provençals to acknowledge their authority. They found their ancient subjects much more zealous for their cause, since they had experienced the exactions and arrogance of the count of Montfort and his Frenchmen. The council of Lateran had put an end to the crusade against the Albigenses. No more indulgences were preached, the pious were no longer invited to repair to the South, in order to massacre heretics already extirpated. Simon de Montfort was reduced to his own forces, or to the mercenaries whom he could enroll.—Marseilles, Tarascon, and Avignon, had declared for the two Raymonds, and the younger, on taking leave of Innocent III, had received from this old pope, a sort of acquiescence in his attempting to recover his heritage by force. Raymond VII, by the aid of the Provençals, formed an army, with which he commenced his operations against Montfort; he began by the taking of Beaucaire, whose inhabitants opened their gates to him, whilst his father passed into Aragon, to seek for new succours.

Raymond VII, though master of the city of Beaucaire, had not possession of the castle, where a French garrison still defended itself. He undertook the siege without suffering himself to be discouraged by the approach of Montfort, at the head of considerable forces. He was then only nineteen years of age, and he defended the city into which he had entered against that illustrious captain, whilst, before his eyes, he took the castle which Montfort came to relieve. In this double siege, signalized by actions of great valour, the Provençals made use of Greek fire, the composition of which they had learned in the Holy Land.

Raymond VI had, on his side, raised an army in Aragon and Catalonia, and was approaching Toulouse, which had already declared openly in his favour. But Simon de Montfort, who was thus attacked on two opposite frontiers, so that his enemies could not communicate together without great difficulty and loss of time, profited by this circumstance to conclude a truce with Raymond VII, and hastened to the defence of his capital. Raymond VI had not force sufficient to make head against him, and retired towards the mountains. The Toulousians, terrified at the attachment they had shown to their ancient lord, sought pardon of Montfort. All the lords of the army supported their solicitations; they advised him to exact the fifth, or the fourth of their moveable goods, and to content himself with this pecuniary punishment, which would fill his treasury, and give him the power of besieging Beaucaire anew. But Simon would listen to no other counsels than those of the ferocious Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, a prelate who knew no pleasure but that of shedding the blood of his flock. "And then," says the old historian of Toulouse, "spoke the bishop of Toulouse, and thus he said, and made him to understand, that he should do and finish what he had already determined against the Toulousians, assuring him that they would not love him ever so little except by force, and exhorting him to leave them nothing, if once he was within their city, but to take both goods and people as much as he could have and hold; for know, my lord, added he, that, if you do thus, it will be late before you repent of it."

To preach ferocity, was not all the labour of the bishop Fouquet; he took upon himself, besides, to facilitate, by perfidy, the execution of his counsels. He entered the city as a messenger of peace; "In order that I may, said he to the count, make all the people come out to meet you, that you may seize and take them, which you could not do in the city." In fact he solicited his flock to apply, by successive deputations of men, women, and children, to the count de Montfort, assuring them that this was the only means of appeasing him, and disarming his anger. The most considerable persons in the city thought they could not refuse to credit their pastor, who swore by the name of that God whom he was commissioned to preach to them, that his ardent charity alone dictated the advice which he had given for their welfare. Nevertheless, as the citizens of Toulouse arrived successively before Simon de Montfort, he loaded them with chains. Already more than eighty of them were in irons, when a citizen, whom they were going to treat in the same way, escaped from their hands and called his fellow-citizens to arms. The crowds who were proceeding from the gates to humble themselves before the count, fled back to the city; but rage soon succeeded to terror: they armed themselves, barricaded all the straits, and awaited the attack of Montfort. Already had his soldiers entered the less populous parts of the city. "Directed by the bishop," says our historian, "they had already pillaged and plundered the greater part of the said city, and violated women and girls in such numbers, that it was sad to see all the ill which the said bishop had done, in so short a time, to Toulouse." But, indignation redoubling the force of the citizens, the pillagers were driven out with great loss. Three times the count, with his cavalry, charged upon the people, in different quarters of the city, and three times he was repulsed, with great slaughter. At last he threatened to put to death the eighty prisoners whom he had arrested.—Fouquet, associating with himself the abbot of Saint Sernin, again entered the city as a mediator. The two prelates demanded of the Toulousians, to surrender their arms and fortresses, engaging, by oath, that on these conditions, the count should release their prisoners, and neither touch their persons nor their goods, but protesting, that they had no mercy to expect, if they persisted in their rebellion. The bishop, Fouquet, and the count Simon appear, by this time, to have been so well known that their word inspired no confidence; but the fearful danger of the hostages, the critical situation of the city, and more than all, the constant repugnance of the people to believe that the lords and the priests would falsify their oaths, determined the Toulousians to submission. Mutual oaths were exchanged; the arms were given up; the fortresses were surrendered to the soldiers of Montfort; and when the citizens had thus deprived themselves of all means of resistance, Montfort put the most considerable persons amongst them in irons, and sent them, with the prisoners whom he had before seized, into the principal castles of the province, where they all perished, either by want, or by a violent death. Then he commanded the rest of the citizens to pay him, before the 1st of the following November, the exorbitant sum of thirty thousand marks of silver, in order to ransom their city from the flames, and their persons from a universal carnage. There remained to the Toulousians no resource, and they were obliged to submit to these hard conditions.

1217. Simon de Montfort, who regarded all that his neighbours retained as so much taken from himself, renewed the war in the following year, as well with Raymond Roger, count of Foix, with whom he disputed the restitutions he was enjoined to make, by the decisions of the council of Lateran, as with Raymond VII, then reduced to the possession of Provence. He besieged the son of the former, Roger Bernard, in Montgrenier, and, after six weeks, obliged him to capitulate. He then engaged with the latter on the Rhone, and hanged all the inhabitants of the castle of Bernis, of which he had rendered himself master. Nevertheless, the citizens of Beaucaire and of St. Gilles resisted all his attacks, although these two places were part of the concessions made to him by the council of Lateran, and confirmed by Philip Augustus. He was more fortunate in Valentinois, whither he afterwards carried the war. He had obtained there several advantages, when he learned that the inhabitants of Toulouse, indignant at the cruelty and perfidy with which they had been treated the preceding year, had secretly recalled from Aragon their count, Raymond VI, who on the 13th of September, had entered into his capital.

The return of count Raymond VI gave occasion for a touching manifestation of the national sentiments which were cherished by the inhabitants of the South of France. This descendant of an ancient house, long signalized in the service of the cross in the Holy Land, possessed no qualities which could, properly speaking, be regarded as grand or heroic. He had shown neither distinguished talents nor force of character; he had early been induced to consent to what he disapproved, and to inscribe his name amongst those of the crusaders who came to ravage his country, and who secretly nourished the project of conquering his heritage. His submission to all the ecclesiastical censures, to all the outrages, to all the injustice, which the legates, the provincial councils, the pope, and the council of Lateran, had accumulated on his head, sufficiently indicated either his weakness, or his superstitious fears; and his retreat from the Narbonnese castle, and then from Toulouse, was perhaps the effect of his timidity. But the people of all the province of Albigeois, did not forget that he had incurred the hatred of his oppressors only by his indulgence towards them; that he had abhorred bloodshed and punishments, and that in spite of his promises, in spite even of the persuasion with which they had succeeded in inspiring him, that his religious duty, as well as his interest, demanded these persecutions, he had always checked the zeal of the executioners. His administration had been gentle; public liberty in the cities, commerce, manufactures, science, and poetry, had made rapid advances by his assistance and encouragement. If his civil character wanted force, he had at least given proofs that he possessed the courage of the warrior, and the talents of the general. His young son, Raymond VII, already rendered illustrious by high exploits before his twentieth year, appeared, with a more experienced constancy, and a loftier character, to promise a happier reign.

But the two Raymonds became still more dear to the people, by their contrast with Simon de Montfort and the crusaders. It was not the zeal of the Albigensian heretics which was awakened for the house of Toulouse; their church was drowned in blood, their race had disappeared, their opinions had ceased to influence society; but in their name the other parts of the population had been the objects of martyrdom. Hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants massacred, with a blind fury, and without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic. We cannot tell what credit to give to the numbers assigned for the armies of the cross, nor whether we may believe that in the course of a single year five hundred thousand men were poured into Languedoc. But this we certainly know, that armies, much superior in number, much inferior in discipline, to those which were employed in other wars, had arrived, for seven or eight successive years, almost without interruption, upon this desolated country; that they entered it without pay, and without magazines; that they provided for all their necessities with the sword; that they considered it as their right, to live at the expense of the country, and that all the harvests of the peasants, all the provisions and merchandise of the citizens, were, on every occasion, seized with a rapacious hand, and divided at discretion, amongst the crusaders. No calculation can ascertain, with any precision, the dissipation of wealth, or the destruction of human life, which were the consequences of the crusade against the Albigenses. There was scarcely a peasant who did not reckon in his family some unhappy one, whose life had been cut off by the sword of Montfort's soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravaging of his property by them. More than three-quarters of the knights and landed proprietors had been spoiled of their castles and fiefs, to gratify some of the French soldiers—some of Simon de Montfort's creatures. Thus spoiled, they were named *Faidits*, and had the favour granted them of remaining in the country, provided they were neither heretics, nor excommunicated, nor suspected of having given an asylum to those who were so; but they were never to be permitted to enter a walled city, nor to enjoy the honour of mounting a war-horse. Every species of injustice, all kinds of affronts, persecutions of every name, had been heaped on the heads of the unhappy Languedocians, whom, since the crusade, it had been the custom to comprehend under the general name of Albigenses. Simon de Montfort was, to them, the representative of the evil spirit; the prototype of all the persecutions they had endured. The name of Raymond VI, on the contrary, was associated with those happier times, when they enjoyed their possessions in peace, and when they could witness the daily increase of knowledge, industry, and liberty.

The terror which Simon de Montfort had inspired was, however, too profound to allow of the reception of Raymond VI, at Toulouse, without hesitation. He approached that city at the head of an army which he had raised in Spain, and which had been increased by the junction of the counts of Foix and of Cominges. Arrived at Salvetat, four leagues distant from his capital, he had put to flight a body of troops which, under the standards of Montfort, had just pillaged the castle of Mazeres. He continued his march, and on the 13th of September found the gates of Toulouse open; but, though he was equally wished for by almost all the inhabitants, the most timid had shut themselves up in the Narbonnese castle, and in different convents, with the wife and daughters-in-law of Simon de Montfort, that they might not be accused of having favoured their ancient master. A new victory, obtained by Raymond VI over Guy de Montfort, Simon's brother, on the plains of Montolieu, emboldened the most fearful, and united all the citizens of Toulouse around their count. Soon, all the most valiant knights of Quercy, Albigeois, and Carcasses, who professed an ancient attachment to the house of St. Gilles, were seen entering their city with standards displayed, and trumpets sounding. Amongst them were remarked Gaspard de la Barthe, Roger de Cominges, Bertrand-Jourdain de Lille, Geraud de Gourdon, Lord of Caraman, Bertrand de Montaigu and his brother Gaillard, Bertrand and Guitard de Marmande, Stephen de la Valette and Aymar his brother, Gerard de la Mothe, Bertrand de Pestillac, and Geraud d'Amanieu. Each of them was followed by all the serjeants-at-arms, on horseback, whom he could collect, and the entry of this brilliant calvacade into the city was welcomed with transports of joy; and even those who had hitherto concealed themselves were now inspired with resolution. Simon de Montfort, informed of this revolution, hastened to conclude a truce with the young count Raymond, to repass the Rhone, and return by forced marches towards Toulouse; but a part of his army was composed of levies made in that country, and no Languedocian served him except through fear. As he advanced, and the news from Toulouse was spread amongst his soldiers, he saw himself deserted by all those whose hearts had remained faithful to their country, and their ancient lord. Near to Basiège he met count Guy, his brother, who was coming to join him. The two Montforts agreed to hasten an attack upon Toulouse, before the walls of that city had been rebuilt, and whilst the citizens hesitated between affection and fear. They advanced, therefore, with ladders, as far as the edge of the ditch; but, at that moment, a discharge of cross-bows put them in disorder, and Guy de Montfort, with Guy his nephew, count of Bigorre, both fell, dangerously wounded. Simon was then compelled to renounce the project of taking the city by surprise, and he resolved, towards the end of September, to undertake a regular siege. In consequence of this resolution, he divided his troops between himself and his son Amaury, in order to attack the city, at the same time, on each side of the river. Nevertheless, he suffered himself to be surprised by the count of Foix, was pursued as far as Muret, and near being drowned at the passage of the Garonne, in the very place which, four years before, had been signalized by his most glorious victory, and was obliged to bring back his troops in front of the Narbonnese castle, where he joined his son.

All the other cities of Albigeos appeared ready to follow the example of Toulouse. The rebellion was, however, extinguished at Montauban, by the seneschal of Agenois, and the bishop of Lectoure, who commanded for Montfort: the city was pillaged and burned; but this act of severity only served to redouble the hatred of the Languedocians against the French. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, was dispatched into France with James de Vitry, the historian of the last combats of the Holy Land, to preach there a new crusade, whilst the countess of Montfort repaired to the court of Philip Augustus, to solicit his aid. Simon had recourse also to pope Honorius III, who, in fact, wrote to the king of Aragon, to dissuade him from an alliance with the count of Toulouse. But time was requisite before these different measures could form a new army for the heroes of the crusade. The siege, in the mean time, proved very tedious: it was prolonged through the winter, and lasted nearly nine months. The cardinal legate, who shared with Simon the conduct of the army, never ceased reproaching him with his slowness, and attributed his want of success to a failure of zeal or courage. In the mean time the besieged had the advantage in numbers and boldness over the assailants; every day they darted from their walls upon the enemy, and caused them great loss. The 25th of June, 1218, the Toulousians, in a sortie, pushed towards a warlike machine (a cat), which count Simon had just constructed. This count was at the church when he was informed that the besieged were in possession of his machine, and about to set fire to it. He wished, however, to finish the hearing of the mass before he proceeded to battle; but at the moment of the elevation of the host, he cried like Simeon, Let thy servant henceforth depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation. He called for his arms, put himself at the head of his old warriors, and once more repulsed the Toulousians. He was standing with his battalion, before the wooden tower which he had just reconquered, when an enromous stone, thrown by a machine from the wall of the city, struck him on the head, and extended him lifeless on the ground. The moment that his death was known by the Toulousians, a cry of joy resounded through the city. All ran to arms, and rushed upon the besiegers with redoubled fury. They drove them beyond their tents and equipages, took possession of a part of these effects, and destroyed the rest. Amaury de Montfort collected together the scattered soldiers of his father, received the homage of his knights, and their oath of fidelity as successor to Simon in the countship of Toulouse, and for a whole month obstinately persisted in the siege of the city, to which he endeavoured to set fire. But his army was discouraged, and daily diminished in number, whilst the forces and the ardour of the besieged were augmented. He was at last obliged, on the 25th of July, to determine on raising the siege, and to retire to Carcassonne, where he buried the body of his father.

CHAPTER IV.

Crusade of the French against the Albigenses, from the death of Simon de Montfort to the death of Louis VIII, 1218–1226.

The death of Simon de Montfort marks one of those epochs, not unfrequently met with in history, when the historians all forsake us at once; so that although the events themselves continue their course, it becomes very difficult to exhibit their connexion. Curiosity, it is true, ought at the same time to diminish; for when all the writers, as if by common consent, lay down their pens, the reason must be that either fatigue or exhaustion has reduced the nations, if not to an absolute stagnation, at least to a state of langour, in which nothing strongly excites the mind.

The reign of Philip Augustus had been, with regard to France, more fertile in historians than that of any of his predecessors. But Rigord, the first of these, does not pursue his recital beyond the year 1209. William l'Amorique, the king's chaplain, and perhaps the best amongst the writers of the age, finishes his chronicle in 1219. Nevertheless he outlived Philip, and in the poem which he wrote also in honour of the same king, he relates his death and obsequies. Peter de Vaux-Cernay's history of the Albigenses ends with the year 1218, at the death of Montfort; the anonymous author of Toulouse, in 1219; and the oriental history of James de Vitry, closes in 1220, soon after the taking of Damietta; so that, in every part, the curtain seemed to have fallen upon that great political drama, which had attracted the eyes of Europe.

1217—1221. The fifth crusade, which was commanded by the council of Lateran, formed, during several years, the grand subject of interest to christendom; on the one hand it attracted to itself the whole crowd of knights and soldiers who had been accustomed to subsist either by their hire or by pillage, to seek the strong excitements of war, and to consider security and repose as a state of suffering; and, on the other, it procured some respite to the count of Toulouse. The warlike devotion of the French had resumed its first direction towards the East, and the efforts of the bishop Fouquet, to excite new fanatics to the massacre of the Albigenses, remained almost without effect.

1218. The descent of the crusaders into Egypt was followed by more than a year of bloody combats, in which the Mussulmans had obtained, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, such small success, that they offered to surrender Jerusalem to the Christians, provided they would agree to evacuate Egypt. The pride of the legate Pelagius, cardinal of Albano, who had undertaken to conduct the army, led him to reject these propositions. He thought he had made a valuable acquisition when, on the 5th of November, 1219, his army entered Damietta, on the walls of which no more defenders were to be seen. The priests who accompanied the soldiers of the cross, wrote triumphantly to all Christendom, that eighty thousand Mussulmans had perished in the city; that there remained only three thousand inhabitants when they took possession of it; and that, with the exception of three hundred, whom they had reserved for the ransom of some Christian prisoners, these captives had themselves ceased to live.

1220—1221. Nevertheless, if the capture of Damietta delivered incalculable treasures to the cupidity of the Christians, the unburied bodies which filled all the houses, soon communicated to their soldiers a fearful pestilence. This brilliant army rapidly melted away by mortality and desertion. John de Brienne, indignant at the insolence of the legate, who had dared to excommunicate him, quitted Egypt to return to St. Jean d'Acre; and at the same time a great number of the crusaders set out for Europe. The legate Pelagius foolishly took that moment to conduct the remainder to the siege of Cairo, and obliged the king of Jerusalem to join him there. The communications of the Christian army with Damietta were soon cut off; all the dikes of the Nile were thrown down at the time of the inundation, and the Christians, without provisions, and with the water up to their waists, were indebted to the generosity of Malek-el-Kamel for a capitulation, by which they surrendered Damietta on the 30th of August, 1221, and abandoned Egypt.

1218—1219. This crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, by affording some respite to the count of Toulouse, enabled him to establish himself in the government of the provinces of which he had regained possession. The young count Raymond VII, who had joined his father, was received into Agenois with the most lively expressions of joy, and he afterwards passed through the greater part of Quercy and Rovergue. In the month of November, 1218, he visited also the city of Nimes. At the same time, count Amaury de Montfort exerted himself to the utmost to retain his father's conquests. He caused himself to be acknowledged, amongst other places, by Albi, a city which had given its name to these religious wars, and which had nevertheless performed but a small part in them. The court of Rome did not see without regret the destruction of that work which Innocent III had accomplished at so vast an expense. Honorius III took count Amaury under his most active protection, and, to establish him in his conquests, diverted in his favour the half of the twentieth which had been imposed, in the name of the crusade, upon the clergy of France.

1219. Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, did not yield in fanaticism, or in hatred against the heretics, to any of the monks who were his father's subjects. He gladly took upon himself that new expedition against the Albigenses, to which the twentieth had been destined. Peter Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, the count of Saint Paul, thirty other French counts, more than twenty bishops, and six hundred knights, took the cross to follow him, accompanied by ten thousand archers. With these forces, Louis joined count Amaury de Montfort, before the castle of Marmande which he was besieging, and the defence of which was undertaken by count Centulle d'Astarrac.

The old count Raymond VI had thrown all the cares of war and government upon his son, Raymond VII. Worn out with grief, and weakened by superstition, he feared, by resisting the church, to subject himself to anathemas still more terrible than those under which he had so long suffered. Nevertheless, the two counts of Toulouse had endeavoured in vain to induce Philip Augustus and his son to abandon the support of Montfort, and to accept of them for their feudatories, who were also their near relations and faithful vassals. Perhaps it was to leave the door open to these negociations that Raymond VII would not, in the first instance, march to the assistance of the castle of Marmande. He preferred extricating the count of Foix, Raymond Roger, from his difficulties, who was besieged in Basiège by two of Amaury's lieutenants. Raymond VII, having joined the count of Foix, attacked his enemies in concert with him, and obtained a victory which was attributed to his personal valour. In this victory of Basiège the principal officers of Amaury remained his prisoners.

But, whilst Raymond was vanquishing the crusaders at Basiège, Louis and Amaury were pressing the siege of Marmande. They made an assault upon this place, by which they obtained possession of the exterior works, and this induced the besieged to offer to surrender, if their lives and baggage were spared. "I will receive you to mercy," said Louis, "and suffer you to go away, carrying only your bodies with you." The besieged accepted these conditions, and presented themselves immediately at the tent of the king's son, to salute him, and surrender themselves to him. But when the bishop of Saintes saw the count d'Astarrac and his knights enter the tent of Louis, he said to the latter, "Sire, my advice is, that you immediately kill and burn all these people as heretics and apostates, and that none of them be left alive; and then, that you do neither more nor less to those of the city." The count of St. Paul and the duke of Brittany, however, exclaimed against this attempt of the man of God, in his holy zeal, to cause the son of the king of France to violate his word. The archbishop of Auch added, that these prisoners and the inhabitants of Marmande were by no means heretics, any more than count Raymond, and that the church treated him very hardly, in not receiving him to mercy, when he submitted to its will. He reminded them, besides, that a great number of high barons and knights were prisoners at Toulouse, and that by violating a capitulation, to which they had sworn, they exposed them to terrible reprisals. "My lords," said prince Louis, "I do not wish to injure the church, but neither ought I to do injury to the young count or his people." He then permitted the captain Centulle d'Astarrac, who had commanded at Marmande, to proceed with his gendarmes wherever he might think proper. But, during this time, Amaury de Montfort had entered into Marmande, and had given command to execute the work which the bishop of Saintes had recommended in order to procure the blessing of God upon their arms. All the inhabitants, men, women and children, to the number of five thousand, were massacred. Louis, after testifying some displeasure against Amaury, for having thus violated the royal promise, proceeded with him towards Toulouse, to lay siege to that capital.

The news of the massacre at Marmande, instead of damping the courage of the Toulousians, convinced them that they had no hope of deliverance, but from the most determined defence. Bertrand, cardinal priest of St. John and Paul, whom Honorius had appointed in 1217 his legate in Albigeois, had sworn, "that in the said Toulouse, should remain neither man, woman, boy, nor girl, but that all should be put to death, without sparing any, old or young; and that, in all the city, there should not remain one stone above another, but all should be demolished and thrown down." This oath had been related to count Raymond, who, on the approach of the crusaders, summoned all his friends and allies to his defence. In fact, a thousand knights, well armed and mounted, entered Toulouse to share his fortunes. Each gate, and each *barbican*, or counterfort, was specially confided to three or four of the most illustrious knights, with their servants at arms. The defence of the seventeen gates was thus provided for, and each chief had sworn "well and truly to defend his post, towards and against all, both for life and death." The capitouls, or magistrates of Toulouse, on their parts, presented themselves before the young count and his knights, and declared to him, "that henceforth they abandoned all that they had, both bodies and goods, to those who had remained with them to defend their city; they besought him to spare them in nothing which should be needed, both for strangers, and familiars, and friends, and they would expect their wages to be paid according to their will."

1219. These generous preparations for defence were crowned with entire success. Louis arrived before Toulouse on the 16th of June, with Amaury de Montfort and the cardinal Bertrand: he very soon traced a line of circumvallation, and began the attack with vivacity, but found in every part a resistance superior to his means. He lost a great number of men, by the sword of the enemy and by sickness; very soon divisions crept into his camp, whilst the most zealous cried out treason, as soon as they heard any of the crusaders, speak of moderation. In addition to this, the troops of Louis were engaged only for the feudal service of forty days: this term was already expired, and he felt at last the impossibility of retaining them longer. He, therefore, resolved, on the first of August, to abandon or burn his warlike machines, to raise the siege, and retire with precipitation.

1220. The yoke of the house of Montfort and its lieutenants was become so much the more insupportable to the people of the South, as the religious zeal of the crusaders preserved them from no crime. The two brothers, Folcaud and Jean de Brigier, the most celebrated amongst Amaury's captains, were not less signalized by the infamy of their manners, than by their devotion. In their seraglio were found married women taken from the most respectable persons in the province: they had fixed at a hundred sols d'or the ransom of their prisoners, and they suffered all those who could not pay this exhorbitant sum to perish with hunger at the bottom of a tower. Raymond VII had the happiness, in 1220, to take these two monsters prisoners, and he caused their heads to be cut off, as a punishment for so many crimes. About the same time the cities of Montauban and Castelnaudari drove out Montfort's garrisons, and raised the standard of Raymond VII. Beziers also, with all its viscountship, returned to its allegiance to the young Trencavel, son of the ancient lord of that city, and to the count of Foix, his tutor. To stop the progress of rebellion, Amaury came, at the beginning of July, 1220, with Guy, his brother, count of Bigorre, to lay siege to Castelnaudari. Guy de Bigorre was killed there the 27th of July, and his body was honourably sent to count Montfort, by Raymond VII who had shut himself up in the place. Amaury obstinately persisted, for eight months, in the siege Castelnaudari, and thus completely exhausted himself both of men and money. He was at last compelled to raise the siege in the beginning of March 1221, and to retire to Carcassonne, which was almost the only place remaining to him of all his father's conquests.

1221. About the middle of the summer, Amaury again took the field, and was with his army at Clermont upon the Garonne, when he was informed that the inhabitants of Agen had entered into a treaty with the house of Toulouse. He sent for their consuls to meet him on the first of August; he granted them a complete amnesty for all the faults they might have committed; he engaged also, for the future, to grant them the greatest privileges, but could inspire them with no confidence. The people had learned what this count was capable of, when he was the strongest, and they regarded this moderation as only a proof of his weakness. Before the end of the month of August, 1221, Agen had opened its gates to Raymond VII.

Cardinal Bertrand felt it a reproach to himself that, during his legation in Albigeois, these provinces, where the church had shed so much blood, had all returned to their ancient masters. The faithful appeared disgusted with the crusaders; the bishops could no longer succeed in exciting fanaticism; the legate therefore endeavoured to establish a body more completely devoted to the destruction of the heretics and the lukewarm. With the authority of pope Honorius III, he instituted *the order of the holy faith of Jesus Christ*, to combat and annihilate those who do not profess an ardent faith for the church and a blind obedience to all the secular powers. We have the letters patent of Peter Savaric, *humble and poor master of the militia of the order of the faith of Jesus Christ*, dated at Carcassonne, 9th February, 1221, by which he professes that the vows of his order are "to promise aid and succour to Amaury de Montfort and his heirs, for the defence of his person and domains; and to engage to discover and destroy the heretics and rebels against the church, and all others, christians or infidels, who shall make war against that count." In the events of our days, we have seen the *Santafedisti*, or knights of the holy faith, figure in Italy and Spain, professing the same doctrines, engaged by similar vows, and whose actions, as well as their language, recall to mind the crusade of Albigeois.

Honorius III did not depend alone upon the knights of the faith to succour Montfort. He addressed himself afresh to Philip and Louis, to whom he granted, as the price of an expedition against the Albigenses, a new twentieth, to be levied upon the clergy. But Louis having, with this money, collected an army, conducted it into the domains of the king of England in Aquitaine and Poitou, instead of attacking the count of Toulouse. Both French and English historians are equally silent with regard to the events of this campaign. Honorius also addressed the different bishops of France, and particularly the archbishop of Sens, of Rheims, and of Bourges, engaging them to inquire after, to sieze, and burn, those of the Albigensian heretics, who had sought a refuge in their provinces. This severity obliged a great number of the unfortunate Languedocians who were dispersed to great distances, to return to their country, in the hope that they should be protected by the same men who, on every side, had risen against the house of Montfort and the church.

1222. In reality, during the year 1222, the sectaries, who had been driven out for their faith, found themselves sufficiently numerous in the places where their fathers had suffered, to give them the hope of renewing their instructions, and of organizing their church. If we may credit the registers of the inquisition at Toulouse, about a hundred of the principal Albigenses held a meeting at a place named Pieussau in Rasez, and Guillabert de Castres, one of their ancient preachers, who had escaped the researches of the fanatics, presided. This assembly provided chiefs for the desolated churches, the ancient directors of which had perished in the flames. Three new preachers, described in these registers by the titles of bishop of Rasez, of *elder son*, and of *younger son*, received, from Guillabert de Castres, imposition of hands, and the kiss of peace. The monks of Saint Dominic abandoned, at this moment, by the secular power, were reduced to the necessity of only noting these circumstances in their books, against the day of vengeance.

In the mean time Amaury de Montfort was losing the hope of entering into possession of his father's conquests. The inhabitants of the small number of castles which still remained to him, were watching an opportunity to revolt and signalise their vengeance by the massacre of some of his friends. Montfort could not reckon on the fidelity of any man who spoke the Provençal language, whilst the sword was always suspended over the heads of all his servants who used that of the French. His countship of Montfort, and all his patrimonial possessions were exhausted of men and money; that fanaticism appeared extinct which had furnished so many recruits to his father. All the bulls of Honorius III were no longer able to bring a single crusader into Languedoc, and all those who wished to engage in the sacred war, either passed into Egypt or to the Holy Land. Discouraged, disgusted with the war, affrighted at the universal hatred of which he saw himself the object, Amaury sent the bishops of Nismes and of Beziers, to Philip Augustus, to offer him the cession of all the conquests of the crusaders in Albigeois; and at the same time made application to the pope, for his assistance in obtaining from the king the most favourable conditions.

Honorius III wrote to Philip Augustus, on the 14th of May, 1222, advising him to accept the offers of Montfort; and representing to him, that it was his bounden duty towards Christendom, to extirpate the heresy which was beginning again to spring up in his kingdom; assuring him at the same time, that if he sent a powerful army into the South, he would be recompensed for the pains he should take to purge the land of these sectaries, by the acquisition of the rich fiefs which were offered to him by the church. But Philip Augustus had at this period lost all the spirit of enterprise and the activity of his youth; he was frozen with age and sickness; he held out the possibility of an approaching war with England, since his truce with Henry III would terminate in 1223, and refused to enter into any negociation either with Montfort or the pope.

Whilst these things were going on, Raymond VI was almost suddenly taken from his family by a malady with which he was seized in the month of August, at Toulouse. From the first attack of this unknown disease, he lost the use of his speech. He preserved, however, sufficient recollection to give many signs of contrition; amongst other things, he was frequently seen, during his agony, to kiss the cross upon the mantle of the hospitalers of St. John, with which he was covered. He had devoted himself to this order, at the time of the persecution of which he had been the object, and all the misfortunes he had experienced had not sufficed to extinguish his devotion. He had given abundant alms to the priests and the monasteries; he had shown himself scrupulous in the performance of all the practices of piety; and when he was under excommunication he was seen to remain for a long time on his knees in prayer, at the doors of the churches which he dared not enter. But, the monks reproached him with feeling some pity for the heretics; with taking no delight in the torments which they inflicted upon them; with having even frequently withdrawn the sectaries from punishment. They persecuted him for his compassion, not only during his life, but even for ages after his death. His son could never obtain the honours of sepulture for his body, but his coffin was deposited near the burial ground of St. John of Toulouse, waiting the permission of the church for its interment. It was still there in the fourteenth century; but, as it was only of wood, and no one took care for its preservation, it was broken, and his bones dispersed before the sixteenth century. The skull alone of Raymond VI was long preserved in the house of the hospitalers of St. John of Toulouse.

1223. The death of the count of Toulouse was speedily followed by that of Raymond Roger count of Foix, the bravest of his vassals, and who had perhaps the most contributed to the recovery of his states. The count of Foix had not embraced the faith of the Albigenses, but it appears that his wife and many persons of his family belonged to this sect, and that he had himself, if we may believe the registers of the inquisition, sometimes assisted at the conventicles of the sectaries, but without making abjuration. He was then, in the eyes of the church, more guilty than the count of Toulouse, but they had, notwithstanding, treated him with more indulgence, because the conquest of his country was judged more difficult. He died in the end of March, or the beginning of April, of the fatigues he had endured at the siege of Mirepoix, which envenomed an ulcer that had long tormented him. The death of these two counts did not, however, weaken the cause of toleration. Raymond VII was at least twenty-five years old at his father's death. He was beloved by his subjects, whom he had governed for many years; he inherited the talent of his ancestors for war, and added to it more firmness of character than his father possessed, and more skill in government. Roger Bernard, who succeeded to the sovereignty of the countship of Foix, had, on his part, signalized himself, for a long time, and on many occasions, against the crusaders, and he showed himself neither less valiant, nor less attached to the count of Toulouse, than Raymond Roger.

1223. These two princes, therefore, having resolved entirely to drive Amaury de Montfort from the province, besieged, in the spring of 1223, la Penne in Agenois, and Verdun upon the Garonne. The pope had sent a new legate into Albigeois, cardinal Conrad, bishop of Porto, who wrote to all the bishops of France to demand succours, whilst Amaury approached la Penne with the hope of intimidating the two counts, but was soon obliged to feel the inferiority of his forces. As his troops were deserting him, and he ran the risk of falling into the hands of his enemy, he made propositions of peace. A thought was even entertained of causing Raymond VII to marry a sister of Amaury, and, upon these overtures, a truce was signed between the two parties. Raymond, as confiding as he was loyal, hesitated not upon this assurance to put himself into the hands of the hereditary enemy of his family. He entered into Carcassonne, and passed a whole day with count Amaury. Through a pleasantry, which served still to increase his danger, perceiving that his attendants were alarmed for his imprudence, he caused them to be informed that he had been arrested, during the night, at Carcassonne, and upon this news, all his guard whom he had left without the city took to flight. The two counts only laughed at the terror of these soldiers. They separated like men of honour; but not being able to accomplish a reconciliation, recommenced hostilities at the end of the armistice.

1223. At this same epoch, cardinal Conrad convoked a provincial council, in the city Sens, to deliberate on the affairs of the Albigenses; and one of the motives which he alleged for the church putting itself into a posture of defence against the heretics was, that, according to his statement, they had set up a chief or pope, who had established himself upon the frontiers of Bulgaria, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, and of Hungary. He added, that a great number of Christians, and even bishops, in those countries, had acknowledged his authority; that the dispersed Albigenses had restored to him, and received his decisions as oracles; and that one of them, Barthelemi de Carcassone, had returned into his country with the authority of a legate, and arrogated to himself the right of naming new bishops.

There is reason to believe, in fact, that the opinions of the Paulicians had been, for the first time, spread in the West, through Bulgaria. The letter of cardinal Conrad indicates, that there still existed a connection between the sectaries of the two countries, and that those of the Sclavonian language, to whom, two centuries later, we are indebted for the reformation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had opened an asylum, and offered succours, to the persecuted Albigenses. But it is not probable that the sectaries had given themselves the same organization as the church of Rome, which they opposed. The papists could conceive of no church without a pope; but he, whom they imagined in Bulgaria, and even whose name they do not tell us, disappeared without leaving a successor.

The chief object which the cardinal legate, and Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had proposed to themselves in the convocation of this council was, to alarm the conscience of Philip Augustus, and to determine him to send, at last, a powerful army against the Albigenses, and thus to accept the offers of the count of Montfort; but Philip seemed to have contracted, in the last years of his life, a political timidity, which accorded with the progress of his age, and the decline of his health; and which caused him to reject every occasion of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his neighbours. William de Puy-Laurent assures us, upon the authority of Fouquet, the atrocious bishop of Toulouse, that Philip said to the bishop—"I know that after my death the clergy will prevail upon my son Louis to take part in the affairs of the Albigenses; and, as he is weak and delicate, he will not be able to bear the fatigues, and will die in a little time. Then the kingdom will fall into the hands of women and children, and will be thereby much endangered." This prophecy, nevertheless, which afterwards was often repeated, may have been given after the event.

At the time when the bishop Fouquet was impressing, upon Philip Augustus, the necessity of putting all the Toulousians to the sword, it became necessary to attend much more to the politics of his successor, than to those of the reigning monarch. A quartan fever which had commenced towards the middle of the summer of 1222, was continually reducing the strength of the king. It lasted him during a whole year, but did not prevent him from continuing his short journeys to inspect the works which he had ordered. Philip Augustus loved architecture, and monuments; many of the kings his predecessors had built churches, but he was the first to ornament France with civil architecture. The communes had, for a long time, surrounded themselves with walls for their own defence; the lords had, on their part, carefully fortified their dwellings; whilst, on the contrary, the cities, towns, and villages, which belonged to the crown, had been scandalously neglected. Philip undertook to surround them all with walls; he did it however with a respect to the rights of individuals, to which they had not been accustomed on the part of the receivers of the revenue; for he always purchased the houses which it was necessary to pull down, and the land that was wanted for the public service. He was able, during the forty years of his reign, to finish all these walls, and thus gave a guarantee, both to the safety of the state and to the police, which had not been known before this time.

These immense undertakings did not exhaust the treasures of Philip Augustus. He had established order in the finances, and as his reign had been the epoch of a prodigious increase in the population, industry, commerce, and agriculture of France, the royal revenues had augmented with that prosperity. But the king's treasure was regarded as his private and personal property. All that he had economised, all that he had drawn from the people, and had not employed in governing them, belonged so entirely to himself, that far from being obliged to leave it to his country, he did not even feel an obligation to leave it to his children. It is true, that the priests had taken care to inculcate this doctrine, of exclusive property, into the hearts of kings. They had all agreed to tell them, that if, at any time, princes were guilty of overwhelming with their extortions the poor contributors, of ruining widows and orphans, or of refusing afterwards to the public necessities the money which they had collected by iniquitous measures, one way of compensation was still offered them, a way which would change all their crimes into so many virtues, and would thus insure their salvation, by the very consequences of their evil deeds; this was to dispose, in favour of the church, of all the money they had thus accumulated. Philip Augustus made his will, upon these principles, in the month of September, 1222. He named for his executors, Guarin, bishop of Senlis, Barthelemy de Roye, and brother Aymard, treasurer of the temple, and assigned to these testamentary executors twenty-five thousand marks of silver, which then equalled fifty thousand livres, and which, at this day, would amount to twelve hundred thousand, that they might, according to their consciences, make restitution whenever the king had done any injustice. Philip Augustus bequeathed to the king of Jerusalem, to the hospitalers and templars, fifty thousand marks of silver each, that this king, and those two military orders, might each maintain, in return, for three years, one hundred additional knights in the service of the Holy Sepulchre: he assigned to them also considerable sums to assist in preparing them to pass the sea the year following. He bequeathed twenty thousand livres to Amaury de Montfort, to be employed in the extirpation of the heresy of the Albigenses; for it was neither from scruple of conscience, nor from a sentiment of humanity, that he had himself always refused to march against those sectaries. He bequeathed to the abbey of Saint Denys, all his crowns and jewels; to the abbey of Saint Victor, which he had built near the bridge of Charenton, two thousand livres, and two hundred-and-forty livres annually, which were to suffice for the maintenance of twenty priests; he left twenty-one thousand livres to the poor of Paris, and only ten thousand to Isemburge his wife, and ten thousand to his natural son Philip. The sum which he destined to his eldest son remained blank in his will, apparently that he might receive what remained in his treasury after all his other legacies had been paid.

1223. In spite of the king's malady, the council which had been convoked at Sens to instruct him by its advice, assembled there in July, 1223. It was composed of six archbishops, and of twenty bishops, with a great number of abbots. Fouquet bishop of Toulouse was the only one of the Albigensian prelates who was present. Philip Augustus had promised to be there, but perceiving that his declining health would render the journey dangerous, he very soon demanded that the council should be transferred to Paris, and set out himself on his return to the capital. The violence of his illness retained him at Mantes, where he died the 14th of July, 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. The prelates assembled for the council added to the pomp of his obsequies; the legate and the archbishop of Rheims, being unwilling to cede to each other the supreme rank, officiated at the same time, at two different altars. After this unusual ceremony Philip Augustus was interred at Saint Denis.

Count Amaury de Montfort profited by the truce which he had recently concluded with the count of Toulouse, to attend the council of Sens, and he was therefore at court at the accession of Louis VIII. Louis, before he set out for Rheims, paid to Amaury ten thousand marks, in part of what his father had bequeathed to that lord, to assist in maintaining his garrisons in Albigeois; and at the same time hinted to him, that he should be disposed to make an exchange with him, for the conquests made by the crusaders, and engaged him to break off all negociation with Raymond VII. After having received this subsidy, the count of Montfort set off for Carcassonne.

When he arrived there that city was already attacked by the counts of Toulouse and of Foix, who had brought with them the young Trencavel, then sixteen years of age, the only son of that Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers and of Carcassonne, whom Simon had so barbarously put to death.—Amaury, having collected an army with the money he had received from Louis VIII, compelled the Languedocian lords to raise the siege; but his money was soon expended, and the mercenaries assembled under his standards, declared that their services should cease when their pay was discontinued. In vain did Amaury solicit, by turns, the bishops of the province, the citizens of Narbonne, and his own knights; in vain he offered to pledge his French domains, and even his person; he could neither find money, nor retain his soldiers. He was, after a short time, again shut up in Carcassonne, by the counts of Toulouse and of Foix; and losing, at last, all hopes of resistance, he signed, on the 14th of January, 1224, a convention with them, by which he engaged to use all his efforts to reconcile the two counts with the church and the king of France. He delivered to them, by this treaty, Carcassonne, Minerva, and Penne d'Agenois; he stipulated an armistice, of two months, for six small places that still belonged to him in the province, with a guarantee for the rights of individuals, acquired during the war, and received ten thousand silver marks for the expences of his journey. The next day, 15th of January, 1224, he set out for the North of France with all the knights devoted to his fortune, abandoning for ever the country where his house had reigned fourteen years.

1224. The young Trencavel, still under the government of the count of Foix, took possession of the four viscountships of Carcassonne, of Beziers, of Rasez, and of Albi, over which his father had reigned. But, at the same time, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishop of Nismes, of Usez, of Beziers, and of Agde, retired to Montpellier, either fearing the vengeance of those to whom they had occasioned so much evil, or wishing to give themselves the appearance of being persecuted. From thence, they wrote, eight days after, to Louis VIII, begging him not to confirm the peace which had been negociated. "Not to permit the unclean spirit, who had been driven from the province of Narbonne, by the ministry of the Roman church and his own, to return, in all his power, with seven spirits more wicked than himself, but rather to employ the power which he had received from God, in acquiring the territory which the church had offered him."

Louis VIII appeared, indeed, eager to signalize the commencement of his reign, by the conquest of Albigeois. Amaury de Montfort having arrived at Paris, ceded to him, in the month of February, all the privileges, which the church had granted to his father and himself, over the countries conquered by the crusaders. He exchanged them for the post of constable of France, which Louis promised to Amaury. But this treaty was conditional, and was not to have effect unless the Roman church should accept the conditions which the king had offered by the archbishop of Bourges and the bishops of Langres and of Chartres.

The church appeared to desire, with so much ardour, the extirpation of the house of Saint Gilles, and of all who had shown any tolerance towards the heretics, that Louis had no doubt of obtaining from the pope, if he took the cross, all the advantages which he demanded for a recompense. He required that the crusade should be preached anew throughout all France, with the express mention, that the indulgences should be fully equal to those which might be gained by the crusade to the Holy Land. He required, at the same time, that those who would not follow him, from devotion, should be obliged to do it in the fulfilment of their feudal duties, as if the kingdom were subject to a foreign invasion; for no invasion, said he, is more fearful, than that of heresy. Consequently, he demanded that all the French barons who refused, on this occasion, to accomplish the service of their fief, should be excommunicated, and their lands put under an interdict. To be more sure of the direction of these ecclesiastical thunders, he demanded that the archbishop of Bourges should be assigned him as cardinal legate, with full powers over Albigeois. He required the pope, by letters patent, to deprive, for ever, the count of Toulouse, the viscount of Carcassonne, and of Beziers, and all those who should be allied to them, or should make war in concert with them, of all the fiefs they might have in the kingdom of France, and to invest, with them, for ever, the king and his descendants; lastly, he required that, in order to finish this conquest, the church should guarantee to him, for ten years, the truce then existing with the king of England, and should, during the same time, pay him sixty thousand livres of Paris each year; declaring, that if all these conditions were not accepted, he should consider himself under no obligation to pass into Albigeois. The popes have, in general, preferred the European crusades, which tended directly to extend their authority, to those of the Holy Land, which had rather augmented than diminished the independence of the human mind. Nevertheless, they could not set themselves in open opposition to the opinion of Christendom; and besides, they frequently shared the fanaticism which they had tended to excite. At the very moment when Honorius III received the propositions of Louis VIII, he had well-founded hopes of repairing, by a new crusade, those disasters of the Holy Land which had so recently tarnished the glory of his pontificate. The emperor Frederic II had been engaged to Yolande of Jerusalem, daughter of Jean de Brienne, and the kingdom of Judea had been promised for her portion. Frederic, who was sovereign not only of Germany and Upper Italy, but of Sicily and Calabria, could, with more ease than any other European prince, transport the crusaders from his own parts to that of Saint Jean d'Acre. He had embraced with ardour the project of conquering Syria, to add it to his other possessions; and on the 5th of March had written to the pope, from Catena, a long letter, both to give him an account of his preparations, and to engage him to remove the obstacles which the situation of France and England interposed to the renewal of the sacred war. "The king of Jerusalem," said Frederic, "has recently written to us from Germany, that he was going to quit that country, seeing that he had there advanced but little the interests of the Holy Land. In truth, the missionaries who preach the cross there are so slandered by every one, both because they are men of the lowest rank, and because they have no authority to grant indulgences, that nobody will listen to them. Other letters, that we have received from different parts of the world, and from the highest and most powerful personages, state, that we are accused, as well as the church, of proceeding with indifference in that affair. The grandees of France and England, as we have been informed by the king of Jerusalem, do not appear desirous of taking the cross, unless a long truce be concluded between the two kingdoms, and they are assured of going and coming in peace. Many of the most powerful amongst those that have taken the cross, even pretend that they have dispensations from you from going to the Holy Land."

Honorius III had already given his assent to the propositions of Louis VIII, and the prelates who were his ambassadors, had returned to France, when the pope received the letter of Frederic II. He could not doubt that the preachers of the crusade in Albigeois were those who had traduced the characters of the vendors of indulgences, and that the persons whose service in the Holy Land he was reproached for having dispensed with, were such as he had encouraged to convert their vows into an expedition of forty days on the banks of the Garonne. How could he, without dishonouring himself, take this moment for publishing, that such a short campaign, without expense, difficulty, or danger, was a work as meritorious as the crusade which the Emperor was preparing to lead against the enemies of Christianity? The extent of the preparations that Louis was making, for the war against the Albigenses, sufficiently showed, that he would not suffer a single Frenchman to pass to the Holy Land, if that war continued. Honorius therefore dispatched the cardinal bishop of Porto to Louis, recommending him to use the greatest diligence, to communicate the emperor's letter, to withdraw the consent he had given to their treaty, and to inform him that the count of Toulouse, terrified at the preparations of the king of France, had consented to submit, entirely, to the church, by purging his province of heretics, according to the mode which the mercy of the inquisition had adopted. The good of the Holy Land, added the pope, demanded, that he should be contented with these guarantees, and that he should grant peace to Raymond VII, in the hope that he would henceforth act with equal vigour and sincerity.

Louis VIII thought that he had made himself sure of all the support of the church; he had already written to those communes whose assistance he reckoned most upon, to announce to them that he would march with his army three weeks after Easter, and requiring them to support him vigorously. He was, therefore, exceedingly enraged, when he saw himself thus abandoned by the pope; he wrote to him with much ill humour, and having in his letter recapitulated all that he had done already at the persuasion of the church, he finished with these words: "We have replied to the cardinal bishop of Porto that since the lord pope would not, at present, attend to our reasonable demands, we considered ourselves discharged from the burden of this business, and we have protested as much publicly, before all the prelates and barons of France."

Raymond VII endeavoured to profit by these favourable circumstances, to make his peace with the church. He was earnestly supported at Rome by the ambassadors of the king of England; and had friends in the college of cardinals, who advised him to pursue his advantages in arms, whilst he negociated with the pope. Whilst, therefore, he took possession of Agde and of several castles, he charged his ambassador at Rome to dispense money liberally in the sacred consistory, in order to gain new partisans; and at the feast of Pentecost, he went to Montpellier, to hold a conference with that same Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, who had done so much evil to his father, as legate of the first crusade against the Albigenses.

The count of Toulouse felt how important it was to conclude his pacification, whilst they were still willing to negociate with him. He showed himself therefore eager to give way upon every article. As he had always been sincerely attached to the faith of the church, it cost him nothing to promise conformity to it in future; but he engaged, besides, to show no mercy to the heretics; to grant to count Montfort such conditions as might save his honour; to augment the immunities of the churches; to surrender to them those parts of his domain with which they had been gratified by his enemies; and even before he had obtained any guarantee, he executed a part of these restitutions. Arnold, embarrassed by this unhesitating compliance with all his demands, knew not how to contrive to retard a pacification which seemed to be concluded. He adjourned, however, the conferences to the 21st of the following August, declaring that he must wait for new orders from Rome, to sign the definitive treaty.

Rome, on the reception of his letters, was no longer in the same disposition. Frederic II had retarded his departure in such a manner as to occasion doubt to Honorius III, respecting the success of the crusade to the East. War had broken out between the kings of France and England, and that war presented a still greater obstacle to the impulse which the pope had hoped to give to all Europe. Whilst he was in doubt respecting the turn which all these events might take, the holy father thought it imprudent to accept the submission of a prince whom he might perhaps soon have a favourable opportunity to crush. By his persuasion, or that of the king of France, Amaury de Montfort sent no one to Montpellier with powers to accept the indemnities offered by the count of Toulouse. Raymond, nevertheless, insisted that the absence of this envoy could not hinder the conference agreed upon between him and the archbishop of Narbonne from taking place. On the 25th of August he renewed to that prelate the promises which he had already made to the church; he signed them, and engaged by oath to observe them. After which, Arnold, to gain time, communicated to him an express order of the pope, to send those declarations to Rome by a solemn embassage, and, at the same time, informed him, that Honorius III had manifested the most violent wrath at learning that Raymond VII had retaken, from the bishop of Viviers, the city of Argentiores, which had belonged to the house of Saint Gilles, but had been taken from his father by the crusaders.

1224. The ambassadors of Raymond arrived at Rome in the month of October. They were admitted to several conferences, and the ambassadors of England seconded them with all their power. But the court of Rome was superlatively skilled in the art of spinning out negociations. At the end of the year they had discussed much and concluded nothing. In the course of the following year they thought themselves equally occupied with their master's interests, because that every day new explanations were demanded, and every day they removed new difficulties. It was not till 1226 that they found out how they had been tricked, when they were dismissed without any thing being granted them.

1224. The truce between France and England, which Louis VIII wished to prolong for ten years, expired at Easter, 1224; but Henry III desired its renewal much more sincerely than the king of France. He had given orders to make compensation for all the damage which had been caused by his subjects to French merchants, and, at the same time, had ordered an inquest to ascertain also the damage which his subjects had experienced; for, in those ages of violence, there were but few treaties scrupulously respected. He also sent ambassadors to the king of France, to demand that the truce, concluded by Philip Augustus, should be prolonged for four years, on the same conditions. Honorius III, on his side, had solicited Louis VIII to conclude a peace with the king of England; or, at least, to bind himself by a long truce. He represented the advantage this would prove to the Holy Land, by removing an obstacle to the expedition of Frenderic II. But, whether Louis, from the displeasure which arose from the ill success of his negociations respecting Albigeois, wished to humble the pope, or whether he desired to employ the preparations he had made for the war with Raymond, against another enemy, he announced to Henry III the renewal of hostilities, who, on his side, gave notice of it on the 15th of May, to all the barons of his kingdom, and invited them to be ready for war.

Honorius III, who protected the king of England, who had quite recently declared him of age, and in consequence, had ordered all his counts and barons to restore the towns and fortresses which they held as a guarantee for their safety, would also have gladly restored him to the full exercise of absolute power, and abolished the great charter. But when he perceived that the nation adhered strenuously to its rights, and was prepared to defend them, he wrote to Henry III to engage him to observe his oaths, until he should find a more favourable occasion to violate them; "we suggest in particular to his highness," said he, "and council him *in good faith*, not to bring forward the rights of the crown, just at this time, and not to scandalize his subjects respecting the restitution of his revenues, but prudently to defer to a better opportunity this pretension, and others which might engender scandal." Henry III, however, did not follow the counsel which the pope boasted of having giving with such *good faith*. He entered into disputes with the earl of Chester and the greater part of his barons; he attacked Foulques de Brent, and his brother, in their castles; he hanged the defenders of several fortresses, and appeared to have some success in his English expeditions; but his whole army was occupied in retaining his subjects in their obedience, and he had no soldiers to send into France. When Savary de Mauléon, who was charged to defend Poitou, was informed of the approach of Louis VIII with a numerous army, he in vain demanded reinforcements and subsidies, for the treasury was empty. The counsellors of Henry III judged, however, that they could not dispense with embarking, at the tower of London, boxes apparently filled with money, to inspire the soldiers with the confidence that they would very soon be paid; but when these chests were opened upon their arrival at Rochelle, they were found to be filled with stones and bran.

The campaign of Louis VIII, against the former possessions of the kings of England and France, was speedily terminated, and left him time to meet in the beginning of November, at Vancoulours, Henry, king of the Romans, eldest son of Frederic II. These two princes signed a treaty of alliance, and reciprocally engaged to conclude no arrangement with the king of England without the consent of both.

1225. In the beginning of the year 1225, the cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, was sent by the pope to Louis VIII to renew the negociations respecting the Albigenses. The zeal of Frederic II for the conquest of the Holy Land was cooled, or, at least, the difficulties of the undertaking, the revolts which were continually breaking out in Germany and Italy, the need which every part of his states had of reform, and of the inspection of the monarch, made him desire to defer his voyage to a more convenient time. The king of Jerusalem had undertaken to obtain from Honorius III that the crusade should be postponed for two years. The state of the Holy Land, where the Christians possessed but two cities, could not suffer from this delay. Honorius consented; he adjourned till August, 1227, the departure of Frederic II; but at the same time imposed upon him the condition of conducting at that period a determinate number of troops to the Holy Land, and of passing at least two years in Syria.

These two years might suffice to annihilate completely the house of Saint Gilles, to which the church thought it imprudent to pardon the injuries she had done it. Raymond VII refused no sacrifice; disputed respecting no condition; he only demanded, for the repose of his conscience, and for that of his subjects, to be received again into the bosom of the church. He abandoned the heretics to all the rigours which she desired to exercise towards them; and the learned, the equitable Benedictine, author of the history of Languedoc, not being able entirely to free himself from the sentiments of his order, repels *as an atrocious calumny*, the charge that he demanded liberty of conscience for the Albigenses. But no reconciliation was possible, between this prince and those who could only be satisfied with his absolute ruin. Raymond at last thought he had removed all the difficulties which had been opposed to him, when the cardinal Romano de Sant. Angelo published against him a bull, to which it was impossible to reply, as it was impossible to understand it. It contained only the miserable conceits and witicisms of the Vatican. "The miserable state, or rather the established misery of the Narbonnensian province, and of the neighbouring regions," said the pope, "has long tormented us with anxiety, and suspended us in doubt. In our anxiety, we sought whether we could not find a way and manner to raise the interests of the faith and of peace, which appeared absolutely cast down in these countries; in our doubt we hesitated whether this land was not so corrupted that all labour which we could bestow upon it would be useless. In truth, this land, though laboured with much sweat—though sweated with much labour—has been in vain forged by its smith, for all its malice has not been consumed, all its rust has not been removed, even by the fire to which God, by a hidden, yet a just judgment, has delivered the infidelity of the hearts of its inhabitants, and the frost of their malice. Neither the fomentations of caresses nor the torments of flagellations have been able to soften them. They have so hardened their hearts against God, that, although given up to a multitude of scourges, they have not accepted their discipline. Because they have had some success against the chursh, they see in it the confirmation of their errors, not considering that the felicity of sinners is the greatest of all infelicities."

The statesman would have blushed, who should have attempted to kindle a temporal war, without giving better reasons for it than such antitheses as these; but they wers quite sufficient to justify a religious war. However, the cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who was employed to persuade Louis VIII to a crusade against the Albigenses, was also commissioned not to break off the negociation with Raymond VII, until he was sure of success. In consequence, he invited him to repair to a national council, of all the church of France, to be held at Bourges on the 29th of November, 1225, thus reserving to himself all the summer, to treat beforehand with his enemies.

Although the Albigenses of Languedoc could ho longer really give any inquietude to the church of Rome, yet the intolerance of the pope was awakened by other symptoms of mental agitation which he saw around him. The persecutions of the sectaries, had, by dispersing them, spread the germs or reformation through all the countries of the romanesque language. The unhappy sufferers, who had been treated with such pitiless cruelty, and who, on account of what they had endured (*pati*), were designated by the name of *Paterins*, distinguished themselves by the purity of their conduct, as well as by that of their doctrine; the contrast, between their morals and those of the priests, was apparent to all; they did not profess to separate from the church, but only desired liberty to effect their salvation, as different orders of monks had done, by a greater austerity. They had multiplied in Italy, and especially in Lombardy, and, in this same year, Honorius III charged the bishops of Modena, of Brescia, and of Rimini, to inquire after them, to pull down their houses and destroy their race.

1225. The greatest obstacles to the renewal of the crusade against the Albigenses, was the war in which Louis VIII was engaged with the king of England. Henry III, profiting by the popularity which his youth had still left him, had assembled a parliament at Westminster; he had exposed to his subjects the injustice which had been done him in his continental possessions, and had demanded their aid to recover the rich provinces of which the crown had been dispossessed. The English, occupied in their island with circumscribing the abuses of the royal authority, did not attach any great value to the possessions of their king in France, which were not submitted to their laws. They acquiesced, however, in the demands of Henry, and his chief justice, Hubert du Burgh. A fifteenth, upon movable property, had been judged sufficient subsidy to form a fair army; this was granted him, on condition that the king should confirm anew the great charter, and the forest charter, which he had repeatedly sworn to observe, and which he had observed always like a king. Henry III submitted to the condition; he sent express orders into all the counties, to respect the privileges of the people; and, in return, he raised the sums which had been granted him. On Palm-Sunday he despatched for Bourdeaux his brother Richard, whom he had recently knighted, and to whom he had granted the titles of earl of Cornwall and of Poitou, with only sixty knights. William, earl of Salisbury, and Philip d'Aubignac, were given him as counsellors; in a little time they assembled around him the principal barons of Gascogny: they compelled to submission those who before rejected his authority, or who had embraced the French party, and with this little army they undertook at last to besiege Reole.

On his side, Louis VIII had held many parliaments at Paris, and had occupied the lords who had assembled there, sometimes about the affairs of the Albigenses, and sometimes with the war against England. When he received the news of the landing of the English at Bourdeaux, he advanced as far as Tours, and afterwards to Chinon; and the count of Marche engaged in a trifling combat with Richard, lieutenant of his brother Henry II, in Aquitaine. But, on either side the forces were inconsiderable; the two princes stood equally on the defensive, and both lent an ear to the solicitations of Honorius III, and his legate, the cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who wished either to engage them to conclude a good peace, or, at least, to renew a long truce.

Raymond VII well knew, that his ruin was the ultimate object of all the negociations between the king of France and the church. The 29th of September he had to regret the death of the archbishop of Narbonne. This was, nevertheless, that same Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, who had directed the crusade with so much ferocity, as legate of the holy see; but his ambition, and his disputes with the house of Montfort, made him then seek for support in that of Saint Gilles. On the other hand, Henry III had himself solicited the friendship of the count of Toulouse, although prudence had compelled him to require that their alliance should for some time be kept secret. Raymond VII, encouraged by the promises of that king, proceeded, at the end of November, to the council of Bourges.

1225. This council proved very numerous; few partial assemblies of the church had presented a more imposing appearance. There were reckoned six archbishops, one hundred and thirteen bishops, and one hundred and fifty abbots; another historian makes the number of archbishops to be as high as fourteen. The legate presided, the king of France assisted with his court, and Raymond VII of Saint Gilles, on the one part, Amaury de Montfort, on the other, presented themselves to set forth their claims upon the countship of Toulouse. Amaury displayed the titles of the donations made to his father by the pope and by king Philip, and maintained that Raymond had been irrevocably deprived of his heritage, by the highest authority in the church, that of the œcumenical council of Lateran. Raymond, on his part, declared himself ready to do service for his fiefs, and to acquit himself, both towards the king and the church of Rome, of all that he owed to them on account of his heritage. "Would you submit, in this matter," replied Amaury, "to the judgment of the twelve peers of France? Let the king first receive my homage," replied Raymond, "and I am ready to submit to it; otherwise, perhaps the peers would not acknowledge me as one of their body." The legate was very far from being desirous that the cause of the church should be debated in this public and chivalrous manner. He hastened to close the discussion; he enjoined on each of the archbishops, to assemble his bishops, and to deliberate with them without communication with his brethren; then he demanded of each to transmit to him his opinion in writing, and he fulminated an excommunication against whoever of the prelates should reveal the secret of these partial deliberations.

Nevertheless, a pretext was wanted for refusing absolution to a prince, who desired to be reconciled to the church, and for directing upon him all the forces of Christendom. The legate, therefore, repeated against the count all the old accusations of heresy and revolt; Raymond VII, addressing the legate with the most earnest prayers, then "besought him to come in person and visit each of the cities of his province, to make inquiries of each individual, as to the articles of his faith, and if he found any who differed from the catholic belief, he protested that he was ready to inflict upon him the severest punishment, according to the judgment of the holy church. In like manner, if any city was found rebellious, he affirmed that he was ready with all his power to compel it, as well as all its inhabitants, to make satisfaction. As to himself, he offered, if he had sinned in any thing (which he did not remember to have done), to make full penitence to God and the holy church, like a faithful Christian; and if it pleased the legate, he was willing equally to suffer the examination of his faith. But the legate despised all these things, and the count, catholic as he was, could obtain no favour, unless he would renounce his heritage, for himself and his heirs!"

Some disputes of precedence between the archbishops, some demands of the Romish church upon the chapters of the cathedrals, in each of which the pope wished to have two prebends at his disposal, made a diversion of the labours of the council, and gave opportunity to withdraw the affairs of the Albigenses from public discussion. The legate profited by this circumstance to conclude the treaty between Louis VIII and the court of Rome. He acceded to all the demands which Louis had formerly made; he granted to those who should take the cross against the Albigenses, the most extensive indulgences; and prohibited the king of England, under pain of excommunication, from disquieting the king of France, as long as he should be engaged in the service of God and the church, even respecting the territories which he might unjustly possess. All these measures being taken, the legate dismissed the council, the king returned to Paris, count Raymond into his territories, and the cardinal then declared, that the separate opinion which he had received from each archbishop, was, "that Raymond ought, in no case, to be absolved on account of the offers he had made; but that the king of the French should be charged by the church with this affair, since no other could, so well as he, purge the land from the wickedness of the heretics; that, in fine, to recompense the king for his expenses, the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues should be assigned to him for five years, if the war lasted so long."

1225. In accepting this commission from the church, Louis remembered that he might not survive the war he was about to undertake. He, therefore, made his will, in the month of June, 1225; and whilst the kings his predecessors had been contented to distribute, by such acts, their movable riches for pious purposes, he, for the first time, endeavoured to dispose of the crown and its fiefs. He called his eldest son to the succession of the throne of France, he destined Artois to the second, Anjou and Maine to the third, Poitou and Auvergne to the fourth, and he ordered, besides, that the countship of Boulogne, with which his brother was invested, should return to the crown, if this brother died without children.

The king of the French was very willing to accept the confiscations of the territories belonging to the count of Toulouse, as the avenger of the offended church; but he wished at the same time, to shield himself against the accusation of cupidity or injustice, by the authority of those who had given him this counsel. In that age kings were not accustomed to take upon themselves alone the responsibility of government. They felt that they were only the chiefs of a confederation of princes. No constitution had, it is true, regulated how these princes should take part in the common deliberations, or had guaranteed their right of suffrage in the national assemblies; the king, however, knew that it would be nearly impossible to cause the great vassals to execute what they had not previously determined in their diet. He therefore assembled parliaments; and by this name was then understood conferences of the freest nature with those whom he wished to consult, and whom he called to his councils. On the 28th of January, 1226, Louis VIII convoked at Paris one of those parliaments or assemblies of notables. It is probable that the lords temporal and spiritual voted in common; nevertheless their acts are come down to us separate. On the one hand, twenty-seven secular lords, on the other, seventeen archbishops or bishops, declared by letters patent, given in that assembly, that they counselled the king to take upon himself the affair of the Albigenses, and promised to assist him with all their power; the one as his liege-men, the other by excommunicating all his enemies. Amongst the first were seven counts, those of Boulogne, of Brittany, of Dreux, of Chartres, of Saint Paul, of Rouci, and of Vendôme, none of whom ranked amongst the twelve peers of the realm: there were also many great officers of the crown, and the chiefs of the illustrious houses of Montmorency, of Courtenay, of Nesle, and of Coucy; these twenty-five lords, however, can by no means be considered as representing the nobility of the kingdom.

Two days after, the 30th of January, the king took the cross with all his barons; and the legate publicly excommunicated as a condemned heretic Raymond count of Toulouse, with all his associates. Amaury de Montfont, with the approbation of his uncle Guy, ceded to the king all his pretensions upon the domains of Albigeois, in exchange for the post of constable of France; the legate granted to Louis one hundred thousand livres annually, to be taken from the tenth of the ecclesiastical possessions of the kingdom, and he sent out missionaries to every part of France, with power to absolve, from all their sins, those who should repair to Bourges, a month after Easter, to serve in the army which Louis would at that time take under his command.

On the 29th of March, the king assembled a new parliament at Paris, to concert measures for the expedition which had been resolved upon. Some years had already elapsed since the crusades had ceased, so that those who had, in the interval, arrived at the age of manhood, and those who, having already served in the sacred wars, remembered only their pleasures, equally desired a fresh opportunity of bathing in the blood of the infidels. The great lords saw, with more of suspicion, the oppression of one of the first peers of the kingdom, and the union of his vast domains to the crown. They readily perceived that if their king, after having expelled the king of England from his domains, should also conquer those belonging to the count of Toulouse, the power of an individual would, in France, replace their feudal republic; but the expedition against the Albigenses, had been decreed by the authority of the realm united with that of the church, so that they were obliged to perform the service of their fiefs under the double penalty of forfeiture and excommunication. Henry III, who would willingly have made a diversion on the side of Guienne, received so many summonses from the pope to engage him to remain neuter, that he consented to send deputies on the 22d of March to the cardinal legate, to renew the truce. James, king of Aragon, yielding, in like manner, to the pope's solicitations, prohibited his people from assisting the Albigenses, although he was himself nephew to the count of Toulouse. The count of Roussillon took the same part, and was afterwards imitated by Raymond Berenger count of Provence and of Forcalquier. Hugues X de Lusignan, count of la Marche, who had caused his son to marry a daughter of Raymond VII, sent her back to him, declaring that after the summons of the king and the church, he broke off all connexion with him. And whilst the unhappy Raymond saw himself deserted by all his allies, with the only exception of the count of Foix, he learned that the army destined to annihilate him, reckoned, in knights, squires, and sergeants-at-arms, fifty thousand horsemen.

None can describe the terror which such a formidable armament inspired in the country destined to experience its fury, and which had already felt all the horrors of religious wars. The people knew that the reformed preaching had entirely ceased in their province; they would probably themselves have sacrificed the heretics, had they known where to find them, from resentment for the ills which the sectaries had already brought upon them, and those with which they were still menaced. Those same inhabitants of the countship of Toulouse who saw themselves so cruelly persecuted by the Roman church, knew in their consciences that they were nevertheless zealous Roman catholics; and therefore they were fully persuaded that the crusaders, as they were informed, had engaged to pass through the territory of the count of Toulouse from one extremity to the other, in order to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and people it with another race.

Excessive fear dissolved all the ancient bands of affection, of relationship, and of feudal subjection. Whilst Louis was collecting his army at Bourges, and was traversing the Nivernois, and when he arrived at Lyons on the 28th of May, for the feast of the ascension, he received deputations after deputations from all the barons of the states of Raymond or from the cities which were subject to him, to offer their oath of fidelity, their keys, their hostages, all the guarantees, in a word, of their entire obedience to the king and the church, which the crusaders could desire. The inhabitants of Avignon were amongst the number of those who had long ago offered themselves to Louis. They placed at his service, the use of their city and of their bridge over the Rhone. It was, in fact, their embassy which determined Louis to choose that route for entering the states of Raymond.

Avignon, as well as Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, and all the country situated on the left bank of the Rhone, belonged to the kingdom of Arles, or to the empire, and not to the kingdom of France. But the authority of the emperor over that country was then reduced to an empty name. The grand vassals of Provence were the real sovereigns, and the four cities we have named, having continually been increasing the privileges of their communes, had at last became true republics; governed upon the model of the cities of Lombardy, by a podestat, with annual consuls and a council of the commune. Avignon had, nevertheless, retained a great affection for the house of Saint Gilles; and this city, which had been amongst the first to open its gates to Raymond VII on his return from the council of Lateran, had submitted, from love to him, to remain twelve years under an excommunication. The inhabitants of Avignon did not feel themselves strong enough to sustain the first violence of the crusade, nor did they think that count Raymond himself would be able to resist it. They therefore offered to the king provisions and the passage of the Rhone, but they would not receive an army so ill supplied, and ill disciplined, as his, within their walls. In conformity with this line of conduct, the podestat and consul of the city, representing the community, took all proper measures for the safety of their republic. They repaired their walls, provided themselves with arms and machines of war, and brought into their city all the provisions of the neighbouring fields. Raymond VII, on whom those lands depended, took no offence at the advances which they had made to his enemy. He did not despair of his safety, but he knew that he could not meet the formidable army which was coming against him, in the open field. He had therefore confined his endeavours to the prolongation of the war, in the hope that time might procure him some favourable changes. On the one hand, to confirm the affections of his subjects, he granted new privileges to the inhabitants of Toulouse, and new fiefs to Roger Bernard, count of Foix, his only ally.—On the other, he concerted with the city of Avignon, after they had supplied themselves, to destroy all the grain and forage which they had not secured, and even took care to break up all the meadows, that the crusaders might find no green forage.

The bridge which crosses the Rhone from Avignon to the suburbs now called *Ville-Neuve*, and formerly *Saint-Andre*, rests upon a small island, which divides the course of the river. It is of stones, and the city on one side, and the suburb on the other, enclose it like two *tetes de pont*. But the magistrates had constructed a wooden frame, which began from this island, and terminated above the city. By this bridge of wood, Louis VIII, immediately on his arrival, passed three thousand soldiers; there was no necessity for him to demand any other passage; and, as the city did not acknowledge him as its lord, either immediate or sovereign, he ought to have contented himself with the offer that was made him, to open a passage for his army without the walls, and honourably to admit, into the city, himself and the legate, with the most distinguished persons of the court. But, the legate and the priests wished to punish a city, which had remained twelve years in impenitence, under the weight of an excommunication: the crusaders were envious of the riches which they expected to find accumulated in it, and the pride of the king was wounded with any opposition made to his authority. He declared to the podestats and consuls of Avignon, that he wished to pass the Rhone by the stone bridge, and for that purpose to traverse their city with his lance on his thigh, at the head of his whole army. The consuls, worthy of the energy of a rising republic, boldly declared that they would not permit it, and immediately shut their gates against him.

Louis VIII had arrived before Avignon, on the 6th of June, 1226, the eve of Pentecost; but it was not till the 10th that he commenced the siege. The negociations of the preceding days had been brought so near to a conclusion, that the citizens had restored fifty hostages, who were in their custody. Nevertheless, on the 9th the legate published a decree, enjoining upon the king to purge the city from heretics; and the French having, during the truce, made an attempt to surprise one of the gates, blood was spilled on both sides, and the conferences were broken off.

However, the siege of Avignon was found to be a much more difficult enterprise, than the legate and the crusaders had expected. The city was strong, both from its situation, and from a double enclosure of walls; the population was numerous, and well provided with arms and warlike machines; they knew all the dangers to which their resistance exposed them; and the fate which awaited them if they should happen to fall. But they relied upon the goodness of their cause, and the protection of the emperor Frederic II, to whom Louis hastened to write to justify his aggression;" and the love of liberty redoubled the bravery of its defenders. "They returned," says Matthew Paris, "stones for stones, arrows for arrows, beams for beams, spears for spears; they invented machines to destroy the effect of those of the besiegers, and they inflicted mortal wounds upon the French."

Although the siege of Avignon lasted three months, we have no other account, than that contained in these few words, of the various battles which were fought around the walls of that city. We only know that they were very destructive to the army of the crusaders, and that the two podestats of Avignon, William Raymond, and Raymond de Rial, who took, at the same time, the title of bailiffs or representatives of the count of Toulouse, showed themselves worthy of the confidence of the people and the prince. The fall of the wooden bridge, at the time that the crusaders were crouded upon it, precipitated a great number into the river; many more were slain in the assaults, or by the sorties of the besiegers; but the greatest loss which the army of Louis experienced, was caused by disease and famine. Provisions, and especially forage, failed, in that burning climate, in the midst of summer, to the most numerous body of cavalry that had ever been assembled in France. Louis was obliged to send foraging parties to a great distance, but they almost all fell into the hands of Raymond VII, who, avoiding a battle, still hovered on the flanks of the besiegers. The camp was soon surrounded, in every direction, with the carcases of horses which had died either from privation or fatigue. Their stench produced maladies amongst the soldiers, and it is asserted that the large flies which were nourished by their putrified flesh, and which afterwards attacked the men, propagated the contagion by their stings. Guy, count of Saint Paul, the bishop of Limoges, and two hundred knights-bannerets sunk under the destructive fever which attacked the army; and Matthew Paris makes the number of the crusaders, of all ranks, who perished in this siege, amount to twenty thousand men.

But the army of the crusaders had not all remained under the walls of Avignon; detached parties, profiting by the terror which they inspired, received the submission of the neighbouring lords, cities, and castles. The city of Nismes planted on its walls, on the 5th of June, 1226, the king's standard, and from that epoch it has remained in the immediate domain of the crown; those of Puilaurens and of Castres followed the example in the days following. Carcassonne and Albi sent their deputies, after the 16th of June, to the camp before Avignon to deliver the keys of their fortress. The number of the lords who capitulated was greater. Raymond VII, though still beloved by his subjects, was abandoned at the same time by the barons and the communes.

It is true that Louis VIII began also at this time to see some of his vassals withdraw from his army. Thibaud IV, or the Posthumous, count of Campaign, set them the example. This prince, at that time twenty-six years of age, who was reckoned amongst the best poets of the new French language, who called himself the knight of the queen Blanche, and who pretended to be in love with her, though she was more than forty years of age, was, nevertheless, not so blinded by gallantry, as to be indifferent to the subjugation of the great feudatories. It is believed that he concerted with Peter Mauclerc, count or duke of Brittany, and with Hugues de Lusignan, count of Marche and Angoulême, to save the count of Toulouse from utter ruin. When he had finished the forty days to which he was bound by his feudal service, he demanded of Louis VIII leave to retire. Louis refused him on the ground that he was in the service of the church, whose laws superseded those of the realm. Thibaud was incensed; the king threatened to ravage his domains; to this threat the count of Champaign paid no regard and quitted him. The altercation between them was, however, so violent, that when Louis died, a short time after, there was a report current, that this great lord, the lover of his wife, had caused him to be poisoned.

During these proceedings, the citizens of Avignon, after having caused infinite loss to the army of the crusaders, consented, at last, on the 12th of September, to capitulate. Matthew Paris relates that they only engaged to receive, within their walls, the legate and the high lords of the army, but that these being introduced into the city with their attendants, took possession of the gates in contempt of the capitulation. Neither the king nor the legate thought themselves, in conscience, obliged to keep any faith with excommunicated heretics, but they owed some regard to Frederic II, and it was probably on his account that they contented themselves with requiring three hundred hostages, as a guarantee for the submission of the citizens to the commands of the church and the legate; with imposing on the city a warlike contribution; with throwing down parts of its walls and towers; and with putting to the sword the Flemings and the French who were found in the garrison. It is probable that, but for the recommendation of the emperor, all the inhabitants would have been put to death.

Louis remained a short time at Avignon with his army. Fifteen days after he had taken the city, a terrible inundation of the Durance covered all the space which had been occupied by the French camp. If the soldiers had not taken their quarters within the walls, they would all have been swept away by the water, with their tents and baggage. At this epoch Louis confided the government of Beaucaire and of Nismes to a French knight, who, from that time took the title of seneschal of the two cities. The king afterwards passed through the province, and arrived within four leagues of Toulouse, magnificently entertained and feasted by the bishop Fouquet, who followed the army; respectfully admitted into their castles by the Languedocian lords, from whom he successively received an oath of fidelity; giving a seneschal to Carcassonne, as he had done to Beaucaire; rasing the city of Limoux, the capital of Razez, which was situated upon a hill to rebuild it on a plain; and in fine, receiving, in the month of October, in the city of Pamiers, the submission of all the bishops of the province.

But throughout this whole expedition Louis VIII had not the opportunity of signalizing the bravery of his soldiers, by a single warlike exploit. The counts of Toulouse and of Foix, who had renewed their alliance, under the guarantee of the city of Toulouse, avoided every battle, and every kind of action. They determined to suffer the crusaders to exhaust themselves by their own efforts, supposing that if Louis returned into their province in the following year, as he had threatened, he would at least not be followed by so large a body of fanatics; that they would have received a lesson from the mortality and sufferings before Avignon; and that their persecuting zeal would be much abated, by having observed none of these heretics in the province, of whom so much had been told them. By the same reasoning, but with a quite contrary interest, the king, the legate, and the bishop Fouquet, earnestly desired to find in the country where they had made war, some of those enemies of the church, for whose extirpation the whole of France had been put in motion. Nothing was more difficult than this, after fifteen years of persecution, during which they had either been expelled or put to death. It was with the greatest exertions that they at last discovered, at Cannes, in the diocese of Narbonne, an ancient preacher of the Albigenses, named Peter Isarn, who being too old to quit the country, had concealed himself in the most secret retreats. He was condemned by the archbishop of Narbonne, and burned with great ceremony. After this execution, Louis prepared for his return: he entrusted his conquests to the government of Humbert de Beaujeu, a knight distinguished both for his birth and valour, and took the road towards Auvergne in his way to Northern France.

But the germs of that malady, which had caused so many ravages during the siege of Avignon, still remained in the army, and the fatigue, the heat, and the march across an unhealthy country during the feverish season, gave them additional activity. William, archbishop of Rheims, the count of Namur, and Bouchard de Marli, fell the first victims to this epidemic. Louis VIII on his arrival at Montpensier, in Auvergne, on the 29th of October, felt himself attacked in his turn. He was obliged to rest there, and soon discovered that his malady was mortal. On the third of November he called into his chamber the prelates and the principal lords by whom he had been accompanied, viz. the archbishop of Bourges and of Sens; the bishops of Beauvais, of Noyon, and of Chartres, Philip his brother, count of Boulogne, the count of Blois, Enguerrand de Coucy, Archambaud de Bourbon, Jean de Nesle, and Etienne de Sancerre. He commended to them his eldest son, then only twelve years of age, and afterwards celebrated as Saint Louis; he confided him to the care of his wife, Blanche of Castille; he demanded of his prelates and barons that they would promise to crown him, without delay, as their lord and king, and pay him their homage; and he made them confirm this promise by a solemn oath. The malady soon reached its last stage, and he expired on the 8th of November, 1226.

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of the Albigenses from the Death of Louis VIII, 1226, *to the Peace of Paris,* 1229; *and its final ratification,* 1242.

At the death of Louis VIII, the monarchy which had been raised to a high degree of power, by the skill and good fortune of Philip Augustus, appeared in danger of falling into that state of turbulent anarchy from which he had with difficulty rescued it. He had obtained great advantages over his vassals, which his son, during his short reign, had not had time to lose; but those vassals had still the consciousness of their strength, and the love of that independence of which they had been so recently deprived. To keep them in their obedience a high degree of energy was required in the depositaries of the royal authority, and that authority was confided in a woman and a child.

Louis VIII had married, on the 23d of May, 1200, Blanche, daughter of Alphonso IX of Castille; he had eleven children by her, five of whom survived him. Blanche was born, according to Bollandus, in 1188, and most probably three or four years sooner, so that she was, at the death of her husband, at least thirty-eight years of age. Louis, the eldest of her sons, born the 25th of April, 1215, was, at that time, eleven years and a half; Robert the eldest of his other three sons, was ten years; Alphonso, the second, seven; the youngest, Charles, was only six, and the daughter, Elizabeth, was only two years old.

Blanche was a Spaniard, and possessed of the qualities common to her nation, the qualities peculiar to great minds. She was handsome; her heart was ardent and tender; religion partly occupied it, but love was not excluded; and her deportment, especially towards the king of Navarre, and the pope's legate, gave some colour of probability to the reports which her enemies circulated against her. Jealous of her authority, jealous of the affections of those whom she loved, even when she married her sons, she was still watchful to prevent their wives obtaining an ascendancy over them which might interfere with her own; she had, besides, inspired them with a high idea of her prudence and capacity. She possessed their love, but that love was mingled with fear, and even when she placed them on the throne, she did not accustom them to relax in their obedience. Although she was herself, probably, destitute of a literary education, which was in those times rarely given even to men, she comprehended the advantage of useful studies, and surrounded her sons with those who were the most capable of teaching them all that was then known. She gave to the masters whom she chose an authority over the princes, as absolute as they could have had over the children of a citizen; and as the ferula was then the only system of education known to the pedants, "so, as the blessed king himself used to say, the aforesaid master flogged him many times to teach him things of discipline." But above all, Blanche endeavoured to inspire her children with the same religious sentiments by which she herself was actuated; and the education which she gave them constantly tended to the development of that piety, and that ardent faith, which was the spring of all their actions.

1227. Blanche, at the same time that she had to contend with her great barons, for the sovereign authority, and to maintain her relations with the king of England, found herself charged with the war which her husband, according to the exhortation of the holy see, had, in the preceding year, carried on against the Albigenses. But, although the army of Louis VIII had been almost destroyed there by sickness, the regent had no reason to fear the vengeance of the inhabitants of the countship of Toulouse, to whom, under the pretence of their attachment to heresy, so much evil had been done. They were crushed under the weight of long-protracted calamities, and desired nothing so much as a short season of repose. The cardinal, Romano di Sant. Angelo, had full authority from the pope to regulate the ecclesiastical government of the conquered country. In the beginning of January, he gave judgment upon the demand made by the citizens of Avignon, to be reconciled to the church. He prohibited them from affording any succours to the count of Toulouse or any asylum to the heretics. He condemned them to a fine of a thousand marks of silver to the church, and of six thousand to the army of the crusaders. He commanded them to demolish their walls, their ramparts, and their towers, without the liberty of rebuilding them, unless they should obtain permission from the king of France and the church. On these conditions he was willing to free them from the excommunication which they had incurred; but, at the same time, he destined the money that he had extorted from them, to fortifying the castle of Saint André, on the other side of the Rhone, which was intended to keep them in obedience.

During lent, in the same year, Peter, archbishop of Narbonne, presided at a council in his episcopal city, the canons of which, to the number of twenty, were all intended to redouble the rigours of persecution against the Jews and the heretics, the count of Toulouse, the count of Foix, and the viscount of Beziers, and to augment the authority of the ecclesiastics. It was there ordered, that a testament should not be held valid, unless it was signed in the presence of the curate; and that, in each parish, assistants to the inquisitors, under the name of synodical witnesses, should be instituted for the discovery of those whose faith might be suspected.

In spite of the discouragement of his subjects, the abandonment of his allies, and the accumulation of sacerdotal hatred, the count of Toulouse endeavoured to profit by the retreat of the crusaders, to attack Humbert de Beaujeu, whom Louis VIII had, at his departure, left as his lieutenant of the province. He could only take from him the castle of Haute-Rive, four leagues from Toulouse, which he had attacked during the winter; but, this event was sufficient to excite the French clergy to make the court of Rome resound with their clamours. They accused the queen of continuing to raise the tenths of the ecclesiastical benefices, granted for five years to her husband, without, at the same time, continuing the war against the heretics, which alone could render this exaction legitimate. They even obtained an order from Gregory IX, who had succeeded in the pontificate to Honorius III, to suspend the payment. The cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who was entirely devoted to Blanche, found means to revoke the order; but, at the same time, gave the queen to understand, that it was to her interest to continue the war. She sent some assistance to Humbert de Beaujeu, who, by the help of this reinforcement, was enabled to lay siege to the castle Bécéde, in Lauraguais. The archbishop of Narbonne, and Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, whom the Albigenses called the bishop of devils, proceeded to this siege. Pons de Villeneuve, and Olivier de Fermes, who commanded in the castle, not being able to prolong their defence, succeeded one night in escaping with part of their garrison; the rest were either knocked on the head, or put to the sword by the conquerors. Fouquet did, however, save the lives of some women and children; and he, in like manner, rescued from the hands of the soldiers, though it was that they might perish in the flames, Girard de la Mote, pastor of the heretics of Bécéde, and all those who formed his flock.

Thus, the cruelty of the persecutors was not yet satiated; still it frequently displayed itself by punishments, and during all the period on which we are now entering, the repressive measures, adopted by the councils, acquired each year more severity, and gave to the inquisition an organization still more terrible. Nevertheless, that fanaticism, which had armed the first crusaders against the Albigenses, was abated; nobody now regarded Christianity as in danger from the progress of reform, nobody was anxious to save the church from the invasion of thought, and no one longed for the moment when he might rejoice at the burning of the heretics, or bathe himself in their blood. To an outrageous phrensy had succeeded a calm indifference; yet, toleration had gained nothing by the exchange. Kings, nobles, priests, and people, were all agreed in thinking, that heretics must be destroyed by fire and sword. An injurious name, which recalled the Bulgarian origin of the sect, was given to all who had undertaken to bring back morals to their purity, faith to its spirituality, and the church to its original simplicity. A cold contempt alone was vouchsafed to those beings who had been animated by such generous sentiments, and had suffered so much affliction, as if they had in them nothing human, nothing capable of feeling, nothing with which the heart of man could sympathise. Their very punishment excited no emotion, not even that of hatred, because it no longer required an effort to crush them.

Reason, however, began afresh to attempt the examination of religious questions; but it was not to those controversies treated of by the Albigenses, that attention was directed. From them the most undaunted speculators turned, with a well-founded horror. The schools of Paris had been continually acquiring importance; new scholars flocked there, not only from France, but from all Europe, to attend the lessons of celebrated masters. A numerous body of professors, who were indebted for their pecuniary advantages, their rank in society, and their fame, to the exercise of all the faculties of the mind, had raised themselves, still more than they had elevated the youths confided to their care. Erudition had made indubitable progress; skill in managing both the thoughts and the language, in disputes, had increased with exercise; it is not so certain that the understanding had gained either in justness or in extent. The school of theology at Paris, famed through all Europe for its orthodoxy, placed its glory in maintaining that reputation without spot; yet, this body of teachers could not help finding itself in opposition to the monastic orders, who also undertook the work of instruction. Their rivalship contributed to attach the French theologians to the defence of the independence of their national church; it was by prescribing the boundaries of the temporal and spiritual powers, by their oppositions to the encroachments of the court of Rome, that they signalized their spirit of reform, and never in any examination of the doctrine, nor even in that of the discipline of the church.

In the midst of the troubles of an agitated regency, with numerous risings and revolts of the barons within the realm, and threatenings and dangers from without, Blanche had the talent to terminate the conquest of the Albigenses, and to gather the fruits of the policy of Philip Augustus, of the zeal of Louis VIII, and of the fanatical fury of their subjects. The rivalship of Philip Hurepel, the count of Boulogne, and uncle of Louis IX, the enmity and distrust of the barons, and the relationship which connected her with Raymond VII, did not divert her from those projects of aggrandisement which she had formed in concert with the cardinal di Sant. Angelo. France has been indebted to her for the acquisition of a noble province, and forgetting at what a price it was purchased, she has viewed with indulgence both her policy and her means of success. It would be unjust to attribute to individuals the errors of their age. Intolerance and persecuting fanaticism were virtues in the eyes of Blanche, and she is not responsible for the instruction of her doctors. But cupidity, cruelty and want of faith in political transactions, were sanctioned by no religious instruction. We are no more able to exculpate from these vices the great of the middle ages, than those of our own days. The frequency of examples cannot justify that which conscience reprobates. Yet the picture of the crimes of former ages does not excite sensations which are altogether painful; it shows to what a degree ignorance is contrary to morality, and how greatly the increase of knowledge has been favourable to the progress of virtue.

1228. At the commencement of the year 1228, Raymond count of Toulouse again took the field, flattering himself that he should find the royal party discouraged by the civil wars with the barons, and the crusaders weakened by the departure of the most enthusiastic amongst them for the Holy Land. Guy de Montfort, brother of the ferocious Simon, was killed at the siege of Vareilles. Raymond afterwards took possession of Castel Sarrazin. In the neighbourhood of that place, he placed an ambush for a body of troops belonging to Humbert de Beaujeu, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, he abandoned himself to those sentiments of hatred and vengeance which the horrors of the war had excited both in his soldiers and himself. The captives were mutilated with an odious cruelty; a second advantage caused additional French prisoners to fall into his hands, and a second time he treated them with the same barbarity. Perhaps, also, a mistaken policy made him thus brave the laws of humanity. Discouragement had seized the hearts of the Languedocians; their constancy had been exhausted by a succession of such combats, and so many sufferings; and Raymond VII thought that he should render them warlike by permitting them to become ferocious. But, on the contrary, those who had degraded themselves by taking the character of executioners, ceased to merit, in war, the title of soldiers. His success finished with his clemency.

Humbert de Beaujeu received but little assistance from France; the prelates, however, effected for him what the queen could not then undertake. In the middle of June, the archbishops of Auch and Bourdeaux arrived at his camp, with a great number of bishops; they had been preaching the cross in their respective dioceses, and they brought him a numerous and fanatical army. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had never quitted the crusaders, and he exceeded them all in sanguinary zeal. He believed himself called to purify, by fire, his episcopal city, and he determined Beaujeu to draw near to Toulouse. The affrighted citizens shut themselves up within their walls, abandoning the surrounding country, and flattering themselves still to be able, by lengthening out the war, to weary the patience of the besiegers. It was their own bishop, Fouquet, who suggested the method of wounding his people in what he knew to be the most sensible part, and of rendering this war for ever fatal to their country. By his advice the French captains conducted, every morning, their troops to the gates of Toulouse, and then retiring to the mountains, each day by a different route, they commanded them, through all the space they passed over, to cut down the corn, tear up the vines, destroy the fruit trees, and burn the houses, so that there remained not a vestige of the industry or of the riches of man. Each day the general traced in this manner a new radius, and during three months he uninterruptedly continued, thus methodically, to ravage all the adjacent country. At the end of the campaign, the city was only surrounded by a frightful desert, all its richest inhabitants were ruined, and their courage no longer enabled them to brave such a merciless war. Some lords had already abandoned them; the two brothers, Oliver and Bernard de Termes, submitted their castles on the 21st of November, to the archbishop of Narbonne, and to marshal de Levis, who received it in the name of the king, of whom the brothers de Termes engaged to hold all the rest of their lordship. Nearly at the same time count Raymond listened to the propositions of peace which were made by the abbot of Grandselve; on the 10th of December, 1228, he gave full powers to this abbot to negociate in his name with the king, the queen mother, and the cardinal di Sant. Angelo, engaging to ratify whatever treaty should obtain the consent of his cousin Thibaud, count of Campagne, whom he took for arbitrator of his differences with his cousin the queen. The instructions to the abbot of Grandselve show that Raymond VII, overwhelmed with terror as well as his subjects, no longer preserved any hope of defending himself. It might even be supposed that the victories of his enemies appeared to him a judgment from heaven, and that he thought himself obliged, in conscience, henceforth to share the persecuting fanaticism against which he so long had struggled. In fact, he demanded neither liberty of conscience for his subjects nor the preservation of his own sovereignty; he abandoned all thoughts of maintaining any longer his independence; he consented to surrender himself disarmed, and without guarantee, into the hands of his enemies, and to leave to them the disposal of his heritage. He only desired to covenant for the possession of a small part of his states, to secure to himself not a sovereignty, but a revenue, which should cease with his life.

1229. Early in the year 1229 the cardinal legate held two provincial councils, one at Sens, the other at Senlis, to prepare the articles relative to the pacification of Albigeois. He afterwards repaired to Meaux, where the king, the queen Blanche, the count Raymond VII, the deputies from Toulouse, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the principal bishops of his province successively arrived. The treaty which had been concerted between the cardinal di Sant. Angelo and the abbot of Grandselve, was afterwards read. It was the most extraordinary that any sovereign had ever been required to sign. Each of its articles, says William de Puy Laurens, contained a concession which might alone have sufficed for the ransom of the count of Toulouse, had he been made prisoner in a universal rout of all his army. Raymond, nevertheless, did not hesitate to give his consent to it.

The definitive treaty was signed at Paris the 12th of April, 1229. By this act, Raymond VII abandoned to the king all that he possessed in the kingdom of France, and to the legate all that he possessed in the kingdom of Arles. After this universal renunciation, the king, as if by favour, granted him, as a fief, for the remainder of his life, a part only of what he had taken from him, namely, a portion of the dioceses of Toulouse, of Albigeois and of Quercy, with the entire dioceses of Agenois and of Rouergue. These provinces which the king restored to him were, moreover, to form the portion of his daughter Jane, then nine years of age, whom he named his sole heiress, and whom he engaged to deliver immediately into the hands of Blanche, that she might bring her up under her own eyes, and afterwards marry her to one of her sons, at her discretion. Blanche destined her for Alphonso the third, who was likewise but nine years old. In accepting for her son the daughter of a prince so long proscribed, and so constantly excommunicated, Blanche sufficiently manifested that she, at least, did not consider him a heretic, that she felt no horror at being allied to him, and that on the part of the court of France, the crusade was rather political than religious. Its real design was to obtain possession of the domains belonging to the most powerful of the grand vassals, though its ostensible object was the suppression of heresy.

Toulouse, with all the provinces reserved to Raymond VII, were, after his death, to pass to his daughter, and to the children which she might have by her marriage with one of the king's brothers. In failure of these, the fiefs were to revert to the crown, without ever passing to any other children whom Raymond VII might have by a new marriage. On the other hand, the remainder of his states, amounting to nearly two-thirds of the whole, were to be given up to the king, immediately after the treaty of Paris, to be united to the crown; that is, the dukedoms Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne, Usez and Viviers, as well as all that the count possessed or pretended to possess in Velay, Gévaudan and the lordship of Lodève; together with the fief of the marshal of Lévis, in the Touloussain, with the half of the Albigeois.

These were but a small part of the sacrifices to which Raymond VII was obliged to submit. He promised to pay twenty thousand marks of silver in four years, half for the benefit of the churches, whilst the remainder should be employed in rebuilding the fortifications of the places, which he gave up to his enemies; to restore to all the ecclesiastics the whole of the possessions which had been taken from them during the war; to rase the walls and fill up the ditches of Toulouse, whilst, at the same time, he should receive a French garrison into the Narbonnese castle, which served as a citadel to that great city; to rase, likewise, the fortifications of thirty others of his cities or fortresses; to deliver eight of them into the custody of the king: he also promised never to raise any fortification in any other place in his states; to dismiss all the *routiers*, or those soldiers who made a trade of hiring themselves to any who wished to enrol them; in a word, to oblige all his subjects to swear, not only to observe this treaty, but also that they would turn their arms against him if he should ever depart from it. Even this was not all; Raymond VII was compelled to promise that he would henceforth make war against all those who, to this moment, had remained faithful to him, and especially against the count of Foix; and that he would pay to every individual who should arrest a heretic, two marks for each of his subjects who might be thus carried before the tribunals. It appears, however, that Raymond felt himself so debased by these extorted conditions, that he himself demanded to be retained a prisoner at the Louvre, whilst they were beginning to execute the treaty; and that he submitted to the obligation of serving five years in the Holy Land, when he should leave his prison, that he might not be the witness of the entire ruin of his country. Nevertheless, the love of repose, the dread of the humiliations he might have to endure in an army of fanatics, or perhaps some new hopes, engaged him afterwards to free himself from this last condition.

The union of part of Albigeois to the domain of the crown, and the submission of all the rest to those fanatical priests who had called thither the crusaders, were the forerunners of inexpressible calamities to these provinces. But, that which perhaps exceeded all the others, was the permanent establishment of the inquisition. This was principally the work of the council, assembled at Toulouse, in the month of November, 1229, and composed of the archbishops of Narbonne, of Bourdeaux, and of Auch, with their suffragans. In the month of the preceding April, an ordonance of Louis IX had renewed, in the countries which had fallen under his dominion, the severest pursuits against the heretics.

The inquisition was not, at this epoch, abandoned solely to the Dominicans. It was only by a slow progress, during all the reign of Saint Louis, that it was brought to that complete and fearful organization, with which a fanatical party desires, at this day, its re-establishment in Spain. The council of 1229, composed chiefly of prelates, had sought to render it subordinate to the episcopal power. The bishops were to depute, into each province a priest, and two or three laics, to seek after (having first engaged themselves by oath) all the heretics and their abettors—"Let them visit carefully," says the first canon, "each house in their parish, and the subterranean chambers, which any suspicion shall have caused to be remarked; let them examine all the out-houses, the retreats under the roofs, and all the secret places, which we order them, besides, every where to destroy: if they find there any heretics, or any of their abettors or concealers, let them in the first place provide that they may not escape; then let them, with all haste, denounce them to the archbishop, the bishop, the lord of the place or his bailiffs, that they may be punished according to their deserts.

An instruction as to the manner of proceeding against heretics, was composed before the end of the same century, for the use of the inquisitors. Some extracts from this curious book, published by the fathers Martene and Durand, of the congregation of Saint Maur, will give a better understanding respecting an institution which henceforward exercised so great an influence over the church and people of France. "In this manner," it is said at the beginning, "the inquisitors proceed in the provinces of Carcassonne and Toulouse.—First, the accused or suspected of heresy is cited; when he appears, he is sworn upon the holy Gospels, that he will fully say all that he knows for a truth, respecting the crime of heresy or Vaudoisie, as well concerning himself as others, as well concerning the living as the dead. If he conceals or denies any thing, he is put in prison, and kept there until he shall have confessed; but if he says the truth, (that is, if he accuses either others or himself) his confession is diligently written down by a notary public.....When a sufficient number have confessed to make a sermon" (thus they then called, what we at this day name from a Portuguese word, *auto da fe*) "the inquisitors convoke, in a suitable place, some jurisconsults, minor-brothers, and preachers, and the ordinaries, (the bishops) without whose counsel, or that of their vicars, no person ought to be condemned. When the council is assembled, the inquisitors shall submit to it a short extract from the confession of each person, but suppressing his name.—They shall say, for example, *a certain person*, of such a diocese, has done what follows, after which the counsellors reply, "let the inquisitors impose upon him an arbitrary penance, or let this person be immured, or in fine, let him be delivered to the secular arm." After which they are all cited for the following Sunday. On this day, the inquisitors, in the presence of the prelates, the abbots, the bailiffs, and all the people, cause those to be first called who have confessed and persisted in their confession; for, if they retract, they are sent back to prison, and their faults only are recited.

"They begin with those who are to have arbitrary penances: to them they give crosses, they impose pilgrimages, greater or smaller according to their faults; to those who have perjured themselves, they give double crosses. All these having gone out with their crosses, they recite the faults of those who are to be immured, making them rise, one after the other, and each remain standing whilst his confession is read. When it is finished, the inquisitor seats himself, and gives his sentence sitting, first in Latin, then in French.

Finally they recite the faults of the relapsed, and the sentence being pronounced, they are delivered.......Nevertheless, those who are delivered as relapsed, are not to be burned the same day they are delivered; but, on the contrary, they ought to be engaged to confess themselves, and receive the eucharist, if they require it, and if they give signs of true repentance, for thus wills the lord pope."

But this was only the external form of procedure. An inquisitor, of the same period, has given a more detailed instruction to his brethren, respecting the manner of directing the interrogatories. This instruction, also, has been printed by the same two Benedictine fathers, in a collection of religious writings; it is worthy of being placed entire under the eyes of the reader, and it is not without regret, that we confine ourselves to giving short extracts from it.

"Even he who is the most profoundly plunged in heresy," says the anonymous author, "may sometimes be brought back, by the fear of death, or the hope that he shall be permitted to live, if he confess sincerely the errors which he has learned, and if he denounce any others whom he may know to belong to this sect. If he refuses to do it, let him be shut up in prison, and given to understand, that there are witnesses against him, and that if he be once convicted by witnesses, there will be no mercy for him, but he will be delivered to death. At the same time let his food be lessened, for such fear and suffering will contribute to humble him. Let none of his accomplices be permitted to approach him, lest they encourage him, or teach him to answer with artifice, and not to betray any one. Let no other approach him, unless it be, from time to time, two adroit believers, who may advise him cautiously, and as if they had compassion upon him, to deliver himself from death, to confess where he has erred, and upon what points, and who may promise him that if he do this he shall escape being burned. For the fear of death and the love of life sometimes soften a heart, which cannot be affected in any other manner. Let them speak to him also in an encouraging manner, saying, "Be not afraid to confess, if you have given credit to these men when they said such and such things, because you believed them virtuous. If you heard them willingly, if you assisted them with your property, if you confessed yourself to them, it was because you loved all whom you believed to be good people, and because you knew nothing ill respecting them. The same might happen to men much wiser than you, who might also be deceived by them. If he begins then to soften, and to grant that he has, in some place, heard these teachers speak concerning the gospels or the epistles, you must then ask him, cautiously, if these teachers believed such and such things, for example, if they denied the existence of purgatory, or the efficacy of prayers for the dead, or if they pretended that a wicked priest, bound by sin, cannot absolve others, or what they say about the sacraments of the church? Afterwards, you must ask them, cautiously, whether they regard this doctrine as good and true, for he who grants this, has thereby confessed his heresy..... Whereas, if you had asked him bluntly whether he believed the same things, he would not have answered, because he would have suspected that you wished to take advantage of him and accuse him as a heretic.... These are very subtle foxes, and you can only take them by a crafty subtilty."

We will add here a last instruction given by the inquisitor, the author of this work to his brother, drawn from his personal experience. "Note," says he, "that the inquisitor ought always to suppose a fact, without any proof, and only inquire after the circumstances of the fact. For example, he should say, How many times hast thou confessed thyself to the heretics? or, in what chamber have the heretics slept in thy house? or similar things."

"In like manner the inquisitor may, from time to time, consult a book, as if he had the life of the heretic written there, and all the questions that he was to put to him."

"Likewise, when a heretic confesses himself to him, he ought to impose upon him the duty of accusing his accomplices, otherwise he would not give a sign of true penitence."

"Likewise, when a heretic either does not fully confess his errors, or does not accuse his accomplices, you must say to him in order to terrify him, Very well, we see how it is, Think of thy soul, and fully renounce heresy, for thou art about to die, and nothing remains but to receive with true penitence all that shall happen to thee. And if he then says: Since I must die, I had rather die in my own faith than in that of the church; then it is certain that his repentance was feigned, and he may be delivered up to justice."

We have thought it our duty to dwell the longer on this new method of procedure against the heretics, and on the instructions given to the judges for the examination of consciences, because the form which was prescribed to them for their interrogatories, was soon after introduced into the criminal procedure, where it produced a revolution in the state of France. It was by artifices similar to these, by such moral tortures, that it was endeavoured to extort confessions from the accused, as soon as the suppression of the judicial combats rendered the office of the judge more complicated. The priests, as more skilful, as more accustomed by the confessional to penetrate into the secrets of conscience, gave the example, and in some measure established the theory of interrogatories. Nevertheless, it appears that at this period they had not added torture, properly so called, to their other means of investigation. There is no mention made of it in either of the instructions for the inquisitors, which we have under our eyes. Half a century later its use became as frequent as it was atrocious, both in the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. The interrogatory of the suspected was not the only part of the procedure in which the practice of the inquisition influenced the courts of justice; the inquest by witnesses received from it also a new character. Every thing had been public in the ancient French jurisprudence, both under the Merovingians, where the citizens judged each other in their *malli*, and under the first of the Capets, in the baronial courts, where the peers of the accused sate in judgment upon him. But the monks, on the contrary, surrounded themselves with thick darkness; all was secret in their inquests; they suppressed the confrontation of witnesses, and even concealed, from the accused, the names of those who had deposed against them.

The heretics supported their doctrines by the authority of the holy Scriptures; the first indication of heresy was, therefore, considered to be the citation either of the epistles or the gospels; secondly, any exhortation against lying; and finally, any signs of compassion shown to the prisoners of the inquisition. The council of Toulouse for the first time decided, that the reading of the holy books should not be permitted to the people. "We prohibit, says the fourteenth canon, p. 430, the laics from having the books of the Old and New Testament; unless it be at most that any one wishes to have, from devotion, a psalter, a breviary for the divine offices, or the hours of the blessed Mary; but we forbid them, in the most express manner, to have the above books translated into the vulgar tongue." The following article merits also attention. "We command that whoever shall be accused of heresy or noted with suspicion shall be deprived of the assistance of a physician. Likewise when a sick person shall have received the holy communion of his priest, it is our will that he be watched with the greatest care to the day of his death or convalescence, that no heretic or one suspected of heresy may have access to him."

The establishment of the inquisition in Languedoc, was not, however, followed by a number of executions proportioned to the expectations of the orthodox. Many of the converted were obliged to wear upon their breast two crosses of a different colour from their clothes, to quit places suspected of heresy, and to establish themselves in cities zealous for the catholic faith, where the eyes of all were drawn upon them by the costume to which they had been condemned. Others, who were regarded as more culpable, or more suspected, were, in spite of their conversion, imprisoned for the remainder of their lives, or, in the language of the inquisition, were *immured*. But as for those who were called perfect heretics, or the relapsed, it became very difficult to find any in the province. It was in vain that the bishop Fouquet, having converted one of the most celebrated of the sect, William de Soliers, caused him to be reestablished, that he might testify his zeal in denouncing his ancient fellow-religionists. It was in vain that he ordered, by a most particular favour, that the testimony of this new convert should be considered equal to that of one of the faithful who had never erred. The reformed church had already been destroyed by the preceding massacres; some few individuals who were timid, and unstable in their faith, had alone been able to escape by frequently denying their belief. It was upon them that the inquisition exercised, henceforward, all its severity. Terror became exteme, suspicion universal, all teaching of the proscribed doctrine had ceased, the very sight of a book made the people tremble, and ignorance was for the greater number a salutary guarantee.

The reform had arisen from the first advancement in literature, from the first application of reason to religious instruction; by thickening the darkness, by striking the minds of men with terror, they could not fail to arrest this fermentation, and to bring back their consciences to a blind submission and to their hereditary belief.

By a strange contrast, the university of Toulouse sprung from this persecution. It was founded with the inquisition, and by those who wished to inthral the human mind. But it was the desire of the church, that, in the very place where the reprobated doctrines had been taught, there should henceforth be no other teachers than her own, nor any other study but that of the orthodox theology. Consequently the count of Toulouse was enjoined to maintain in his capital, for ten years, at his own expense, professors and masters of theology and canon law. But it is impossible at the same time to excite and restrain the human mind. Encouragement given to one science is favourable to others. The school of canon law, which was founded at Toulouse and which collected together a number of young men, showed the necessity of establishing also a school of civil law, then another for literature, and the university was thus gradually completed, in some respects, in spite of those to whom it owed its foundation.

1229. Whilst Raymond VII delivered up his country to its persecutors, he submitted himself on the 12th of April to the most humiliating penance. He repaired, with his feet naked, and with only his shirt and trowsers, to the church of Notre-Dame at Paris; there the cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, met him, and, after administering the discipline upon his naked shoulders, conducted him to the foot of the grand altar, where he declared that, on account of his humility and devotion, he pronounced his absolution; under this condition, however, that he should again fall under the preceding excommunication if he failed to observe the treaty of Paris. Raymond was afterwards confined, for six weeks, in his prison of the Louvre, whilst his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners, his strong castles were opened to them, and the wall of his capital, to the extent of three thousand feet, was thrown down. On his release from captivity, Louis IX received his homage for the fiefs which still remained to him, knighted him on the 3d of June, the day of Pentecost, and allowed him to return to his country.

As long as the bishop Fouquet lived, the residence of Raymond VII at Tolouse was embittered by the ferocity of a prelate, who thought that he could only honour God by sacrificing human victims, and who had long been obliged to tear from their lord those whom he demanded to offer upon his altars. Daily denunciations, and every kind of humiliation, caused the count of Toulouse to live in continual dread of new excommunications, and a new crusade. Happily, Fouquet at last died, on Christmas-day, 1231, after an episcopate of twenty-eight years, and Raymond VII then experienced a diminution of the severities to which he had hitherto been exposed. He obtained from the court of Rome, first a rospite, and afterwards a dispensation from proceeding to the Holy Land, according to his engagement; and if he could succeed in silencing the reproaches of honour and conscience, he might, from that time, enjoy a sort of peace, in the domains which were still spared to him.

Notwithstanding the engagement which count Raymond had entered into, and which he partly executed, to make war upon the count of Foix, he continued to interest himself for that ancient ally, and succeeded in obtaining peace for him on the 16th of June, 1229, on conditions analogous to his own. But his other ally, the young Trencaval, heir of the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, could obtain no mercy. All his heritage was already united to the domain of the crown, and he had no resource but to retire to the court of the king of Aragon. On the other hand, two French houses were formed in Albigeois, and preserved their establishment as a monument of the crusade. One was that of Simon de Montfort, whose nephew Philip, son of Guy, obtained in fief from Louis IX, the lordship of Castres, or that part of Albigeois situated on the left of the Tarn; the other was that of Levis, who retained, under the name of mareschall's estate, that portion of the diocese of Toulouse which was afterwards detached to form the diocese of Mirepoix and Pamiers.

The pacification of Albigeois, and the submission of Raymond of Toulouse, made also a change in the political state of the provinces situated on the left side of the Rhone, or in the kingdom of Arles. Raymond VII possessed there an extensive domain, designated by the name of Marquisate of Provence, out of the fragments of which was afterwards formed the principality of Orange and the countship of Venaissin. He had ceded this territory to the pope, and to cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, in his name, but as it was then suffering under a famine, the legate gave the pope to understand that the charge of it would be burdensome, and that the church would be a gainer by remitting it to queen Blanche. Adam de Milly, vicegerent to the king of France, in the province of Narbonne, and the seneschal of Beaucaire were therefore charged with the administration of these provinces, till the church should restore the possession to Raymond VII. Nevertheless, the cession made to the church by this prince, of that part of his domain, is almost the sole origin of the pretensions of the court of Rome to the sovereignty of the countship of Venaissin.

The queen Blanche had by the treaty of Paris united to the states of her son a very important province, which for the first time placed the domain of the crown of France in communication with the Mediterranean Sea, on which it displayed about thirty leagues of coast. This acquisition of fields covered with the richest harvests of the South, of cities which had been animated by commerce and industry, of a population which had already developed its understanding and tasted of liberty, really augmented the royal authority more than any other fief of the same extent in a less favourable climate could have done. It would appear, however, that Blanche hoped to conceal from the eyes of the vassals of the crown and from her rivals the importance of these acquisitions, for she neither formed a new administration nor appointed new officers to govern her conquests. Louis VIII, after taking possession of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, had intrusted to a seneschal the command of each of these cities. Blanche extended their jurisdiction, so that they might embrace all the countries which she had obtained from the count of Toulouse. The remainder of Languedoc which had been left to Raymond VII was not finally united to the crown till the year 1271, and the death of count Raymond's daughter.

All kinds of oppression now pressed at once upon the people. They suffered, at the same time, from the arbitrary extent and the capricious exercise of the royal authority, from the power of the nobles, from the power of the priests, and from the power of the proprietors of the soil, who claimed also a property in the persons of their villains. But in this state of universal suffering, the people of France, as well as those of the rest of Europe, appeared to resign themselves to the ills which were inflicted on their bodies, and only demanded liberty for their souls. The sanctuary of conscience was the only one the entrance to which they still endeavoured to defend, surrounded as they were by such a host of tyrannies. We cannot reflect without emotion, that tormented by necessities, by cares and by sorrows, the independence of the mind was the only boon they demanded, and that this was refused them by their suspicious masters, with the same unfeeling cruelty as the rest.

1131—1236. The reform which had commenced in Albigeois had been extinguished there by the arms of half Europe. Blood never ceased to flow, nor the flames to devour their victims in these provinces, now abandoned to the dark fanaticism of the inquisitors. But that terror which had dispersed the heretics, had also scattered sparks through all Europe, by which the torch of reason might be again rekindled. No voice, no outward appearance announced the preaching of reform, or troubled the public tranquillity. Yet, the proscribed Albigenses, who, far from their country, had found an asylum in the cottage of the peasant, or the poor artisan, whose labours they shared in profound obscurity, had taught their hosts to read the gospel in common, to pray in their native tongue without the ministry of priests, to praise God, and gratefully submit to the chastisements which his hand inflicted, as the means of their sanctification. In vain did the inquisition believe that it had compelled human reason to submission, and established an invariable rule of faith. In the midst of the darkness which it had created, it saw, all at once, some luminous points appear where it would least have expected them. Its efforts to extinguish, served only to scatter them, and no sooner had it conquered than it was compelled to renew the combat.

Gregory IX, who had deemed the very soil of Languedoc polluted, by its having produced so many sectaries, and that the count of Toulouse could not be innocent, whilst he had so many heretics among his subjects, all at once discovered, with alarm, that even at Rome he was surrounded with heretics. To give an example to Christendom, he caused a great number of them to be burned before the gates of Santa Maria Majora; he afterwards imprisoned in the convents of la Cava, and of the monte Cassino, those who were priests or clerks, and who had been publicly degraded, with those that had given signs of penitence. At the same time he caused the senator of Rome to promulgate an edict, which determined the different punishments to be assigned to the heretics, to those who encouraged them, to those who should give them an asylum, and to those who neglected to accuse them; always dividing the confiscations between the spy who denounces, and the judge who condemns, that the scaffolds might never be left without victims; a combination which the Roman court has not renounced to this day. He sent the senators' edict and his own bull to the archbishop of Milan, to engage him to follow his example. He afterwards profited by his recent reconciliation with Frederic II, to announce to him that Catharins, Paterins, Poor of Lyons, and other heretics, formed in the school of the Albigenses, had, at the same time, appeared in Lombardy and in the two Sicilies, and to obtain from his friendship an edict which has gained him the eulogium of the annalist of the church, and has been deposited in the pontifical archives. By this edict the emperor commanded all podestats and other judges, immediately to deliver to the flames every man who should be convicted of heresy by the bishop of his diocese, and to pull out the tongue of those to whom the bishop should think it proper to show favour, that they might not corrupt others, by attempting to justify themselves. After having thus raged in Italy against the fugitive Albigenses and their disciples, Gregory IX did not forget to pursue them in France. He wrote to the archbishop of Bourges, and to the bishop of Auxerre, to exhort them to show themselves worthy of the sacred ordination they had received, by committing to the flames all the heretics that had been discovered at la Charité upon the Loire.

The pope might have concluded, from seeing the apostles of the Albigensian reformation spread through a great part of Europe, that he had but ill served his church, by granting them no respite in their own country. He did not, however, reason thus, but on the contrary, endeavoured to redouble the ardour of the persecutions in the countship of Toulouse, by giving Raymond VII to expect that he would, on this condition, restore to him the marquisate of Provence. Raymond, either converted or terrified, no longer refused any act of inquisition or of cruelty against his unhappy subjects. In 1232 he consented to associate himself with the new bishop of Toulouse, to surprise by night a house in which they discovered nineteen relapsed men and women, whom they caused to perish in the flames. Notwithstanding this shameful condescension, the condition of count Raymond was scarcely ameliorated. Sometimes he was suspected by the bishops of his states of not seconding them sincerely in their persecutions. Sometimes it pleased them to humble him, only to imitate their predecessors, or perhaps to enrich themselves with his spoils. Gregory IX was himself obliged to recommend him to the bishop of Tournay, his legate in the province, inviting him "to water him kindly, as a young plant, and to nourish him with the milk of the church."

Others of the Albigenses had found a refuge in the province of Gascony, which depended on the king of England, but where the authority of the government was almost absolutely disregarded, so that the heretics, masters of the strong castles, defended themselves by open force. Gregory IX wrote to the knights of Saint James of Galicia, to exterminate them with fire and sword, and he charged the archbishops of Auch and of Bourdeaux, to give every kind of succour to these knights.

Rome was soon after alarmed by the news, that the same reform which had been so often extinguished, yet was always breaking out afresh, had first appeared in the centre of Germany, and that the city of Stettin was subjected to those same heretics, who, as they thought, had been extirpated in Languedoc. Gregory addressed bulls to the bishops of Minden, of Lubeck, and of Rachhasbourg in Styria, to induce them to preach up a crusade against the heretics. In order to excite greater horror against these sectaries, the most fearful things were related concerning them, which excited as much astonishment as they did abomination. A hideous toad, said the pope, was presented at once to the adoration and the caresses of the initiated. The same being, who was no other than the devil, afterwards took, successively, different forms, all equally revolting, and all offered to the salutations of his worshippers. Such an accusation could not fail of success. The fanatics took arms in crowds, under the conduct of the German bishops. The duke of Brabant and the count of Holland joined them, and took the command of this army of the cross. Those amongst the sectaries, who were not in a condition to carry arms, or who had not taken refuge in the strong places, were first brought to judgment; and, in the year 1233, "an innumerable multitude of heretics was burned alive, through all Germany: a still greater number was converted." The army of the crusaders afterwards marched against Stettin: the sectaries had the boldness to arrest them in the open field; but six thousand of them were destroyed in the combat, others were driven into the Oder and drowned, and the whole race was exterminated.

Gregory IX, rejoicing in his success, thought he might now occupy himself with converting the powerful military colony of Saracens, which Frederic II had established at Nocera. As these mussulmans spoke the Italian language, he commissioned the dominican friars to go and preach Christianity to them. But Frederic, who had already disputed with the pope, and who very well knew that he might quarrel with him again, was not greatly pleased with these proselyting efforts to shake the fidelity of the only soldiers of his army who were not dependent upon the monks. Religion was with him only a branch of politics, and after having established, in each province, and in each city of the two Sicilies, a tribunal composed of a priest and a laic, for the burning of the heretics, he had brought before this tribunal all the rebels whom he had vanquished; and, amongst others, had burned, to the great scandal of the holy father, some insurgents at Messina, who were guilty of no other heresy than that of having resisted his will.

Gregory IX, therefore, turned towards France, the only country in Christendom where persecution was unmitigated, and fully satisfied his heart. It was there that he established that tribunal to which he confided the defence of the faith, rendering it independent, not only of the civil power, but also of the prelates and all the secular clergy. The family of Saint Dominic, or the order of the preachers, known in France under the name of Jacobins, which this father had founded, appeared to Gregory fittest to receive this trust. Saint Dominic died at Boulogne on the 6th of August, 1221. He protested on his death bed, in the presence of his brethren, that he had preserved his virginity to that hour. Such chastity in a monk was reckoned a thing hitherto unheard of, and almost miraculous; and the indefatigable zeal, with which he had consecrated his life to the extermination of the heretics, was greatly admired. On the 13th of July, 1233, Gregory IX commissioned three priests to inquire into the miracles which had been wrought by the invocation of Saint Dominic, or around his tomb, and upon the 3d of July, 1234, his canonization was definitively pronounced.

It was at the same period when the court of Rome was occupied with the canonization of Saint Dominic, that it published, in the month of April, 1233, the bull by which it confided to the dominicians alone the exercise of the Inquisition, under pretence of preventing the bishops from being interrupted in the exercise of their pastoral functions. The provinces of Bourges, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Aix, and Embrun, which comprehended all that part of France where the Provençal language was spoken, were particularly confided to them, though their authority and power to proceed by sentence against the accused, extended over the whole kingdom. Gregory IX the same year addressed a great number of letters to Louis IX, exhorting him "to unite his zeal with that of the monks of the order of preachers, and to inflict upon the relapsed heretics, convicted by the inquisitors, their merited punishments." He also recommended the dominicians to all the prelates of the kingdom, to the count of Toulouse, and of Foix, and to all the other counts, viscounts, barons, and seneschals, of France, with all the barons of Aquitaine, praying them to favour these monks in the execution of their commission. The bishop of Tournay, legate of the holy see, to whom Gregory IX had committed the final organization of the inquisition, named two dominicans at Toulouse and two in each city of the province, to form the tribunal of the faith. He gave them an instruction in which he enumerated the errors of the heretics, and the series of questions by which, without alarming them, they might be brought to implicate themselves sufficiently, or to denounce their accomplices. In the exposition, made by the bishop of Tournay, of the errors of the Albigenses, we find nearly all the principles upon which Luther and Calvin founded the reformation of the sixteenth century. Thus the Albigenses did not believe in transubstantiation, in the efficacy of indulgences, in the validity of absolution, or in the inability of those, who were not priests, to perform the mysteries of religion. But the bishop of Tournay pretends, that the heretics mingled with these articles of belief, which he denounces as their peculiar tenets, absurd, disgusting, or atrocious, practices, which he also details, to render them odious to the populace.

Whilst the bishop of Tournay was labouring at the new organization of the inquisition, it appeared to him that the count of Toulouse showed neither sufficient severity nor activity in the pursuit of heresy. He therefore accused him to the king of not having fully executed the orders of the holy see, or the treaty of Paris. In the autumn of 1233, Raymond VII was constrained to repair to Melun, with the legate, the archbishop of Narbonne, and many other bishops, to hold a conference with Louis IX and his mother. At that meeting the inquisition received a new sanction from the authority of the king. Raymond subscribed the statutes which were presented to him. By those statutes, which were afterwards published in his name and have come down to us, he engaged to pursue and exterminate those who had killed the persecutors of the heretics, and to reward with a mark of silver, whoever should denounce, arrest, or cause to be arrested, a heretic; to cause every house to be pulled down in which an asylum had been offered to one of the proscribed, or even where he might have found a burial; to confiscate the goods of those who should have rendered them any kind office; to destroy every lonely cottage, every grotto, every fastness, where they might find a refuge; to take from the children of the heretics, and confiscate, whatever property they might have inherited from their parents; to punish, by the confiscation of all their goods, and that without prejudice to corporal punishments, all those who, being called upon by the inquisitors to assist in the arrest of a heretic, should either refuse, or, by design, should suffer the accused to escape. In these same statutes, imposed upon count Raymond, numerous articles were added to the preceding, to reach those who should endeavour by quitting their homes, or conveying their property by fictitious sales, or by other means, to escape from the rapacity of the officers. These articles agreed on at Melun were afterwards published at Toulouse on the 18th of February, 1234. A council held at Beziers, in the same year, under the presidency of the legate, added still more to this oppression by permitting any of the faithful to arrest every suspected person, in any place whatsoever, upon an accusation of heresy, and by threatening with the heaviest penalties those who should in any way obstruct these private arrests, as soon as the word heresy was pronounced.

The reader is, doubtless, wearied with the repetition of the same decrees, the same menaces, and the same horrors; but if we did not follow the persecutors in the annual renewal of their laws, and of their sanguinary acts, we should give a very false idea of the progress of power, and of the sufferings of the people. Heresy was not destroyed by those violent shocks, after which we may at least be permitted to enjoy the peace and silence of the tomb. These disastrous revolutions were succeeded by a protracted agony, but tranquillity was never restored; persecution was never suspended, even by the death of its victims. The only expedient for maintaining the unity of the faith which the church had ever known, was to burn those who separated from it. For two hundred years the fires had been kindled, yet every day catholics abandoned the faith of their fathers to embrace that which must conduct them to the flames. It was in vain that Gregory IX had destroyed in 1231 all the heretics who had been concealed at Rome, and in the states of the church; numerous letters addressed by him in 1235 to all the bishops of that part of Italy, announced, that notwithstanding the severity of the inquisitors, the paterins had made fresh progress. A council was also held the same year in France, at Narbonne, where the archbishops of Narbonne, of Arles, and of Aix, presided, which addressed a circular to the inquisitors of the three provinces, declaring, likewise, that heresy had broken out afresh.

Amongst the twenty-nine articles of this circular, which was to serve for instruction to the inquisitors, there is none where the punishment of death is expressly pronounced, though in most of them it is understood by the hypocritical phrase of *delivering the criminal to the secular arm.* In fact death was the invariable consequence of revolt or relapse, and the great business of the council of Narbonne, appears to have been (§ 10, 11, 12,) to multiply the cases in which, by a fiction of law, they might apply the punishment of relapse or revolt. The forms of procedure prescribed by this circular are perhaps more important than even the definition of the crimes. "As to those you are to arrest," say the prelates, § 19, "we think proper to add, that no man can be exempted from imprisonment, on account of his wife, however young she may be; no woman, on account of her husband; nor both of them on account of their children, their relations, or those to whom they are most necessary. Let not any one be exempted from prison, on account of weakness, or age, or any similar cause. If you have not succeeded in arresting them, hesitate not to proceed against the absent, as if they were present, § 22; take particular care, in conformity with the discerning will of the apostolic see, not to publish by word or sign the names of the witnesses; and if the culprit pretends that he has enemies and that they have conspired against him, ask the names of those enemies, and the cause of that conspiracy, for thus you will provide for the safety of the witnesses, and the conviction of the accused. § 24. On account of the enormity of this crime, you ought to admit, in proof of it, the testimony of criminals, of infamous persons, and of accomplices. § 26. He who persists in denying a fault, of which he may be convicted by witnesses, or by any other proof, must be considered, without hesitation, as an impenitent heretic.

Such favour shown to informers, such precipitation in pronouncing the ruin of a family, struck with terror those who were the most attached to the catholic faith, and even those who had to reproach themselves with their share in the preceding persecutions. The patience of the Languedocians was exhausted; the capitouls of Toulouse, who formed the municipal magistracy, wished to oppose the continuance of these inquests. They could no longer bear the spectacle daily presented to them by the inquisitors, of digging up the half-putrified bodies of those against whom informations had been laid, and after the mockery of a trial, dragging them on a hurdle to the flames, through all the streets of the city. The capitouls expelled from the city the chaplains of the parochial churches, who had been employed by the inquisitors in citing witnesses, and they prohibited the latter from appearing or deposing in future. The friar, William Arnold, grand inquisitor, would, not recognize the authority of the magistracy, and he took his departure on the

5th of November, 1235. The next day the forty jacobin monks, who were in the convent of St. Dominic, quitted the city in procession. On the 10th of the same month, excommunication was pronounced against Toulouse, and Raymond VII, who happened then to be with Frederic II in Alsace, was, nevertheless, included in the same sentence, although he hastened to make his submission, and recall the inquisitors. It was not till the end of the year 1236 that he could obtain his absolution; and Gregory IX charged it as a crime against the emperor, that he had communicated with this count, in spite of the sentence that had been passed upon him.

In France, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, in the middle age, wherever great cities were found, there was also a principle of liberty; whenever these great cities were adjacent, and could combine their efforts, there was a principle of political power for the people. The early multiplication of cities, in certain regions, is a fact which it is not always easy to explain. The first rays of history, in the middle age, discover to us a population, numerous and united in certain provinces, and thin and scattered in others. Whether these cities had been preserved from the early times of the Roman empire, or whether the richness of the soil, commerce, and a wiser government, had enabled them to repair their losses, we cannot determine. Next to Italy, Provence and Languedoc, displayed the richest and most populous cities. The war against the Albigenses had not been able to destroy this superiority in riches and population. The spirit of the communes, which was fermenting in all the cities of France, assumed a more republican character in these provinces.

The south of France, which, by the riches of its cities, and the spirit of its inhabitants, presented at that time the image of Italy, was, besides, not uniformly submitted to the same monarchy. The immediate authority of Louis IX only extended over the two districts of Beaucaire and Carcassonne. Provence held from the empire; Aquitaine belonged to the king of England; Montpellier, Perpignan, and some neighbouring lordships, to the king of Aragon; and a part of Languedoc to the count of Toulouse. These were, it is true, all three vassals of the crown of France; but vassals so powerful, that the will of the king was not even consulted, about extending or restraining the privileges of the citizens. Nothing indicates to us that Louis IX had occupied himself with the republican fermentation, in the cities of the south. On the contrary, it was more connected with the policy of the Emperor Frederic II, who, at this period attracted, much more than the young king of France, the attention of all Europe; and the revolutions which were now preparing in Italy, must also have had an influence upon all the cities of the provençal language.

Frederic II and Gregory IX, too proud and too ambitious to divide their power between them, had given way afresh to mutual animosities. New subjects of dispute seemed every day to arise, and every day their correspondence became more bitter, and their mutual recriminations announced an approaching explosion. They were, nevertheless, still at peace, though each suspected the other as the secret ally of all his enemies. Each, in fact, nourished the popular passions in the states of his rival; not from a desire of favouring justice or liberty, the rights or the happiness of the people, but only in order to embarrass and weaken him, whom at present he dared not call his enemy. Frederic excited Pietro Frangipani to stir up the Romans against the government of the pope, and to name independent magistrates, whilst Gregory IX corresponded with the citizens of Milan, who had renewed the siege of Lombardy, and still kept the field against the emperor.—Frederic II took under his protection the republics, or the imperial cities in Provence, which had declared themselves free, because Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, and father-in-law of Saint Louis, had shown himself zealous in the cause of the church. Although the kingdom of Arles held from the empire, Frederic II well knew that he should derive no advantage from this pretended sovereignty. Far from feeling any jealousy at the extension which the cities of Marseilles and Avignon sought to give to their privileges, he knew that by declaring himself their protector, against their direct lord, he should attach them so much the more to himself, as he should render them more free, and that the occupation which he should thereby give to Raymond Berenger, would prevent him from assisting the pope in Lombardy.

Of the four republics of Provence, that of Nice had already fallen. It had been reduced on the 9th of November, 1229, in spite of all the aid afforded by the republic of Genoa, to open its gates to Raymond Beringer, and acknowledge him as absolute sovereign. The republic of Arles, which the count of Provence next attacked, resisted till 1239, when it was also compelled to submission. But the two cities of Avignon and Marseilles displayed more vigour. They collected forces, repulsed the soldiers of the count of Provence, and bestowed the command of their troops, with prerogatives rather honorary than real, upon Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, who was so much the dearer to them, because they saw him exposed to the animosity of the prelates.

But the republican spirit not only manifested itself in the towns of Provence, it equally animated the counsels of all the cities of the South. We have seen it exhibited at Toulouse in the resistance made by the capitouls to the inquisitors. It had been displayed in the cities submitted to the domain of king Louis, in Narbonne and Nismes, as well as at Montpellier and Perpignan, which held from the king of Aragon, and at Bayonne and Bourdeaux, which depended on the king of England. A letter written about this time, by the consuls of the town of Narbonne, to the consuls of Nismes, shows us that both those cities, though dependant on the king of France, called themselves republics; that the spirit of liberty in all the cities equally revolted against religious tyranny and civil despotism; and, that the neighbouring cities exerted their efforts to form a coalition, and to combine their resistance.

"To the venerable and discreet Consuls of Nismes, the Consuls of the town of Narbonne, health. May the administration of your republic be just, both as to temporals and spirituals. We desire to make known to your discretion the dissension which has happened between us and the archbishop of Narbonne, as well as some of the preaching brethren, by whom our community is enormously oppressed, though it is ready to obey the right, and hear devoutly the orders of the church. And as, according to your equity, you ought to have compassion on those that are unjustly oppressed, and to obviate the ills which they suffer, we supplicate your prudence, in which we have entire confidence, not to fear, through fatigue, to listen to our entire relation of facts, since it cannot be abridged. (We feel ourselves, however, obliged to suppress a part.) As we have said, although we are ready to conform to right in every thing, our archbishop, who wishes to destroy our consulate, has involved us in a sentence of excommunication, with all our counsellors, all who pay the tribute which we levy for the government of our republic, with all the collectors. He has also submitted to a general interdict our whole university, our wives, and our children. As the height of severity, he has forbidden under pain of anathema, to all our notaries, who hold any public office, to perform any act for any member of the community. He has prohibited to the physicians the practice of medicine, and to the priests to admit any one to communion and penitence, unless it be in the article of death, and also by paying eight livres and a denier to be released from that sentence."

The consuls of Narbonne afterwards relate, with long details, the causes and circumstances of their quarrel with the archbishop, and the vexations they endure on the part of the inquisitors. They affirm that these, despising all the rules of justice, thought of nothing but to get possession of the property of the rich, even when they were exposed to no suspicion of heresy. They add, that when the inquisitors had plundered them, sometimes they dismissed them without trial, and sometimes they caused them to perish in prison, without pronouncing any sentence upon them. They then proceed to give examples of the interrogatories of the inquisitors, to which it was impossible to reply without being convicted of heresy. The greater part of these questions are as improper to be repeated, as they were incapable of being answered, being frivolous, captious, and indecent; but they afterwards passed to others of a somewhat different kind.—"They demanded of these simple laics, if the host which the priest consecrated contains all the body of Jesus Christ? If the laic answers that it contains the entire body of Jesus Christ, the inquisitor directly replies: You believe then that when four priests, who are in one church, consecrate each of them a host, as they ought to do, each of these hosts contains the body of Jesus Christ? If the laic replies that he believes so, you think then, replies the inquisitor, that there are four Gods? Then the affrighted laic affirms the contrary."

This letter, which was written about the year 1234, appears rather destined to be a protest, or an appeal to public opinion, than a demand of effective succour. The distance between the cities of southern France was too great to allow of the one marching its militia to the assistance of the others. Neither do we know what reply the citizens of Nismes addressed to those of Narbonne. Perhaps this letter gave occasion to a more close alliance; perhaps an association of the cities began to be formed in the provinces of the provençal language; and as, by following the example of the league of Lombardy, it might proceed to acquire greater consistency, perhaps it occasioned some apprehension to Gregory IX; perhaps he feared, above all, the alliance which he saw ready to be formed between several of these cities, the count of Toulouse, and the emperor Frederic II. At least, and without our being able to explain the reason, an order of the court of Rome was, in 1237, addressed to the inquisitors of Languedoc, to intimate to them, that they should suspend all inquiry after the heretics; and, in fact, throughout this province, from the year 1237 to the year 1241, the inquisition remained in a state of total inactivity.

1240. To the agitation which, during that period, was excited throughout all France, by a double crusade against the Greeks at Constantinople, and the Mussulmans at Jerusalem, a state of languor and discouragement succeeded, when the ill success, by which both had been attended, became fully known. The great lords, who returned from these two expeditions, entered quietly into their states, with few soldiers, few equipages, and no money; ashamed of their failure, of their precipitate return, and of the condition in which they had left their companions in arms. The most powerful of them disappeared, for some time, from the scene, and seemed to wait quietly till their reverses were forgotten, whilst, in the period which immediately followed their return, history is occupied only with the lords who had taken no part in these expeditions.

Amongst these, Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, was still one of the most powerful. He began to revive after his long sufferings. The proceedings of the inquisition had been, for a time, suspended in his country, and he endeavoured to profit by the repose which he enjoyed, and by the reverses which his enemies had experienced, to recover, in part, that consideration which he had lost by the disastrous treaty of Paris. In this hope, he cultivated the friendship of Frederic II, who appeared, at that time, sufficiently powerful to protect him against his enemies, the priests. During his misfortunes, Raymond VII had always found his neighbour, Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, ready, for his own advantage, still more to aggravate them. This count had embraced the part of the church against Frederic II, and the emperor, by a sentence pronounced at Cremona, in the month of December, 1239, had put Raymond Berenger IV to the ban of the empire, and had granted his countship of Forcalquier to the count of Toulouse. Raymond VII, in consequence, in the month of January, 1240, assembled his army on the borders of the Rhone to attack the Provençals.

Raymond soon took possession of a number of small places in Provence, and amongst others, of the castle of Trinquetaille, in the island of Camargue, opposite to Arles. He afterwards undertook the siege of that great city, which Raymond Berenger had compelled to submit to himself. The Marseillois, who saw, in the subjugation of that neighbouring republic, the fate with which they themselves were menaced, ardently desired to restore Arles to liberty, and seconded the attempts of Raymond with all their power. The citizens of Arles, in the mean time, joined themselves to the garrison of the count who defended their walls, that they might not remain exposed to the horrors which were always reserved for the vanquished. The resistance was prolonged during great part of the summer, and the count of Toulouse was at last obliged to raise the siege. He then returned by the countship of Venaissin, and remained some time at Avignon, to establish peace in that republic, where troubles had arisen on account of the election of a podestat.

Several knights of the district of Carcassonne, subjects consequently of the king of France, took upon themselves to testify their zeal against the count of Toulouse, by going to the assistance of the count of Provence, but, falling into an ambuscade, they were put to the rout. Raymond, however, recognising them as French subjects, thought only of appeasing the anger which the king might feel at the action. He immediately wrote to the king, expressing his desire to remain at peace with France, and throwing the blame of the defeat they had received, upon their own imprudence. On the other side, Henry III, king of England, had written to Frederic II, to recommend to his clemency the count of Provence, his father-in-law, and, as he received from the emperor a favourable reply, it appeared that peace was about to be established upon the borders of the Rhone, when all at once, the young Trençavel, son of that Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers and of Carcassonne, whom Simon de Montfort had, in 1209, caused to perish in his prisons, appeared in the country to claim the heritage of his fathers. He was accompanied by Oliver de Termes, Jourdain de Saissac, and a great number of other knights, who had been proscribed under suspicion of heresy, and had afterwards distinguished themselves in Aragon and Valencia, in the war against the Moors. Their memory was still dear to their ancient vassals; and they were especially preferred to the new masters, whose yoke the people had ever since been obliged to support. At their arrival, therefore, the whole country rose in their cause. In this moment of danger, the archbishop of Narbonne and the bishop of Toulouse shut themselves up in Carcassonne, to confirm the citizens in their fidelity to the king of France. They expected to have made sure of them, by causing them to renew their oaths; the inhabitants of the town of Carcassonne however rose in the night of the 18th of September, after celebrating the feast of the nativity of the virgin, and received Trencavel within their walls.

Louis IX, early informed of the approach of those ancient exiles, took active measures to arrest a revolt which appeared to him as much directed against heaven as against himself. He dispatched into Languedoc his chamberlain, John de Beaumont, with many other knights, to collect an army with all expedition. Trencavel, apprised of the approach of the French, and not having been able during a month that he had occupied the suburbs of Carcassonne to obtain possession of the city, felt that he could not maintain himself there, and abandoned it on the 11th of September, to shut himself up in Montreal. He sustained there a long siege, and when at last he was forced to surrender the place to John de Beaumont, it was by an honourable capitulation, which permitted him to retire into Catalonia with all his knights. But, on the other hand, the inhabitants, and all those who not being gentlemen were judged unworthy of being included in the capitulation, were treated by John de Beaumont with that rigour in which the fanatics glory when they imagine themselves called upon to avenge the cause of God. Nangis gives us no details; he only says of the king's lieutenant, We may with truth apply to him the words of Scripture, "In his wrath he stamped the earth with his feet, and the nations were dumb with astonishment, at beholding his fury."

During the expedition of Trencaval, Raymond count of Toulouse had remained in suspense respecting the part he ought to take; but when he saw that lord obliged again to quit the country, his partisans given up to punishment, the French flocking to range themselves under the royal standards, and Louis IX employing all his activity to arrest the rebellion, he was afraid of seeing the crusades against Albigeois renewed in all their fury, and resolved upon disarming the church and the French by an entire submission. He treated first with the cardinal legate, James bishop of Prenestum. He engaged, before the 1st of March, 1241, to abandon the cause of the emperor, who had been again excommunicated by Gregory IX, and who was endeavouring to avenge himself upon the weakest cities of the states of the church. Raymond even promised to assist, with all his power, the Roman church *against Frederic II who called himself emperor*, and against all who supported his pretended rights. Raymond afterwards set out for the court of France, and having found Louis IX at Montargis, swore to him on the 14th of March to assist him "towards and against all," to drive from his country the *faydits*, or those who had been proscribed on account of their faith, and to assist the king in destroying them in that part of Languedoc which belonged to him. Raymond, on his return to Toulouse, made peace also with Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, and, on the 18th of April, at Lunel, signed a treaty with the king of Aragon.

1242. Raymond VII made still one more struggle to free himself and his country, before the chains of slavery were finally and irrevocably riveted upon him. He took advantage of the war between England and the French barons, and Louis IX, to form a league with the kings of Spain, who possessed fiefs in France, and the great lords of the Provençal language. Although abandoned in the moment of trial by the greater part of his allies, he, in the month of April, 1242, held an assembly of the lords at the foot of the Pyrenees, who were for the greater part his vassals, and who agreed in concert with him to declare war against France. Roger count of Foix was the first who promised to second him with all his forces; the counts of Armagnac, of Cominges, and of Rhodez, and a great number of viscounts and lords made similar engagements with him.

About the middle of June, the combined army of the Languedocians entered the provinces which Raymond VII had ceded to Louis IX, by the treaty of Paris. In a short time they conquered the greater part of Rasez, of Minervois, of Narbonnois, and of Termenois. Raymond was introduced into Narbonne by the viscount of that city, but the archbishop fled at his approach, and, on his arrival at Beziers, fulminated against him, on the 21st of July, a sentence of excommunication. The inhabitants of the country, seeing their lord engaged in war with those same Frenchmen, who had been the agents of all the persecutions of the church, and had delivered them up to the merciless tribunal of the faith, thought the moment arrived to free themselves from the insupportable tyranny of the inquisitors. Some Albigensian heretics, who had taken refuge in the castle of Mirepoix, set out in the night of the 28th of May, and surprised the castle of Avignonet, where William Arnold had lately established the supreme tribunal of the inquisition. Four Dominicans, two Franciscans, and seven Nuncios or familiars of the inquisition, of whom this tribunal was composed, were cut in pieces. These monks, who had ordered so many murders, who had been insensible to the sorrows of so many families, awaited their murderers on their knees and singing *Te Deum*, without endeavouring either to defend or save themselves. They already anticipated the enjoyment of the glory of the martyrs, so sincerely did they imagine themselves serving God when they bathed his altars with the blood of human victims.

The inactivity of the kings of Spain, the success of Louis in the lower Poitou, the defection of the count of Marche and the lords of Aquitaine, and the flight of Henry III, were enough to abate the courage of Raymond VII. Nevertheless, no army at present manaced his countship of Toulouse, and he wished to judge of the state in which his ally, the king of England, was placed. He came, therefore, to meet him at Bourdeaux, where he signed the treaty of the 28th of August, by which their alliance was confirmed, and both engaged not to treat separately with the king of France. But, whoever had seen the king of England near, could have no confidence in him, or in any league of which he was the chief. Raymond soon perceived that all his allies were turning against him. Louis had given orders to the count of Marche, to expiate his rebellion by attacking the count of Toulouse. He had joined with him, however, as an inspector, Mauclerc, the ancient duke of Brittany. Raymond soon after received a letter from the count of Foix, the ally upon whom he reckoned the most, which announced that being no longer willing to persevere in a desperate cause, he withdrew his homage, and that he had treated with the king, who had taken him under his immediate protection. Whatever resentment Raymond might testify at this defection, there is reason to suspect that he had, at this very time, despatched the bishop of Toulouse to the king, to treat for his own submission. The conditions which this prelate demanded not having been acceded to, Raymond VII wrote, on the 20th of October, to Saint Louis, submitting to him unconditionally, and demanding mercy for himself and his associates, with the exception of the heretics, upon whom he promised to execute severe justice, as well as upon those who had killed the inquisitors.

Louis, who had sent a fresh body of troops against Raymond, under the orders of the bishop of Clermont and Imbert de Beaujeu, and who had demanded of an assembly of the Gallican church, held at Paris, a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues, to defray the expense of a new crusade against the Albigenses, suffered himself nevertheless to be moved by the solicitations of Raymond; and so much the more, as they were powerfully recommended by queen Blanche, cousin of the count of Toulouse. Commissaries from the king met Raymond in Lauraguais, the 22d of December, 1242, and agreed with him that the treaty of Paris should be restored in its full extent. Soon after, Raymond set out for Lorris, in Gatinois, where the king had appointed to meet him. He renewed his homage to him in the month of January, 1243, and peace was thus restored to all that part of France where the Provençal language was spoken.

THE

LIFE OF BISHOP WILSON.

BY THE REV. RICHARD B. HONE, M. A.

CURATE OF PORTSMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—His Early Life.

Amongst the most delightful associations connected with the world of spirits, is that idea which originates in our belief in the communion of saints, and which represents to us the children of God, who have lived upon earth at various periods of time, as forming one fold under the one great shepherd.

The Scriptures countenance and warrant this interesting notion, for in them we find our blessed Saviour himself holding out to his followers the prospect of being in Abraham's bosom, and of setting down in the company of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and encouraging his disciples, both by the tenor of his prayers and his promises, to expect that after death they should be assembled together, and thus, once more united, should be with Him, and behold his glory and partake of his joy for ever.

Of those who, in humbly pursuing the paths of faith and holiness are looking forward to be introduced to this company of the redeemed,—there are few who have not fixed upon a chosen circle of just men made perfect, from whose society they expect more particular pleasure. The idea is so natural, so intimately blended with all our better feelings, and really forms so beautiful and strong a tie to the invisible world, that it is one which it cannot be wrong to entertain.

This chosen circle, doubtless, consists in the first place of those, whom having seen, we have known and loved. Kindred and friends who have died in the Lord attach us to the citizens of heaven, and cause us to remember Zion with a more vivid interest.

> " 'Tis sweet, as year by year we lose
> Friends out of sight, by faith to muse
> How grows in Paradise our store."
>
> *Christian Year.*

But it includes others also, belonging to distant countries or times, whose hands we have never clasped, whose voices we have never heard, whose bodily presence we have never seen, but with whose minds and characters we have become intimately acquainted and strongly attached. The simple-minded Christians of primitive times—the confessors who, being faithful unto death, went to receive a crown of life—the staunch defenders of the faith, especially when their conscientious firmness and boldness in their Lord's behalf was associated with gentleness of spirit—these claim and possess the affection of the sincere Christian; they are even admired and revered by those who have no very deeply-rooted sentiments of religion. But still that company comprises others, perhaps even more beloved than these, whose lives may not have been distinguished by any very remarkable incidents, yet to whom we are linked in the closest union. They are those to whom we owe the thoughts and impressions from which we derive the greatest satisfaction;—those who, in bequeathing to us wholesome counsel, have inscribed in their holy pages a picture of their own minds; and concerning whom we are thus able to gather incidentally that they must have been wise and amiable companions, who did good in their generation by a holy life and conversation. We think that it must have been a great privilege to have taken sweet counsel with them during their sojourn on earth, and we contemplate with peculiar pleasure the prospect of commencing an uninterrupted intercourse with them, in the better world whither they are gone.

Such feelings are particularly connected with the name of him who is best known as "the good Bishop Wilson." We are wont to fancy that a purer, gentler spirit has seldom inhabited an earthly tabernacle; and multitudes of persons who may never have read or heard one incident of his life, love and venerate the name of one whose Private Thoughts, and Preparation for the Lord's Supper, and the little volumes of whose simple Sermons, have been their familiar closet companions, and who has thus bound them to himself by helping them forward in the right way, through the influence of the same feelings and convictions which confirmed his own faith, and animated his own piety.

Thomas Wilson was born in the village of Burton, in the county palatine of Chester, on the 20th of December, 1663. We are not informed what occupation his parents followed, but they apparently moved in humble life, since in one of his papers he speaks of his education raising him above his father's house; and says, that though honesty and industry secured the family from poverty, yet it was far from being rich. In the subject of this memoir, therefore, we have one of those instances which are happily of such frequent occurrence in this country, of the elevation of a person who had none of the advantages of wealth or high connexion, to a high and important situation. But if his parents were not great, they were good; and he confessed that he owed much to them. In his diary he mentions them with gratitude as "honest parents, fearing God;" and in a prayer which he composed and used in their behalf, and which throughout betokens a conviction that they merited the warmest filial affection, he makes an express acknowledgment, on the part of his brothers and sisters as well as himself, that they could never be sufficiently thankful, either to God or their parents, for the care taken of them by the latter, and for all their godly instructions.

It is difficult to estimate how large a portion of the evil and the good which exist in the world flows from the early management of children; but, as we know that the most important consequences are dependent upon it, we cannot but feel regret that there are no means of introducing us to the domestic circle in the little parlour at Burton, where we might have observed the planting, the watering, and the growth of the good seed in the heart of him, who was there led from a child to know the Holy Scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

His classical education was entrusted to Mr. Harpur, an eminent schoolmaster at Chester; and at a proper age he was sent to the University of Dublin, with an allowance of twenty pounds a year; a sum which, however small it may be thought, was in those days sufficient, we are told, "for a sober student, in so cheap a country as Ireland."

The medical profession was that towards which his thoughts and studies were at first directed. But occurrences, apparently trifling, are often appointed by Divine Providence to alter the current of our plans. While at college, young Wilson became acquainted with the Rev. Michael Hewetson, one of the prebendaries of St. Patrick's cathedral, and archdeacon of Kildare; the acquaintance ripened into intimacy, and the archdeacon, judging that his friend possessed a disposition and talents which might be employed advantageously in the work of the ministry, persuaded him to turn his thoughts towards the sacred office of a minister of Christ.

"During his residence in Dublin, he conducted himself," says his first biographer, "with the utmost regularity and decorum; and by his diligent application made a great proficiency in academical learning. He continued at college till the year 1686, when, on St. Peter's day, the 29th of June, he was, at the immediate instance and desire of his friend Mr. Hewetson, ordained a deacon by Dr. Moreton, bishop of Kildare," in the cathedral church of that diocese, which was consecrated on the same day. On that occasion, he and the archdeacon jointly presented a small silver *paten* for the service of the communion table, on the inside of which was engraved this inscription:

DEO ET ALTARI ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS S'TÆ BRIDGIDÆ DARENSIS SACRUM; with I H S in the middle;—and on the reverse, Ex unitis Devotionibus maxime Amicorum Mich. Hewetson et Tho. Wilson: Ille Presbyter, et Prebendarius Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S'ti Patricij, Dubl: Hic ad sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem solemniter admissus die Consecrationis hujus Ecclesiæ, viz. Festo S'ti Petri 1686."*

A heart so devout as Wilson's could not fail to be strongly impressed by the solemn engagements into which he had that day entered. A beautiful prayer, preserved in a memorandum book, records his feelings and desires on that occasion; he beseeches God, who gave him a will, to give him also power and strength to serve Him in the sacred ministry, to which he was on that day dedicated; and the following passage conveys, in a few words, his views of that holy calling; "Give me, O Lord, I humbly beg, a wise, a sober, a patient, an understanding, a devout, a religious, a courageous heart; that I may instruct the ignorant, reclaim the vicious, bear with the infirmities of the weak, comfort the afflicted, confirm the strong; that I may be an example of true piety, and sincere religion; that I may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and cheerfully suffer for righteousness' sake. Let my great Lord and Master, let his example, be always before my eyes. Let my days be spent in doing good, in visiting the sick, helping their infirmities, in composing differences, in preaching the glad tidings of salvation, and in all the works of mercy and charity by which I shall be judged at the last day.—Give us all grace, that we may often and seriously lay to heart the nature and importance of our calling; that these thoughts may make us diligent and zealous, and that our zeal may be ever concerned in matters of real moment."

Nor did he permit the solemn act of that day to fade from his memory, for he ever after set apart the anniversary for reflection and devotion, and for the more express consideration of his ministerial obligations, and the manner in which he had discharged them.

His further stay in Ireland was short; for in December of the same year he was licensed to be curate of New-church, a chapelry in the parish of Winwick, in Lancashire, of which Dr. Sherlock, his maternal uncle, was then rector. Here he early exercised the charity which Goldsmith so much commends in the "Village Preacher" of sweet Auburn, though his income fell short of that possessed by the latter, being only thirty pounds a year. Yet was he also "passing rich," for he contrived, then and ever after, to set apart a stated portion of his income for charitable purposes.

In the society of Dr. Sherlock he possessed very great advantages, and had opportunities of studying a character, which he seems in many respects to have imitated, and of which he expressed his admiration and love in a memoir, which he commences in the following terms:—"When I have said that he was born of very honest and religious parents, the pious reader will not be offended that he finds nothing more considerable in the account of his family." He then proceeds to state, that after various sufferings and reverses during the troublesome times of the great rebellion, Dr. Sherlock found a refuge in the family of Sir Robert Bindlosse, of Borrick, in Lancashire, to whom he became domestic chaplain. It is remarkable, that at this time, and in this neighbourhood, George Fox, the quaker, was then making a stir; and hearing of his reputation for learning and piety, desired to bring him round to his views. Accordingly, he commenced a correspondence, which ended in Sherlock's publishing several small tracts upon the subjects in controversy between them, which, his biographer says, "by the blessing of God, had their effect."

Sir R. Bindlosse afterwards recommended Dr. Sherlock to the notice of Charles, eighth earl of Derby, who reposed so much confidence in him, that at the restoration he gave him a commission to settle the affairs of the church in the Isle of Man, "which during the great rebellion had suffered in its doctrine, discipline and worship." "This difficult work he went through (while his fellow-commissioners settled the civil affairs), to the entire satisfaction of the lord and people of that island, which, by the blessing of God, continues as uniform in her worship, as orthodox in her doctrine, and as strict and regular in her discipline as any Christian church in the world." Upon his return from that "happy island," he was appointed to the valuable living of Winwick.

His mode of living was frugal and simple; he was hospitable, and so "exceeding charitable," that at his death he left "not above one year's profits" of his living, and "even these in a great measure to pious uses." He always entertained in his house at least three curates, for the service of his church and chapels. So that on account of the doctor's primitive example, as also the choice that he made of persons to serve at the altar, Winwick became a very desirable place for young divines to improve themselves in the work of the ministry. Dr. Sherlock died in peace, at the age of 76, June 20th, 1689.

Mr. Wilson, after having remained in deacon's orders rather more than three years, was ordained a priest by the bishop of Chester, October 20th, 1689; and on this occasion he entered in his memorandum-book a series of resolutions, by which he thought fit to bind himself, "in the beginning of his days," not to obtain church-preferment by promise or reward; never to give a bond of resignation; not to hold two livings with cure of souls; and to reside and do the duties himself, whenever it should please God to bless him "with a parish and a cure of souls."

Full five years passed away in the discharge of the quiet yet interesting duties of a country pastor in this place. With all its responsibilities, anxieties and disappointments, there is no employment more fruitful in peace and joy, "if a man be found faithful." That Mr. Wilson was so, his previous character, and the even tenor of a good life going onward to perfection, which we shall see in his whole deportment, may be deemed satisfactory evidence. And it is all the evidence that we possess. Delightful as it would have been to have watched him acting in the spirit of his Deacon's Prayer,—zealously cultivating pure religion and sound knowledge in his own heart; and then carrying a spark from that holy altar to light up a kindred flame in the hearts of his people; teaching the poor of this world to be rich in faith; preaching peace by Jesus Christ; turning sinners from the error of their ways; administering comfort in the chamber of woe;—he has left no record of these good works, nor have his biographers been able to furnish any memorial of them.

In the year 1692 he was introduced to a new scene of exertion, by being appointed domestic chaplain to William earl of Derby, and preceptor to his son, James lord Strange, with a salary of thirty pounds a year. The earl was the patron of Dr. Sherlock's living of Winwick, and there can be little doubt that through this circumstance he became acquainted with the character and capabilities of Mr. Wilson.

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* The following is a translation of these words:—Dedicated to God, and for the use of the altar of the cathedral church of St. Bridget of Kildare, by the united devotion of two dear friends, Michael Hewetson and Thomas Wilson: The former a Presbyter and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, in Dublin; the latter, solemnly admitted to the holy order of Deacons on the day of the consecration of this Church, viz. on St. Peter's day, 1686.

In Latham park, then the seat of the earl of Derby, there is an alms-house, consisting of several tenements, with a chapel annexed, and shortly after the commencement of his residence in the earl's family, he was appointed to the mastership of that charitable institution, which produced to him twenty pounds a year.

The memorandum in which he declares his intention of increasing the proportion of his income devoted to pious uses, in consequence of this addition to his means, will not be read without interest.

"*Memorandum.*—Easter-day, 1693. It having pleased God, of his mere bounty and goodness, to bless me with a temporal income far above my hopes or deserts, and I having hitherto given but one tenth part of my income to the poor, I do therefore purpose, and I thank God for putting it into my heart, that of all the profits which it shall please God to give me, and which shall become due to me after the 6th of August next (after which time I hope to have paid my small debts), I do purpose to separate the fifth part of all my incomes, as I shall receive them, for pious uses, and particularly for the poor.—T. W."

"*August*, 1693.—The God that gave me a will to make this solemn purpose, has given me grace not to repent of it, and he will give me grace to my life's end. Amen."

During his residence in lord Derby's family, which continued for about six years, a few incidents occurred which demonstrate his soundness of principle and simple-mindedness, and clearly show what spirit he was of.

When lord Derby offered him the valuable living of Baddesworth in Yorkshire, making it a condition that he should continue with him as chaplain and tutor to his son, he refused to accept it, as being inconsistent with "the resolves of his conscience against non-residence." He also refused to hold the living of Grappenhall in Cheshire, during the minority of Mr. Boardman, then an infant, as being contrary to another of his resolves.

The reflections on his recovery from a dangerous illness, in 1693, and the resolutions to walk more watchfully for the future, betoken a full understanding of the purposes and advantages of the afflictions which God sends upon the children of men, and a desire neither to despise the chastenings of the Lord, nor to faint when rebuked of Him.

His conduct on one occasion towards lord Derby, in a case of considerable delicacy, and one in which he risked his present comfortable situation and all his expectations, shows him to have been actuated by no other feeling than that it was his duty to do good, when it seemed to be in the power of his hand to do it. His noble patron was very much involved in debt, through extravagance and carelessness; and Mr. Wilson, trusting that God, who had favoured him up to that period of his life, would still "give a blessing upon his honest endeavours," and sure that even if he were thrown upon the world, he should "have the glory and satisfaction of having done a great good work," resolved to seek an interview with lord Derby on the subject. After a short conversation he left the room, placing in his lordship's hand a letter, which began as follows:

"My Lord,—Nothing but a sense of duty and gratitude could have put me upon taking such a liberty as this, but because I have reason to believe it concerns your lordship, I can willingly hazard all the future favours your lordship designs me, rather than be unconcerned and silent in a matter of this moment, though I have no reason to fear such a consequence." The letter proceeded to declare that dishonour was done to the noble family, and ruin brought upon many worthy persons by the irregularity of the payments; and concludes by saying, that none but a faithful servant would expose himself to the consequences of speaking with such boldness, and therefore that in this character, as well as that of a dutiful chaplain, he presumed to subscribe himself. This letter bears the date of October 22, 1696.

The result was equally honourable and satisfactory to both parties. The earl saw at once that nothing but the best motives could have induced his chaplain to take this step, and was equally convinced that there was much need for reformation; and to effect this desirable object, he applied immediately for the advice and assistance of Mr. Wilson, and thus in a short time removed the cloud which obscured his reputation, and relieved the distresses of those whom his extravagance was ruining.

A few remarks which Mr. Wilson made in his Life of Dr. Sherlock, show that he was fully alive to the responsibilities and difficulties belonging to the situation which he now held. "The office of a chaplain," he says, "is an employment that requires as much Christian courage, conduct and piety, to discharge it faithfully, (where there are so many temptations, and so much need of virtue to overcome them), as any state of life whatever; and, therefore, it often happens that such as seek or accept that charge in hopes of preferment, do find a necessity of quitting either those hopes or a good conscience."

And it is probable that his own conduct on this occasion was influenced by his recollection of the example of his uncle, who was once placed in a similar situation, as is related in the following manner:—

Dr. Sherlock's patron, sir Robert Bindlosse, "had a just esteem for the church and her ministers, both at that time under a cloud: and being every way what they called an accomplished gentleman, it was no wonder that very many were fond of the honour of conversing with him; which had this unhappy effect, that it made him in love with company, and many of the evils that attended it; and too many of the family followed his example. To make some amends, as they thought, for these liberties, they expressed an uncommon concern for the interests of the suffering church; not considering that if we shall be shut out of heaven for our sins, it will be no great comfort to us what church we were members of on earth.

"The chaplain saw this with grief, and therefore, after general discourses and intimations that had little or no effect, he applied to his patron more closely, and in a letter he wrote to him laid down his and the vices of the family, in terms so home and serious, and yet so manly, that one could not imagine a mind so void of goodness as to be offended with his holy freedom. He desired him to consider what injury he did to the distressed church for which he always expressed so commendable a zeal. He intimated to him that this was both the cause of her sufferings, and that which made her the scorn of her enemies; that her friends did her more dishonour than her enemies could do her hurt, so that she may truly say in the words of Zachariah, xiii. 6, 'These are the wounds I received in the house of my friends!' He assured him, that for his own part, he durst not seem to countenance such criminal liberties, lest the enemy should say that the ordinances of the Gospel were profaned with the consent of her ministers. And then, forgetting, or rather despising his own interests, the uncertainty of the times, and all the expectations he might have from a person of so good an interest in the world, he earnestly pressed either to be harkened to in this matter, or to be immediately discharged from his office.

"His patron was so far from being offened with this first liberty of his faithful chaplain, that he heard him with submission, knowing well whose ambassador he was; and ever after honoured him as his friend."

The prayer which Mr. Wilson constantly offered up in private for the family, has been preserved in the memorandum book, from which other extracts have been already made.

But little is known of the character and disposition of lord Strange, or of his progress while under the care of Mr. Wilson. His tutor's desire was, "to instruct him in all the ways of religion, piety, and honour," that he might be "useful to the world, and that his station and power might be beneficial to mankind." One little anecdote only has been preserved concerning him. One day, as lord Strange was going to set his name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped some burning sealing-wax on his finger: the sudden pain made him very angry; but his tutor soon pacified him by observing, that he did it in order to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind never to sign or seal any paper which he had not first attentively examined. Lord Strange died at Venice in 1699, the year after the removal of Mr. Wilson to another sphere of action.

Had George Herbert lived a little after this period, we might have supposed that the example of this excellent man suggested the following remarks, extracted from the second chapter of his Country Parson. "Let not chaplains think themselves so free as many of them do, and because they have different names think their office different. Doubtless they are parsons of the families they live in, and are entertained to that end, either by an open or implied covenant. Before they are in orders, they may be received for companions or discoursers; but after a man is once minister, he cannot agree to come into any house where he shall not exercise what he is, unless he forsake his plough and look back. Wherefore they are not to be over-submissive and base, but to keep up with the lord and lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion calls, but seasonably and discreetly.

They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly lord, do much forget their heavenly: they wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so far from that which they seek, with their over-submissiveness and cringing, that they shall ever be despised. They who, for the hope of promotion, neglect any necessary admonition or reproof, sell, with Judas, their Lord and Master."

The year 1697 was the last in which he was to reside with the family of the earl of Derby, for early in the following year he was appointed to the bishopric of Sodor and Man.

The circumstances attending this appointment were singular and characteristic. The nomination to the see was vested in his patron, the earl of Derby, subject to the approbation of the king; and it had been suffered to continue vacant from the death of Dr. Baptiste Levinz in 1693. After a lapse of four years, the earl offered the bishopric to his chaplain, who declined it, alleging that he was unequal to so great a charge, as well as unworthy of it. Thus the matter rested till Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, complained to king William that a bishop was wanting in his province, to fill the see of Man. The king was thus induced to send for the earl of Derby, who was then master of the horse, and urged the necessity of immediately nominating a bishop; upon which the earl again pressed the preferment on Mr. Wilson who (to use his own expression) was thus "forced into the bishopric." On the 15th of January 1697–8, he, being first created doctor of laws by the archbishop of Canterbury, was confirmed bishop of Man, at Bow church, by Dr. Oxenden, dean of the Arches: and the next day he was consecrated at the Savoy church by archbishop Sharp, assisted by the bishops of Chester and Norwich.

We have now arrived at a period in this good man's life when he begins to be better known. And as his name is in no way connected with the politics of the day, or with public events, we may be permitted, instead of following the order of dates, to bring together in each of the succeeding chapters such little notices as show his temper and spirit in some distinct point of view; and we hope that they will combine to present an eminent and engaging example of one who, in the direction of his life, endeavoured by prayer, watchfulness, and diligence, to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. His discharge of the duties of the episcopal office may naturally claim our first attention.

CHAPTER II.

His Conduct as a Bishop.

> "A bishop is a pastor set over other pastors. They were to ordain elders. They might receive an accusation against an elder. They were to charge them to preach such and such doctrines; to stop the mouths of deceivers; to set in order the things that were wanting."
>
> Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata.*

Such was bishop Wilson's opinion of the nature of that high office in the church of Christ with which he was now invested; and as far as we can judge from the memorials of his life which have been preserved, he endeavoured, by the grace of God, to discharge its duties faithfully to the end of his days. And happy indeed was that island in being the object of his paternal care. At the age of thirty-four he was enthroned in the cathedral of St. Germain, on the 11th of April 1698, six days after his landing in the island.

His devotional exercises on this occasion indicate a heart fully sensible of the goodness of God manifested in his elevation, and a desire that it might not be bestowed upon him in vain. He confesses his unworthiness of the great favours he received; beseeches guidance and a blessing upon himself and his charge; seeks protection from the temptations which may be peculiar to his new condition; and particularly asks, that if affliction be required for his correction, it may not be withheld.

A few months after, on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of a new chapel, to be built at his own expense, he writes in his memorandum-book the following prayer, expressive of the same sense of the obligations that were upon him, and the same desire to fulfil them.

"Bless, O Lord, thy holy church, and particularly this part of it, where thou hast made me an overseer and guide. O, my great master, let me not satisfy myself in building and beautifying the places dedicated to thy honour, but assist me by thy Holy Spirit, that I may use my utmost endeavours to make every one of these people living temples of the living God, that they may believe in Thee, the chief corner-stone; and that by this faith, both they and I may at last come to worship Thee in heaven, and to give Thee praise and glory for all thy mercies bestowed upon us; for Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power, for Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."

His official residence, Bishop's-court, was at this time in a very dilapidated state; owing, in part, to its having continued without an inhabitant for eight years; he was therefore obliged to rebuild the dwelling-house, and almost all the offices, from the ground. The expense of these and other necessary improvements amounted to fourteen hundred pounds; a heavy outlay, when we consider that the money-payments of his bishopric did not exceed three hundred pounds a-year. One only regret seems to have possessed his mind with regard to this large expenditure; "It having pleased God," he says, "to bring me to the bishopric of Man, I find the house in ruins, which obliges me to interrupt my charity to the poor in some measure."

It was also soon after his appointment that the earl of Derby again offered to him the living of Baddesworth, to hold *in commendam.* For this new proof of his noble patron's regard he was duly thankful, but as he still felt the propriety of the resolutions which he had made at an early period of his ministry, he declined accepting the offer. In this instance, as well as in his conduct on many other occasions, he presented a noble example of a strict adherence to the dictates of his conscience, and showed that he would not allow his worldly interest to give a fair appearance to what he really believed to be wrong.

In order to our forming a right judgment of his conduct as a governor of the church, it is requisite that we should be acquainted with a few particulars relative to the scene of his exertions.

The Isle of Man is situated in the Irish sea, and nearly at an equal distance from the English and Irish coasts, in latitude between fifty-four and fifty-five degrees north, and longitude about five degrees west. It is about thirty miles in length, varies from eight to twelve miles in breadth, and is about eighty miles in circumference. We should form a very erroneous idea of the place and the people of whom bishop Wilson had the spiritual charge, if we were to judge by their present condition. The towns are handsome and extensive; large sums have been expended, (particularly since the commencement of the present century,) in erecting churches, chapels, a college, schools, places of public amusement, hotels and boarding-houses, markets, piers, and light-houses. Elegant mansions and tasteful villas are scattered throughout the island, a considerable number of English families have settled there, and the society differs in no respect from that of our larger island. By the last census the population appears to be 41,000. Some soldiers of the British army are always quartered there. Manufactories of paper, cloth, linen, and other commodities, are in full work; and the number of ships belonging to the island in 1829, was 217, of the aggregate burden of 5714 tons.

In all these particulars the Isle of Man has undergone a remarkable change since the days of bishop Wilson. When he was appointed to the see, the population did not exceed 15,000. In the time of Bede, that is, in the eighth century, it had not amounted to more than 2,000. In the early part of the bishop's residence there, the island was frequented by very few strangers; the higher classes of the inhabitants consisted of those who held the soil under the lord of the island; the poor were employed in agriculture and fishing, living chiefly upon oat-cake and salted herrings, and dwelling in cottages built of sods, often without a window, and with an aperture in the roof for the passage of the smoke. Indeed, habitations of this sort are still to be seen in the more retired parts of the island.

The social state of the people at that period was probably somewhat like the present condition of the Waldenses, or of the flock of Oberlin in the Ban de la Roche, both of which have recently been made so well known to us by numerous publications. Indeed, not only did the bishop exercise his ministry in a sphere similar to that of Oberlin, but he was also a man of the same spirit. Both were holy, zealous, disinterested; both were distinguished for simplicity, integrity, and sweetness of temper; both were ardently loved and highly revered; and both diligently helped forward a poor, simple, and unlettered people on their way to heaven.

The Manksmen are represented as being then contented and happy; and so honest that theft was unknown amongst them. Their laws were for the most part nothing more than unwritten principles of equity, and bore the significant name of Breast-laws; and bishop Wilson says, in his *History of the Isle of Man*, which was written after the year 1739, that is, full forty years after his arrival there, that "it is but of late years that attorneys, and such as gain by strife, have ever forced themselves into business; and except what these get out of the people, lawsuits are determined without much charges." He also expresses his opinion of the general character of the people in the following terms:—"The natives are in general an orderly, civil, and peaceable people, well-instructed in the duties of christianity as professed in the church of England, more constant in their attendance on the public worship of God, and behaving with more seriousness and decency, than in many other places where there are better opportunities of instruction."

"The inhabitants have a great many good qualities; they are generally very charitable to the poor, and hospitable to strangers; especially in the country, where the people, if a stranger come to their houses, would think it an unpardonable crime not to give him a share of the best they have themselves to eat or drink. They have a significant proverb (which generally shows the genius of a people), to this purport, 'When one poor man relieves another, God himself rejoices at it.'"

Such was the flock of which bishop Wilson found himself the pastor and patriarch. And considering, as he did, that he was appointed to watch over their souls, and that he was bound by the most sacred ties to use all diligence in building them up in their most holy faith, and to preserve them from the infection of corrupt doctrine and evil practice, he betook himself at once to serious inquiry as to the most likely means of discharging this duty efficiently. After mature deliberation, he came to the conclusion that the primitive church had exercised a wholesome discipline, warranted by holy Scripture, for the warning of heedless persons to walk more warily, and for the punishment of evil-doers; and he wished that the church over which he presided might be regulated, as nearly as possible, according to that model. Such a discipline appeared more likely to be useful and efficacious, since all the inhabitants of the island at that time belonged professedly to one church, and therefore an offender who might be separated from the congregation would be the more likely to be brought to repentance by that punishment, because there was no other Christian communion with which he could take refuge.

Bishop Wilson found some ancient laws in the island which had been framed for this very purpose; and all that he now saw occasion to do, was to revise and arrange them, and to adapt them to the present condition of the church of Christ. This was put into execution in the year 1703, when certain *Ecclesiastical Constitutions* were at his suggestion adopted by a full convocation of the clergy; and all the official persons in the island, including the lord, subscribed the same, in token that they "found them very reasonable, just, and necessary."

The preamble of this document clearly shows the design with which it was drawn up. It is as follows:—"In the name of our great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the glory and increase of his kingdom amongst men; We, the bishop, archdeacon, vicars-general, and clergy of the Isle, who do subscribe these articles,—that we may not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men bring upon religion, while they are admitted to, and reputed members of, Christ's church; and that we may, by all laudable means, promote the conversion of sinners, and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the gospel; and lastly, that we may provide for the instruction of the growing age in Christian learning and good manners;—have formed these following constitutions, which we oblige ourselves (by God's help) to observe; and to endeavour that all others within our several cures shall comply with the same."

The constitutions, thus prefaced, were in many respects well calculated to repress vice; they would have been free from all exception if they had not authorised the use of temporal restraints for the purpose of enforcing the observance of religious duties. They appear however to have been attended with good in that little society, impeding the growth of evil, and restoring the straying sheep to right paths.

Bishop Wilson saw that under particular circumstances such discipline would only tend to irritate and harden offenders, or to drive them to some other communion; he acknowledged that it could not be maintained in England, "by reason of the schisms and heresies which abounded there." But he felt that no such impediment existed within his own diocese; he hoped that the measures pursued by the church would produce that godly sorrow which worketh true repentance, and in this hope he possessed the sympathies of those who were anxious for the moral and religious well-being of their native island. As for himself, there could be no doubt of his exercising authority with paternal mildness. So pious, kind, and meek a pastor would never rule his sheep in a spirit of severity; and even if other evidence were wanting, we might find it in the love with which the people regarded their bishop, and which proved that he dealt with them tenderly and kindly.

We may perhaps connect his views of church government with his recollections of Dr. Sherlock, his respected relative. That good man, by his pious exertions, had made his parish a pattern to all around; and while he was singularly humble and devout, he was also bold in rebuking vice, and by the exercise, in extreme cases, of ecclesiastical discipline, kept his people free from gross evils and abuses.

Lord Chancellor King commended very highly bishop Wilson's *Constitutions*, and observed, that "if the ancient discipline of the church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man."

But bishop Wilson considered an united and zealous body of faithful ministers as the best means, by the blessing and grace of God, of diffusing holiness and sound religious principles. Lamenting, in one of his charges, the vices and corruptions which were creeping into this once "quiet little nation," he says, "the most effectual way to prevent this will be, for all of *us*, that are appointed to watch over the flock of Christ, to employ our *thoughts*, our *zeal*, and our *time*, in promoting of true piety; in labouring to make men good; and in converting sinners from the error of their ways, that we may preserve the *power*, as well as the *form* of godliness." He therefore encouraged his clergy in all their labours, and led them on to cultivate the Lord's vineyard with renewed diligence and care. From the first, his conduct towards them presents an example which it is more easy to admire than to equal. The kindness and gentleness for which he ever prayed were tempered by a sense of duty in the discharge, according to his ability, of the functions of his responsible office. He had a watchful eye, and a firm hand when it was needful, but his great desire was to be loved rather than feared, to be considered as in all things their equal except in the exercise of his duty as a bishop; he wished rather to be thought of as the cheerful adviser and faithful counsellor, than as the officer invested with power.

"His affection for his clergy," says Mr. Stowell, "was strong and uniform. He was attentive to all their wants, and laboured incessantly to advance their temporal, spiritual, and eternal interests. He regarded their exigencies as his own, and was watchful to supply them as far as was in his power. He made additions to their glebes, contributed to the repairs and improvements of their houses, and increased their comforts in a variety of ways. There are few, even of the present race of clergy, who do not feel the effects of bishop Wilson's benefactions. Many of the conveniences which they enjoy are the fruits of his beneficence, and part of the bread which they eat is raised from ground purchased by his liberality. He maintained a constant intercourse with his clergy," and took great pleasure in contemplating the unanimity which prevailed amongst them, declaring, in one of his addresses to them, how happy he was in the love and obedience of all his clergy, and that he had lived with them in perfect love and unity for more than three-and-twenty years, and had their interest at heart as much as his own. "He encouraged them to apply to him in every difficulty, he assisted them in the prosecution of their studies, he animated them to more vigorous efforts in their ministry, he sympathized with them in distress, and took a hearty concern in all their affairs. The elder clergy he treated as his brethren, the younger as his children. He considered all of them, in a great measure, as members of his family, and received them under his hospitable roof with the most affectionate welcome. They frequently spent days and weeks at his house, and always returned to their own homes happier, wiser, and better. In all their distresses, whether personal or professional, whether of a private or public nature, they were sure to meet with the best counsels and the sweetest consolations at Bishop's-court. Even in the most delicate circumstances of domestic life, they found in their bishop a counsellor and a friend. He mentions in his private memoranda his intention of visiting the family of one of his clergy, in which he understood some unhappy disagreements prevailed, and his resolution to endeavour to heal the domestic breach, and restore peace and harmony. This minute attention to the personal and domestic comforts of his clergy marks an interest in their welfare truly paternal. He distinguished with peculiar regard those of them who were faithful in the discharge of their duty, admitted them to all the familiarities of the most intimate friendship, and felt high delight in their society. Some of them, who have within these few years been removed from this imperfect state, were accustomed to speak of the venerable bishop in the glowing language of gratitude and affection; and with a kind of holy rapture to recount his virtues and enumerate his charities. His name was no sooner mentioned than the countenance began to brighten, the recollection of past days to revive, the voice to assume a softer tone, and "narrative old age" to relate a thousand acts of beneficence and piety associated with that name.

"The mention of bishop Wilson was sure to introduce an interesting and useful conversation, to bring to recollection some pious remark which he had uttered, some labour of love which he had performed, or some important advice which he had given. No wonder that his clergy should have felt such an attachment to his person, and have retained such a veneration for his memory. Their obligations to him were numerous and powerful.

"From the time they first disclosed their intention of devoting themselves to the service of the sanctuary, he formed a connexion with them somewhat similar to that which subsisted between Eli and Samuel. He watched over their conduct, (and enjoined those who should sign their testimonials to be watchful over them,) he guided their studies, and directed their pursuits. For a year before their entrance on the holy ministry, he took them to reside in his family, that they might be continually under his inspection and have the benefit of his daily instructions. This invaluable privilege tended to form the young candidates to genuine piety and extensive usefulness. They had the advantage of a pious and enlightened instructor to assist them in the hourly prosecution of their studies, to elucidate what was obscure, to expound what was difficult, and to enforce what was important. He took particular pains to bring the young students to an accurate and distinct knowledge of the Greek Testament. They every day read a portion of it to him, and heard his remarks and observations on the passage read. He recommended to their perusal the best writers in divinity, conversed with them on the subject of personal religion, and both by precept and example laboured earnestly to render them able ministers of the New Testament.

"All their readings and studies were directed to this important end. His great desire was to form them after the model of primitive christianity, to lead them 'to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' the Holy Scriptures, to influence them to *love* and *live* the Gospel, and to follow the steps of prophets, apostles, confessors, and martyrs, and, above all, to have the same mind in them which was also in Christ Jesus.

"A better school of divinity these candidates for the sacred office could scarcely have attended. The scriptural lessons which they were daily learning from their books they hourly beheld exemplified in the life of their revered instructor. The work of faith, the labour of love, the patience of hope, were continually before their eyes. Every hour presented a comment on some lesson of christianity, or an illustration of some christian grace and virtue. The conversation, the instruction, the prayers, and the example, of this apostolical prelate were admirably calculated to form zealous and useful pastors. The students under his care enjoyed peculiar advantages of a literary, moral, and religious nature. Without the formality of college lectures, the bishop was daily communicating the substance of such lectures in a more attractive manner and a more engaging style. His table-talk was often as instructive as the professor's dissertation, and his general conversation conveyed valuable lessons of piety."

Considering, as he once expressed it, "that the best men have sometimes need of being stirred up, that they may not lose a spirit of piety, which is but too apt to languish," he frequently addressed his clergy in circular Letters and Charges, many of which still remain to prove what an excellent and watchful friend and adviser they possessed in him.

For the same purpose he wrote a work entitled *Parochialia; or Instructions to the Clergy;* a treatise full of useful suggestions. It is prefaced by an admirable address to the clergy on the duty of studying the Scriptures, the necessity of personal religion, of diligence in opposing error and vice, and of privately teaching and admonishing the people. This work was written in the year 1708, but not printed for many years after. The bishop, however, circulated it by means of transcribed copies; and this circumstance may explain the purport of the following letter which a descendant of the clergyman to whom it was written has permitted us to copy from the curious and highly interesting original manuscript.

"For the Reverend Mr. Crebbin, Vicar of Kk St Anne.

"Mr. Crebbin, June 7th, 1737.

"I send you the paper you desire, you will be careful to return it in 14 days at farthest. I have given Copys to most of the Elder Clergy. It is worth a pastor's while to look over it, if it were but to pick out what he may think convenient to the Instruction of his Flock, for such purpose it was drawn up 30 yeares agoe, & I am now solicited to print it wth several oth^{r} little papers relating to the Dutys of a Parochial Minister, and pray God it may answ^{r} y^{e} end.

"I am yo^{r} Friend & Broth^{r},

"THO. SODOR & MAN."

Before we pass on to other matters, we will make one more extract from Mr. Stowell's work. "The clergy regarded him as their father and their friend. Some of them, whose conduct constrained him to exercise a degree of necessary severity towards them, were so fully persuaded of the purity of his motives and the kindness of his intentions, that they felt no sensation of resentment, but through life retained unbounded respect for his memory, and ever spoke of him with the highest gratitude and esteem. At the expiration of nearly half a century after his decease, aged ministers have been heard to recount the virtues of bishop Wilson with tears of affection trembling in their eyes. The memories of the descendants of the last race of clergymen in the Isle of Man are deeply impressed with the good report which they have heard from their fathers of this reverend prelate, and to the latest posterity his deeds of charity shall be told for a memorial of him."

In the year 1707, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge honoured themselves by conferring on bishop Wilson the degree of doctor of divinity. And about the same time he became a member of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

In 1710 business called him to England, and as all vessels from the Isle of Man were for some reason required, just at that time, to perform quarantine before entering any of the ports in England, he crossed in an open boat to Scotland, and, landing at Kirkcudbright, was persuaded by the earl of Galloway and some others to whom he was known, to visit Edinburgh, where his acquaintance was much sought after. On his departure from that city, a great number of nobility, gentry, and clergy, conducted him nearly as far as Carlisle.

In the following year we meet with similar tokens of his good name having extended itself through the towns and villages of England. On his way to London, bearing a commission to make some arrangements relative to the excise, the people crowded round him in the places through which he passed, testifying their deep respect, and asking for his blessing. Queen Anne was delighted to see him, desired him to preach before her, and called him the silver-tongued bishop. She also offered to him an English bishopric, but he begged to be excused, saying that "with the blessing of God, he could do some good in the little spot that he then resided on; whereas, if he were removed into a larger sphere, he might be lost, and forget his duty to his flock and to his God."

The feeling which influenced him in this case is more fully declared in the *Sacra Privata*, in the following words: "When men's labours are attended with tolerable success, yet because either they can better their temporal condition, or think that a more public station would be more suitable to their great capacities, they leave their station for one more full of dangers, without any prospect of being more serviceable to God, or to his church and the souls of men; not considering that this is the voice of pride, self-love, and covetousness; and an evil example to others, to whom we do or should preach humility, as the very foundation of christianity. To leave a clergy and a people to whom one is perfectly well known, to go to another to whom one is a stranger, and this for the sake of riches, which are supposed to have been renounced: this was unknown to the first ages of christianity."

Let this example not only excite the admiration of men, but moderate their ambitious desires, and infuse into their hearts a like spirit of contentedness and self-denial!

It may seem strange to say, that during the greater part of the life of this excellent man, corrupt principles and practice were establishing themselves amongst the people whose affection he so largely possessed. Yet such was the case. In his Charges, year after year, he deplores the increasing evidences of forgetfulness of God: and a growing population, which exceeded 20,000 many years before his death, daily became more tainted with vice as they became more numerous. He consequently speaks mournfully of the loss of their ancient reputation; a reputation not ill-deserved, since, in the early part of his residence amongst them, he had no lock to his outer door, nor any other fastening than a latch.

These sprinklings of tares amongst the wheat may be easily attributed to the right quarter. Throughout his charges we find him lamenting the effects of the great influx of strangers. "We are most unjustly reproached," he says, in his Charge of 1724, "for being enemies to strangers. I wish to God we had been more enemies to such of them as have from time to time corrupted our manners and our principles, and afterwards raised an evil report upon the whole community, for the vices of those whom they themselves have corrupted."

From other sources we learn that these strangers were persons who made the island their residence in order to carry on more securely a lucrative contraband trade. It had nothing else to tempt them, for neither were there any manufactures, nor a surplus produce from the soil, nor were the people rich enough to give encouragement to speculators by making large purchases of imported goods. But, from its central position, it became the grand resort and warehouse of smugglers, who shipped off their goods, as occasion offered, to England, Scotland and Ireland. To adopt the words of Mr. Britton, in his *Beauties of England and Wales*—"Merchants from various countries flourished in every town; and the expression of the traveller, that the whole isle was become a horde of smugglers, was hardly too strong to characterize the number of its inhabitants who were engaged in the different branches of its illicit traffic." He further says, that "the insular revenue of the lord was considerably augmented by the clandestine commerce of his people."

It appears that these elements of demoralization were not introduced into the "little quiet nation" for some time after bishop Wilson's arrival there. But in a few years the smugglers carried on their transactions to so great an extent as materially to affect the British revenues, and to bring the subject before parliament at different times subsequently to the year 1726.

Another source of grief and discouragement to the bishop was the want of countenance and support from the chief civil power, which he latterly had reason to complain of. His good friend and patron, the earl of Derby, his pupil's father, died in 1702; and neither his brother James, the tenth earl, who succeeded him, nor the officers whom he brought into the island, appear to have entertained that respect and regard for the bishop which were so generally conceded. But, whatever might be the cause, it is certain that the civil authorities bore considerable animosity towards the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and took occasion to show it by the unjust exercise of power. In one case the governor prevented the execution of a sentence of the spiritual court; he also oppressed a clergyman by imposing an illegal fine and imprisonment. And so manifest was the intention of undermining and subverting the established regulations of the church, that it was necessary either to annul them altogether, or to bring matters to an issue. The bishop resolved to abide by the existing laws, and still continued to enforce them with his usual temper and mildness, and without any regard to the personal inconvenience or hostility to which he might be subjected in the performance of his duty.

In 1722, a case occurred which brought him in direct collision with captain Horne, the governor of the island.

Archdeacon Horrobin was chaplain to the governor; he appears to have been tainted with some serious errors of a socinian character, and to have held his ecclesiastical superiors in no great respect, being desirous of setting aside the *constitutions*, and not scrupling to act in direct disobedience to them. Bishop Wilson charges him with "having delivered several things from the pulpit not agreeable to truth and sound doctrine; and, by an obstinate defence of them, after he was seriously admonished to forbear giving offence, having done what in him lay to involve in endless disputes a church, which at his coming he found in perfect peace and unity." The errors alleged against him bear so close an affinity to those which bishop Wilson reprobates in one of his *charges*, as being disseminated by a book intitled the *Independent Whig*, at that time diligently circulated by the governor and his party, that it seems natural to trace the sentiments of the chaplain to that source.

The instance of his open breach of discipline was one in which his name stands implicated with that of the governor's lady. The case is stated in nearly the following terms, by bishop Wilson, in a letter to the earl of Derby, the lord of the island.

"The archdeacon having repulsed one Mrs. Puller from the sacrament, gave me notice thereof in order to an hearing; amongst other reasons he gave for so doing, one was, that madam Horne, the governor's lady, had informed him that she had seen certain improprieties between sir James Poole and the said gentlewoman, which he thought a sufficient reason for expelling her from the Lord's table, which he did without any previous admonition.

"Sir James and the gentlewoman complaining of this as a grievous slander, demanded of us power to charge the archdeacon to make it good, or to suffer as a slanderer. The archdeacon, to free himself, brought madam Horne, who owned herself to be the author of the information; and having no evidence to support the charge, and also refusing to declare how the matter was, (unless she might do it upon oath, which the law did not admit of, in regard she could not be both accuser and witness), sir James and the gentlewoman demanded the benefit of the law, which was to clear themselves upon oath; which they did, after a very solemn manner, with lawful compurgators, and then petitioned for reparation for such an unjust reproach cast upon them. This we could not in justice deny, and therefore madam Horne was only to ask their forgiveness for the slander, and that under such penalties as the law directs.

"This, my lord, is plain matter of fact: and were we to die for it, we could not have done otherwise, if we resolved to act agreeably to the law, our oaths and duty." It was even proposed as a sufficient compensation, that she should acknowledge her offence "privately, before the vicar of the parish, asking forgiveness for the great injury done."

Captain Horne, however, was probably pleased at having an opportunity of resisting the ecclesiastical law, as well as piqued at the injury done to his consequence by this treatment of his wife. She therefore refused to make an apology, and the consequence was, that sentence was promulgated, excluding her from the holy communion till reparation should be made. Notwithstanding this, the archdeacon administered the sacrament to her as before; and the bishop, feeling that to omit punishing this offence was virtually to annul the law and to neglect his duty, suspended the offender.

The archdeacon was highly indignant at this treatment, but, instead of applying to the archbishop of York, who was the proper judge to appeal to in such a case, he made his appeal to his friend the governor, who, under pretence that the bishop had exercised powers not entrusted to him by the law, fined him fifty pounds, and his two vicars-general (who had been officially concerned in the suspension), twenty pounds each. This fine they all refused to pay, as an illegal demand, upon which the governor sent a party of soldiers, and on the 29th of June, 1722, the bishop, Dr. Walker and Mr. Curghay, were arrested and conveyed to the prison of castle Rushin, where they were kept closely confined for nine weeks, no persons being admitted within the walls to see or converse with them.

An universal sentiment of indignation possessed the people when they heard of the imprisonment of their pastor and friend. They assembled in crowds, and their first impulse was to pull down the house of the governor. Bishop Wilson was permitted to address them from the prison-walls, and he besought them to use violence to no man, at the same time assuring them that he meant to "appeal to Cæsar," meaning the king; and that he did not doubt that his majesty would give him redress, if he was unworthy of those bonds. With this the people were restrained from violence, but daily, during his imprisonment, they showed their affectionate sense of his goodness and kindness, by assembling in crowds round the walls which confined him and his brethren.

As a further means of pacifying and comforting the people, he sent a circular letter to his clergy, three days after his commitment, and directed it to be read publicly in the churches throughout the island. This letter was as follows:

"My Brethren,—Though our persons are confined to this place, yet our affection for you, and our concern for the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers, and our prayers for both, are at full liberty. And we doubt not but our authority, in matters spiritual at least, will be obeyed by you and by all such as fear God, for our great Master's sake, who has promised to be with us always, even unto the end of the world.

"I desire, therefore, and require of every one of you, that you make regular presentments to my registrar of all unquiet, disobedient and criminous persons within your several parishes, that we may correct and punish them according to such authority as we have by God's word.

"I beg that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in discharging the several duties of your sacred calling; this will be the best testimony of your affection for us. And I beseech you, let no unworthy thoughts enter your hearts, nor unbecoming words come out of your mouths, against those that have given us this trouble.

"If we suffer for righteousness' sake, that is, for doing our duty, it will turn very much to our account. And if we have been mistaken in any thing, there are proper judges superior to us all, who will be able to clear up these difficulties, to the satisfaction of all good men and lovers of peace.

"And that none of your people may transgress the bounds of duty and obedience to the civil magistrate, (who is God's minister in temporal matters, as we are in spirituals), and so come to suffer as evil doers, I pray you communicate this letter and my hearty desires to whom you shall think fit, that they may be convinced that neither they nor we have any reason to be uneasy at what has befallen us.

"And if to this you afford us your daily prayers, which, as your bishop, I require, that we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same; that this church may be always ordered and guided by faithful and true pastors, such as may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and patiently suffer for righteousness' sake; you will then do what becomes worthy sons of a father and bishop, who every day of his life remembers you at the throne of grace.

"2d *Julii*, 1722. THO. SODOR AND MAN."

In the same spirit of submission to the will of God in chastening him, the following entry was found in his diary:—St. Peter's Day, 1722. I and my two vicars-general were fined ninety pounds, and imprisoned in castle Rushin, for censuring and refusing to take off the censure of certain offenders: which punishmeut and contempt I desire to receive from God as a means of humbling me."

The bishop and his two friends, finding that there was no prospect of the governor's relenting, were advised to pay the fines, and then appeal to the king in council; and accordingly, after a close confinement of two months, they were released on the 31st of August. The day of their liberation was a day of general joy. Old and young, rich and poor, assembled from all parts of the island, and formed such a procession as had never before been witnessed. The populace wished to spread their clothes under the bishop's feet, and when he refused to accept this demonstration of their regard, they strewed his path with flowers. The road leading from Castletown to Bishop's-court, for more than three miles was thronged with persons on foot and horseback; and, for want of better music, multitudes had provided themselves with pipes of elder-wood. A bonfire at Kirk-Michael added to these testimonies of love and joy.

His cause was fairly investigated and tried before the king in council, who, on the 4th of July, 1724, issued an order, declaring that the judgments or sentences given by the governor and his officers "be reversed and set aside, in regard they had no jurisdiction," and that the fines be returned.

This affair entailed upon bishop Wilson considerable personal injury. The comfortable habitations called prisons in England, are far different from the place of his confinement; it was a cold and damp cell; and he contracted then a disorder in his right hand, which deprived him of the free use of his fingers, in consequence of which he was obliged ever after, when he wrote, to grasp the pen with his whole hand.

The expense also, incurred in bringing this case of oppression before the privy council, was seriously felt by the bishop; and though a considerable subscription was raised in England to defray it, yet still there remained heavy claims upon his small purse. His solicitor, indeed, advised him to prosecute the governor in the English courts of law, to recover compensation for his great expense; but to this he would not consent, declaring that having now established the discipline of the church, he felt no resentment for the personal injury he had undergone, but sincerely and fully forgave his persecutor.

During his confinement in castle Rushin, the magistrates, officially assembled, forwarded an address to the bishop and the other ecclesiastical judges, in which they paid this testimony to their merits on the only point on which bishop Wilson had ever been called in question. "As to the charge of exercising a spiritual tyranny, we do solemly testify, (as we are in duty bound,) that there is no cause to us known for so strange an imputation; being verily persuaded that you have been so far from assuming to yourselves any undue authority, that the church was never better governed than in your time, nor justice more impartially administered in the ecclesiastical courts of this isle."

When this affair was concluded, the king offered him the bishopric of Exeter, which he declined to accept. His majesty then promised to defray the expenses out of the privy purse, but, dying soon after, the promise was never fulfilled.

What became of archdeacon Horrobin is not mentioned by the biographers of bishop Wilson. We are only informed that he presented a petition to the bishop for the removal of his suspension; to which an answer was given, that it could only be done when he should acknowledge the legality of the sentence which had been passed upon him, and "promise for the future to avoid giving any occasion of disturbing the peace and unity of the church; and this with a sincerity becoming a Christian, and in terms bespeaking a real conviction."

The affliction of their beloved friend and bishop appears to have soften and improved the hearts of the people. He always used to say, "that he never governed his diocese so well as when he was in prison; and, for his own share, if he could have borne the confinement consistently with his health, he would have been content to have abode there all his life for the good of his flock, who were then more pious and devout than at any other time."

It must be obvious to every reader, that the bishop of that diocese could not have acted otherwise in this case, consistently with the law. But it will also have been observed, that the bishop was really disposed to maintain a somewhat strict ecclesiastical discipline as a means of promoting purity in the church; and, therefore, in order that his character may not be misunderstood, we shall subjoin in a note to this chapter a few extracts from his writings, in which his sentiments on the subject are plainly set forth.

Note:—Containing some passages from the writings of bishop Wilson, in which he speaks of Church-government and of the office of a bishop.

"The duties of a bishop, by the laws of God, and the church are:

"To intrust the people committed to his charge out of the Holy Scriptures, and to teach or maintain no doctrine but what may be proved from thence. *Sunday.* [This little sketch of episcopal duties is probably thus marked out as furnishing to him daily matter for reflection and self-examination.]

"To exercise himself in these Holy Scriptures; to call upon God for the true understanding of the same. *Monday.*

"To use all faithful diligence in driving away all doctrines contrary to God's word, and to encourage others to do so. *Tuesday.*

"To deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live a sober, righteous, and godly life, so as to be an example unto others. *Wednesday.*

"To maintain and set forward, as much as may be, quietness, love, and peace among all men; and to correct and punish the unruly, criminous, and disobedient, as far as God's word and the laws of the land do require and will warrant. *Thursday.*

"To be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others. *Friday.*

"To be gentle and merciful for Christ's sake, to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help. *Saturday.*" *Sacra Privata.*

"If ever church discipline were necessary, it is certainly so now, when not only evil practices (which have ever, God knows, been too rife), but evil books and evil notions (not heard of before in this place), are become very common." *Charge*, June 1720.

"However church discipline may be weakened and despised in England, by reason of the schisms and heresies which abound there, yet here, God be praised, it is not so; we have power and authority both from God and the laws, to rebuke gainsayers; and, while we are *unanimous* and *faithful* in the discharge of our duty, we may hope that our people will not be corrupted with novel opinions. Now the most effectual way to prevent this will be, for all of *us*, that are appointed to watch over the flock of Christ, to employ our *thoughts*, our *zeal*, and our *time*, in promoting of true piety; in labouring to make men good; and in converting sinners from the error of their ways, that we may preserve the *power* as well as the *form* of godliness." *Charge*, 1720.

"We knew very well the sin and danger of a *rash excommunication*."—Then after stating that he, with the presbyters of his diocese, being called together, "according to primitive usage," had patiently heard the whole case of the archdeacon, and weighed well the nature and value of the evidence, he proceeds: "it was *then, and not till then*, you know, that we proceeded to the last sentence, after the most solemn appeal to God, and invocation of his holy name and aid. So that it must be *very rash* and *great uncharitableness* in any body to judge of our proceedings by hearsay; as if he had forgotten the apostle's rule, which yet at that very time we had before us, To do nothing by partiality." *Charge*, 1720.

"Prudence is very necessary in dangerous times; it being no small fault to give occasion to the raising of storms against the church and her ministers, for want of having a due regard to the times and to the passions of carnal men." *Sacra Privata.*

"Every Christian, when he is baptized, is admitted into the church upon a most solemn promise to live as a Christian ought to do; if he does not do so, those very ministers who admitted him are bound to *exhort*, to *rebuke*, and to *censure* him: and if these methods will not do, to *excommunicate* him; that is, to cut him off from the body of Christ and from God's favour and mercy. Not that he may be lost forever, but that he may see his sad condition, and repent and be saved."—*Form of Excommunication.*

"Let us take care that we use *this authority*, as the apostle directs, for *edification* and *not for destruction*." *Ib.*

"It is a part of that ministry which we have received by the imposition of hands, and which we most humbly pray God to enable us to exercise *to his glory*, to the putting a stop to the growing vices of the age, and to the edification of the church of Christ, which he hath purchased with his blood. Amen." *Ib.*

"If God be satisfied with a pastor, it is of little importance whether he please or displease men." *Sacra Privata.*

"They whose duty it is to punish offenders should take great care not to be influenced by pride, hypocrisy, passion, false zeal or malice; but to punish with reluctancy and compassion, as having a sense of their own misery and weakness, which perhaps render them more guilty in the sight of God." *Sacra Privata.*

"Excommunication is only for the contumacious; not to *insult* but to *cure*." *Ib.*

"The public good is the sole end of church discipline. The interest of the governors of the church is no way concerned in it, but only the advantage of their flock. That sinners may be converted: that contagion may be hindered from spreading; that every one may be kept to his duty, and in obedience to the laws of God; that judgments may be averted from the public: and that God in all things may be glorified: that differences among neighbours may be made up, and charity improved." *Ib.*

CHAPTER III.

His Domestic Character.

"The parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and model for his parish. *Herbert.*

"Grant, O Lord, that my care and conduct in the church of God, may appear in the order and piety of my own family. O Heavenly Lord and Master, bless us, and take us under thy gracious protection; and make us an household fearing God, and examples to others of order, diligence, faithfulness, and piety." *Bishop Wilson.*

A few months after his appointment to the see of Man, bishop Wilson returned to England for the purpose of being married to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq., a gentleman who traced his descent by a direct line from a brother of the devout bishop William of Wainfleet, the munificent founder of Magdalen College, at Oxford, and whose family had long resided at Warrington, a town not very far from the parish of Winwick, in which bishop Wilson had passed so many years of his ministry. Before taking so important a step he did not fail to implore the guidance and blessing of God, which he felt to be essential to his happiness in every condition of life. "Make her," he prayed, "whom Thou wilt make my wife a meet help for me, that we may live together to thy honour and glory in this world, and be made partakers of everlasting glory in the world to come." Another prayer composed for their daily use was also found amongst his papers, and it is here subjoined because it shows the spirit and temper in which they wished to live together.

"*T.* } *Wilson.* { *To be said every morning together, be-*
"*M.* }   { *fore we stir abroad.*

"O God, by whose favour and providence we are made one flesh, look mercifully upon us from heaven, and bless us, and make us instrumental to the eternal welfare of each other.

"Give us grace that we may faithfully perform our marriage vows, that we may live in perfect love and peace together, in a conscientious obedience to thy laws, and in a comfortable prospect of happiness all our days. Grant, if it be thy gracious will, that we may live to see our children christianly and virtuously brought up; or if in thy wisdom thou shalt order it otherwise, be pleased in mercy to provide for their everlasting happiness. In the mean time, give us grace that we may teach them, and our household, the fear of God, and be examples to them of piety and true religion.

Continue to us such a share of the good things of this world as to Thee seems most meet for us; and whatever our condition shall be, enable us to be content and thankful. Vouchsafe us a share in the happiness of the next life: and thy blessed will be done for what shall happen to us in this.

"Hear us, O God, for Jesus Christ his sake, the Son of thy love. *Amen, Amen.*"

Mrs. Wilson proved to be a most worthy and suitable companion for this excellent man, being, according to his own description, endued with great modesty and meekness of spirit, remarkable for the discharge of her duty to her parents, and for her love to her relations; he praises God for her great love to him and his friends, for her fidelity to her marriage vows, for her tender affection to her children, for her performance of all the offices of a kind and pious mother, for her peculiar care of her family, and the prudence and mildness with which she governed it; for her unaffected modesty in her own and her children's apparel, and the great humility of her conversation with all sorts of persons; for her great compassion for the poor and miserable, and her cheerful compliance with him in relieving them.

Unfortunately, however, very few notices of Mrs. Wilson have been preserved, and this sketch of her character is taken from one of her husband's prayers composed at the time of her death.

Their children were four in number. Amongst the special favours which he recounts in the *Private Thoughts*, is the having "an excellent wife, and four lovely children."

The following memorandum, addressed to his children, was found amongst his papers: "My children, if I do not live to tell you why I have saved no more for you out of my bishopric, let this satisfy you: that the less you have of goods gathered from the Church, the better the rest that I leave you will prosper. Church-livings were never designed to make families, or to raise portions out of them, but to maintain our families, to keep up hospitality, to feed the poor, &c. And one day you will be glad that this was my settled opinion: and God grant I may act accordingly! . . . . . I never expect, and I thank God I never desire, that you or your children should ever be great: but if ever the providence of God should raise any that proceed from my loins to any degree of worldly wealth or honour, I desire they will look back to the place and person from whence they came; this will keep them humble and sober-minded."

How soon is the brightest sky overcast with clouds! Two of his children died in infancy. They were taken away, indeed, from the evil to come, and redeemed by that Saviour whom they did not live to know upon earth: but still such separations are never joyous, but grievous. Another child was removed in her fourteenth year. And previously to this latter loss, Mrs. Wilson herself was parted by death from her afflicted husband, on the 7th of March 1705, not seven years after their marriage. On the 5th of the preceding September he had accompanied her to Warrington, for the benefit of her native air, which, it was hoped, would prove of service to her then declining health: and he continued with her, praying for her and comforting her, till the day when she resigned her soul, full of the hope of a blessed immortality, into the hands of her heavenly Father. Some of his reflections and prayers on this trying occasion will be read with interest, as they throw a light upon the character of both of them.

HIS PRAYER IN HIS WIFE'S SICKNESS.

"Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."—*Heb.* xii. 6.

O Lord, infinitely merciful, thy very corrections are the effect of thy love: therefore do thy faithful servants rejoice in the midst of their sorrows, steadfastly believing that all things shall work together for good to those that love God and trust in his mercy.

For thou, O Lord, dost convince us, by the afflictions that thou bringest upon us, that nothing deserves our love but Thee, that no being in heaven or on earth can help us besides Thee; and that the sufferings of this life are not to be compared with the happiness of the next.

This is our faith and confidence, that every good gift cometh from above; and that our sorrow for our offences, our desires of being reconciled unto Thee, our purposes of amendment, are all the fruits of thy Holy Spirit, which does nothing in vain; and which, if we resist not thy grace, will form our souls for the happiness of a better life.

Gracious God, let it so happen unto this thy servant, visited with thine hand, that she may take her sickness patiently; and, with a perfect submission to thy will, bear whatever Thou shalt be pleased to lay upon her; that the sickness of her body may contribute to the health of her soul; and that, being made perfect through suffering, she may be owned by her blessed Saviour, who through afflictions entered into glory.

Give her grace that she may know wherein she has offended Thee, that she may truly repent of all the errors of her life past. And do Thou, O merciful God, for the sake of Jesus Christ, accept of her repentance, and be reconciled to her, who has no hope but in thy great mercy, that she may not suffer the pains of sickness without the comforts of grace and the hopes of being beloved by Thee.

Grant, O Lord, that her faith in thy sight may never be reproved, but that she may steadfastly believe the great truths of the Gospel, the promise of pardon and grace to penitent sinners, the promise of eternal life to those that die in the true faith and fear of God, that Jesus Christ is the resurrection and the life, that whosoever believeth in Him, though he were dead, yet shall he live. Increase this knowledge and confirm this faith in thy servant, that she may be numbered amongst thy saints in glory everlasting.

Pour into her heart such love towards thee, that she may love Thee above all things, obey thy commands, and submit to thy wise dispensations; that she may for thy sake love all mankind, forgive all that have injured her, and desire to be forgiven of all those whom she may have offended in thought, word, or deed.

Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is better than life itself. O, satisfy her with thy mercy, that she may with a willing mind give up that breath which she received from Thee; that, when she shall depart this life, she may rest in Jesus Christ; and that, at the general resurrection at the last day, she may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear Thee, saying, "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Grant this, we beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen, Amen.*

PRAYER ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

"When thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth."—*Psalm* xxxix. 11.

O, merciful God, who in thy wise providence dost so order even natural events, that they serve both for the good of the universe and for the conviction of particular sinners, so that men shall have reason to acknowledge thy glorious attributes, I do with great sorrow of heart, but with all submission to thy good pleasure, confess thy mercy as well as justice to me, in the afflictions and chastisements of this day. I will therefore hold my peace and not open my mouth, because it is thy doing, and my deservings.

O Lord give me, I most humbly beseech Thee of Thy great mercy, true repentance for all the errors of my life past, and especially for those which may have been the occasion of this day's sorrows.

"God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not."—*Job* xxxiii. 14.

I acknowledge thy voice, O merciful God: I acknowledge also my own transgressions, and thy great goodness in afflicting me: I do in all humility accept of the punishment of mine iniquity, and do ascribe it to thy grace that even now I have perceived it to be thy voice.

"We are verily guilty concerning our brother."—*Gen.* xlii. 21.

Blessed be God that my punishment is not as great as my crimes, which have deserved thy severest stroke; for I am verily guilty of many, very many grievous sins; the follies of youth, the wilful presumptuous sins of my riper years, the breach of the vows that are upon me.

O that thy grace, which has wrought this sense and sorrow in my soul, may perfect the good work until I have obtained thy pardon, and be confirmed in every good word and work, till thou art pleased to call me hence.

Good God of mercy, give me grace that I may never again provoke Thee to repeat this voice; but that I may faithfully perform the vows that are upon me; that I may work out my salvation with fear and trembling; knowing that though the Lord is long-suffering to them that fear him, yet he is a consuming fire to the obstinate and hardened sinner.

For Jesus Christ his sake, who by his merits has purchased pardon and grace for penitent sinners, hear me, answer me, and let thy merciful kindness be my comfort according to thy word unto thy servant. *Amen.*

MEDITATIONS.

"By the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better."—*Eccles.* vii. 3.

How good is God, when by his very displeasure we are gainers! He is pleased to exercise me with the loss of my dear wife, an excellent woman, in the very bloom of her years, in the very midst of our satisfactions; and yet upon a just account I have no reason to complain or to fret against God, since I have a comfortable assurance (through the merits of Christ,) that she is at rest, and secure under the custody of the blessed angels until the great day of recompense. And for myself, though I want hers, yet I do not want the comfort of God's Holy Spirit, whose influence I feel in the cheerful submission of my will to the will of God, in the sorrow for my offences which this affliction has wrought in me, in purposes of amendment, and in an earnest desire of living so circumspectly in this world, that in the next we may meet in joy in the bosom of Jesus, when we shall never part, never sorrow more. Even so, blessed Jesus, so let it be!

But though I find my passions, under this affliction, much subdued, my heart tender and capable of receiving good impressions, my soul full of holy purposes, my breast warmed with charity and a tender love for the whole creation of God; yet I know that the heart is deceitful above all things; and therefore lest these good effects should soon be forgotten, let me set down a few memorandums of what now passes within my breast. Let me often remember, that when I saw that death had closed my dearest consort's eyes, and that there was no more to be done for her eternal welfare, how many sad thoughts possessed my heart.

I then with an angry sorrow reflected,—How many opportunities have I lost of doing my duty and promoting her happiness, (for sure there are degrees of bliss), which had I conscientiously performed, would now have been matter of solid comfort to me! For though, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, which is not confined to our imperfect endeavours and assistance, my dear wife is, I doubt not, in peace; having, according to the allowances made by a merciful God to human frailty, led a pious, unblameable, useful life, yet I cannot but condemn myself for having neglected many things which would have been exceeding comfortable to her when alive, and to me now she is dead; which the gracious God forgive me!

She needs not my sorrow now, nor my assistance; but since I am still in the body, and still subject to failings, let this consideration make me wiser for the time to come, for this will sooner or later be my own case; I must come to die;

and all my duties of my calling and of christianity, that I am convinced I have left undone, will then be matter of sad reflection; I shall then wish, but in vain, that the time were to be spent again that I have lost; but time will be no more; only sorrow will be my portion.

I will therefore, by God's grace, do that duty in its season which He has appointed me; and whatever my hand findeth to do I will do it with all my might, for the night cometh when no man can work; and if that night take me unawares, under what terrible concern shall I be then, under what doom shall I be afterwards!

Grant, O God, that, having these thoughts much in my heart, I may not despise the day of grace, but that I may, whenever my Lord comes, be ready to give up my account with joy.

It is with me now as it was with the sons of Jacob, when they were in affliction: *We are verily guilty concerning our brother.* The many and great offences of my life appear before me in all their circumstances truly terrible; and though by the good grace of God (for which I am truly thankful), and through the merits of Jesus Christ, who is our advocate and the propitiation for the sins of all true penitents, I have confessed and forsaken those sins, yet the remembrance of them is truly grievous unto me.

O that I may, from this consideration, steadfastly resolve to leave no sin unrepented of till the days of sorrow and sickness come upon me; that I may not for the time to come do any thing which may be an occasion of sad affliction to me at the hour of death. But in the hour of death and in the day of judgment let this be my support and comfort, that I have repented of all the errors of my life, and that I have brought forth fruits meet for repentance. Grant this, for Jesus Christ his sake, O gracious God. *Amen.*

Thomas, the only remaining child of bishop Wilson, who lived to a good old age, and survived his father, was born in 1703. He received his early education from his father, was afterwards sent to a school in Yorkshire, and entered college as a commoner of Christ-Church, Oxford, in the year 1721. His father's reputation disposed many persons of distinction to look kindly upon him. In 1738, he was presented by the lord chancellor to the living of St. Stephen, Walbrook, and was afterwards made chaplain and sub-almoner to king George the second, and perbendary of Westminster. A tablet in the chancel of St. Stephen's church records that he died on the 15th of April 1784, aged 80 years.

Bishop Wilson wrote a letter to his son, on his promotion to the stall in Westminster Abbey, from which the following is an extract.

. . . . "I am both surprised and pleased with the unexpected favours conferred upon you, both by the king and the bishop of Salisbury. I hope in God you will answer the great ends of his providence in raising you such friends, and in putting into your hands such unlooked-for talents, in order to improve them to his glory and your own salvation. For my own part, I have ever received such favours with fear, lest I should be tempted to dishonour God by his own gifts; and it shall be my daily prayer for you, that you may never do so. This was the case with the wisest and greatest of men, whose history and fall was part of this day's service of the church. [1 Kings, x, xi.]

"Enclosed you have a letter to his majesty. Perhaps you may not approve of the style *his*, instead of *your* majesty, but I know it to be more becoming, and will be better accepted by a foreigner, and therefore it shall so pass.

"I have also written to the bishop of Salisbury, to whom my most grateful service and thanks [are due]. According to my notion of writing to his majesty, I ought not to have subscribed my name; but I have done it lest you should have thought otherwise."

The letter to the king, here referred to, is as follows:

"May it please the king's most sacred majesty! to receive the most grateful acknowledgments of the ancient bishop of Man, for his majesty's great condescension, and late royal favour, to the son of a bishop, whose obscure diocese and remote situation might justly have forbade him all expectations of so high a nature from a royal hand. May both the father and the son ever act worthy of so distinguished a favour! And may the King of kings bless his majesty with all the graces and virtues which are necessary for his high station, and for his eternal happiness,—enable his majesty to overcome all the difficulties he shall meet with abroad,*—and bring him back to his kingdoms here in peace and safety, and finally to an everlasting kingdom hereafter,—which has been and shall be the sincere and constant prayer of his majesty's most grateful, dutiful, and faithful subject and servant,

"Tho. Sodor and Man.

"*Isle of Man*, May 3, 1743."

In proceeding to repeat the few particulars which have been transmitted to us, relative to the even tenour of bishop Wilson's daily life, we cannot but express our regret that the simple manners and devotional habits witnessed in his household are so seldom seen in our own days. Before the family entered upon the various occupations of the day, that is at six o'clock every summer morning, and at seven in the winter, the whole household, including the workmen and domestic servants, assembled in the chapel, and prayer was offered up by himself, or by one of the students who were residing with him preparatory to holy orders. In the evening they met again for suplication and thanksgiving.

The bishop was deeply impressed with the necessity and usefulness of family worship. "Have you set up an altar in your house?" was a question which he was wont to put to those who were just beginning to keep house. And publicly he took opportunities of recommending family religion as a wholesome preservative against degeneracy and profligacy; asking, "How should we expect that all sorts of vices should not abound in families where God is not owned nor his graces asked for?" And he declared his belief, that if those who could not read would but assemble their children and servants and offer up the Lord's Prayer, "it would plant the fear of God in their hearts; and they would be afraid of doing many things which they commit without any concern."

The day then passed in works of piety and usefulness, till the hour of dinner arrived, at which time he was as remarkable for exercising hospitality towards his clergy and others, as he was at all times for his liberality towards indigent persons. His table was abundantly but plainly furnished; it might be described in the very words of George Herbert:—"His fare is plain and common, but wholesome: what he hath is little, but very good; it consisteth most of mutton, beef, and veal; if he adds anything for a great day, or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplies it, or his barn and farm-yard: he goes no further for any entertainment, lest he go into the world, esteeming it absurd that he should exceed, who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth he refuseth not, as coming cheap and easy, and arising from the improvement of things which otherwise would be lost. Wherein he admires and imitates the wonderful providence and thrift of the great Householder of the world." These were precisely the sentiments of bishop Wilson, and it is very likely that he was led to these views by this very passage, in a book which he admired and valued. He himself describes hospitality as not consisting "in making great entertainments, but in providing a sober and suitable refreshment for such as are in want, and for such as come to visit us."

Many persons of note, whom his fame had reached, desired to enjoy his conversation, amongst whom Dr. Pococke, after his return from his travels, went to see the aged bishop of Man in the year 1750, and sent him his works richly bound, to announce his arrival. The bishop received him with a graceful welcome, but told him that "he ought not to approach the poor bishop of Man with a present, as if he were an eastern prince."

His temper was composed and calm, and he was never excited to violent or unguarded language. In conversation he was remarkably cheerful and entertaining. He lived in a perpetual sunshine of happy spirits. He found, as Herbert says, "that pleasantness of disposition is a key to do good; not only because all men shun the company of perpetual severity, but also for that when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantness both enter sooner and root deeper."—*Country Parson.*

Mr. Moore, one of the clergymen of the island, who knew him well, describes him as being "of admirable simplicity of manners; of a most engaging behaviour, affability, and sweetness of temper. In his private conversation he was agreeable and entertaining; lively and facetious without levity; and always consistent with the dignity of his character; never at a loss for something pertinent and proper to embellish and illustrate his discourse; on these occasions nothing ever proceeded from his mouth but what was good to the use of edifying, and ministered not only grace but also pleasure and delight to the hearers." Mr. Corlet another of his clergy writes,* that he recognizes in the devotional works of bishop Wilson, the frequent remarks of his daily conversation. "Often, and often again, did I recollect, as I read, that I had heard from his own lips the very sentiments then before me, and the heavenly smile wherewith he delivered them. But perhaps I tire you; better judges than I have said, and will yet say, more to the purpose, but not one, unless yourself, from a warmer heart, recollecting the blessed man as I saw and heard him!"

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* The king was then at Hanover.

CHAPTER IV.

His Sunday.

> Simple, grave, sincere;
> In doctrine uncorrupt, in language plain;
> And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
> And natural in gesture; much impressed
> Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
> And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
> May feel it too; affectionate in look
> And tender in address, as well becomes
> A messenger of grace to guilty man;
> Behold the picture!
>
> COWPER'S *Task.*

> His thoughts are full of making the best of the day, and contriving it to his best gains.
>
> HERBERT'S *Country Parson.*

Bishop Wilson cultivated the society of his clergy, and endeavoured to make them feel that the sincere servant of Christ would always find in him a real and affectionate friend. So greatly was he averse to any appearance of the pride of station, that in the ordinary intercourse of life it would have been difficult to discover from his demeanour that his office was invested with any authority or worldly dignity; indeed he always wished his clergy to feel that the chief bond of union consisted in their being embarked in the same sacred cause, as stewards of the mysteries of God; and his first thoughts and anxieties were ever directed to the quickening of their zeal, and increasing their efficiency in the work they had to do. Amongst other plans which he pursued to this end, was a frequent participation in their labours. And indeed he felt that though he had not the express charge of any particular congregation, yet that he was nevertheless obliged, as a minister of Christ, still to watch for the souls of men as one that must give account, and that he might devote himself the more to that work, because the see (comprising only the seventeen parishes, into which the island is divided), required a comparatively small portion of his time for the discharge of the episcopal functions. Hence it came to pass, that during the fifty-eight years of his pastoral life he rarely failed on a Sunday to preach the Gospel, catechise and expound, or administer the communion, in some one of the churches of his diocese. Being an excellent horseman, he set out when the family devotions of the morning and the early meal were ended, and arrived a little before service at the place where he intended to officiate, without having given any previous notice. He thus had the best opportunities of judging whether all things were done decently and in order, as well as of using his personal exertions to promote the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Often, while the sabbath-bell was calling the poor people together to worship God in the unornamented but not unsanctified structures dedicated to his Holy Name, they descried the welcome and well-known form of their good bishop emerging from the defiles which intersected their bold and rugged mountains, and hastening to offer up with them his humble praises and prayers to God.

And, in the exercise of this ministry, never preacher appears to have had less regard for human praise, or a more earnest desire to make the people wise unto salvation. One of his prayers was this: "May I, O Sovereign Pastor, always so speak, as that my flock may hear and understand me; so converse with them, as that I may know *them;* and lead such a life as that *they* may safely follow me." And the same desire is repeated in various forms of expression throughout his book of private devotions.

His style, like his mind, was a pattern of simplicity; it was so plain that none could go away from the church asking one another the meaning of what they had heard; and his sentiments were so eminently pure and devout, that the word of God in his mouth was seen to be truth. He studiously adapted his instructions to the wants and attainments of the Manksmen, avoiding in his own preaching, and advising his clergy to avoid, such questions as minister to disputes rather than to godly edifying. And while he thus preached the Gospel to the poor, his appeals derived no small degree of force and efficacy from an affectionate and animated delivery, and a life which exemplified what he taught. In the bautiful and valuable sermons which have been bequeathed to posterity, he instructs, exhorts, expostulates, entreats and warns his hearers, in a manner that can hardly fail to search and prove the heart; and it will be found that the leading topics of his discourses were the same which he recommended to others, "the bondage of man by sin,—the necessity of a deliverer,—the manner of our redemption,—the danger of not closing with it,—the power of grace to deliver us." And blessed are they whose purity of doctrine and holiness of life are liable to as few exceptions as his, and who labour as earnestly and diligently in the cause of their Master and Saviour. On them the second death hath no power.

His biographers do not say that he ever preached in the Manks language, but they inform us that he early applied himself to the study of it, and that he was able to converse with the natives in their own tongue.

As the bishop was zealous in promoting the religious education of the poor, so he was strongly impressed with the idea that the most important encroachments might be made upon the kingdom of darkness by the constant practice of catechising young persons; and he established it as the general usage in the churches, after the afternoon service, instead of a sermon. He says, that he considers it "of more use to the souls both of the learned and ignorant, than the very best sermon from the pulpit;" and once, being applied to for permission to substitute a sermon, he on these grounds refused to grant it. In a charge delivered in his eighty-fifth year, he states his opinion, that "this is a truth not to be questioned, that the plainest sermon from the pulpit will not be understood by nor profit any who has not been well instructed in the principles of Christianity contained in the Church Catechism. So that our preaching is in vain to all such—which, I fear, is often the case of a great part of our hearers.

"The most unlearned know by nature the things contained in the law as soon as they hear it read: but these are the things which they want to be particularly and often made sensible of; namely, the extreme danger a sinner is in while he is under the displeasure of a holy and just God, who can destroy both body and soul in hell:—how a sinner, made sensible and awakened with the danger he is in, may be restored to God's favour;—of the blessing and comfort of a Redeemer;—what that blessed Redeemer has done and suffered to restore us to the favour of God;—what means of grace he has appointed as absolutely necessary to preserve us in the favour of God and in the way of salvation.

"Christians too often want to be set right, and very particularly to be instructed in the nature of *repentance,* of that repentance to which God has promised mercy and pardon, and of *faith* which is saving, and accompanied with good works and an holy and Christian life.

"These are *foundation principles,* and such as every pastor of souls is obliged to explain, as he hopes ever to do good by his other labours and sermons.

"We say to *explain,* not only in set discourses from the pulpit, but in a plain familiar manner from the desk, where questions may be asked, and things explained, so as both old and young may be edified.

"Preaching will always be our duty, but of little use to those who understand not the meaning of the words we make use of in our sermons, as, God knows too many must be supposed not to do, for want of their being instructed in their younger years."

The public ministrations of the day being over,—prayer, preaching, catechising,—how shall we describe the good bishop's departure from amongst the village congregation better than in the words of Goldsmith:

> The service past, around the pious man
> With steady zeal the honest rustics ran;
> Ev'n children follow'd with endearing wile,
> And pluck'd his gown to share the good man's smile;

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* Letter to the Rev. P. Moore, dated April 18, 1781, twenty-six years after the bishop's death.

His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distress'd;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven!

Deserted Village.

CHAPTER V.

In his Closet.

O! happy hours of heavenward thought!
How richly crown'd! how well improved!
In musing o'er the law he taught,
In waiting for the Lord he loved!

Christian Year.

True religion, while it leads us to reverence the outward observances of Christianity, and teaches us to reverence them as appointed sources of edification, persuades us also of the necessity of the more secret exercises of devotion, and thereby kindles the light which shines in the world. And so bishop Wilson felt; he looked upon communion with God and his own heart in his chamber, as indispensable means, under God's blessing, of sanctifying the soul which desires to be happy in heaven, and of forming an approved and successful minister of Jesus Christ. He repeated with much satisfaction the saying attributed by Dr. Lightfoot to some learned man, that "he got more knowledge by his prayers than by all his studies;" and has recorded it as his own opinion, that a man may have the skill to give Christian truths a turn agreeable to the hearers, without affecting their hearts. Human learning will enable him to do this. It is prayer only that can enable him so to speak as to convert the heart."

It is no small privilege to be admitted into the closet of such a person, and to be present at the devotional exercises of one whose life bears evidence that he continually resorted to this fountain for refreshment. Every purpose of his heart, every event which occurred, brought him to the throne of grace. His writings, many of them, as we believe, never intended, and certainly not written, for the public eye, show that on all occasions, whether he received blessings or endured afflictions, he hastened to communion with his God, as a child to his affectionate parent. When the bounty of God was enlarged to him, he seemed overwhelmed with a sense of his unworthiness of such favours, and the guilt he should incur by ungrateful conduct; when sorrow came, he confessed that mercy was in the chastening of the Lord, he looked back to discover the purposes of the Almighty in correcting him, and then set himself to press forward more sedulously in his preparation for that world where there is no sorrow. Like the Psalmist, he could say, "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee! My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!"

In his private meditations he studiously turned spiritual things to some practical account, always making such personal application of Scripture as might conduce most to his growth in grace, and taking it as a lamp to his feet and a light to his paths, in his daily walk through life.

His well known and heavenly book of private meditations, devotions and prayers, entitled *Sacra Privata*, is divided into fourteen daily portions, and presents to us, in great part, the subjects of his thoughts and petitions during that portion of each day of his life, in which he "entered into his closet and shut to the door," and conversed with his Father who "seeth in secret." And none can follow his footsteps into that retirement, and muse upon the holy things upon which he employed his own heart and mind, without being in some degree warmed with a kindred fervour, and feeling the truth of his remark that "frequent prayer, as it is an exercise of holy thoughts, is a most natural remedy against the power of sin." It is a holy and beautiful book, and often has it soothed the anguish of a spirit tried by bodily suffering; often has it aided and enlivened the devotions of the dying Christian, and caused him to forget for a while the sorrows of this present life. The good bishop, though dead, still speaketh; his voice is still heard in accents of counsel and of comfort; he humbles the readers to the dust with a sense of sin, makes them feel their need of a Saviour, and gladdens them with the tidings that God has amply provided for that need; he leads them on from strength to strength, renewing their humble confidence in Christ, and giving fresh fervour to their prayers for such a measure of God's grace as may prepare them, before they go hence, for the glorious company of the redeemed, by changing them into the image of Christ. It becomes those who have seen its fruits thus to tell its praises.

It is frequently the business of a biographer to gather, from various and distant quarters, the remarks and fragments of the conversations of the wise and good. In the little book of which we are now speaking, the golden sayings of bishop Wilson are written with his own hand; and perhaps, after all, those pages contain his best biography, since, in placing him before us as a christian man and christian minister, they do but repeat those very remarks and opinions which one of his clergy declared that he had often heard from his own lips, in the ordinary intercourse of life.*

The following heads of self-examination may give us some idea of his occupation in his secret chamber. They are suggested by the words in the Acts (vi. 4), "We will give ourselves over continually to prayer, to the ministry of the word."

"Have I done so this day? Have I been mindful of the duties of my proper calling? Do I make it the great concern of my life to promote the eternal interests of my flock? Have I read the Holy Scriptures, in order to instruct my people and to preserve them from error? Do I call upon God for the true understanding of the Holy Scriptures? Do I deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, so as to be an example unto others? Have I endeavoured to keep up the discipline of this Church by correcting the criminous? Have I an eye to such as are in Holy Orders, and to such as are designed for the ministry? Have I been charitable and kind to poor and needy people? Do I make the Gospel the rule of my private life, and Jesus Christ my pattern? Do I endeavour after holiness? Do I live as in God's presence? Is my conversation unblameable? Do I give the praise of this to God through Jesus Christ?"

The honesty and strictness with which he prosecuted these inquiries, and searched out his spirit, are manifest from the subjoined memorandum made so early as the year 1699, which gives a correct idea of the frequent employment of his solitary hours: "Upon a serious review of my time past, I find that I have been too negligent of the duties of my calling; I do therefore resolve solemnly, (being heartily sorry for what is past,) that for the time to come I will rectify (by the grace of God) my ways in these following instances:

"1st. More diligently follow my studies. 2d. Immediately regulate my devotions, and attend them constantly. 3d. Preach more constantly than I have done. 4th. Compose prayers for the poor families in order to have them printed. 5th. Endeavour with all my might to draw my heart from the things of the world.

"And that I may not forget these purposes, I resolve that this memorandum shall remain as a record against me, until I have thoroughly amended in these particulars. The God of Heaven give me grace to set about the work immediately, and give me strength to finish it! Amen, Amen."

Many publications were the fruits of his hours of retirement; some of these are mentioned incidentally in other parts of this memoir, the rest are as follows:

1. A History of the Isle of Man.
2. A Life of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock.
3. The Principles and Duties of Christianity, published in Manks and English, in 1699; and afterwards printed in an altered form in 1740, and entitled The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest capacities; or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians; which will likewise be of use to all such who are called Christians, but have not well considered the meaning of the Religion they profess; or who profess to know God, but in works deny him. In twenty dialogues. Of this work he says, in a letter to his son, "I have the poorest opinion of my own abilities, and I can approve of little that I have done on this head; but since it has gone so far, there is no drawing back."

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* The writer of these pages cannot help expressing his regret that the *Sacra Privata* should now be usually printed without the observations upon the clerical character. He ventures to think that good would result from their wider circulation amongst the minsters of Christ themselves, and that no harm can possibly arise from the people being led to expect quite as much from their spiritual instructors as is there set down. We have indeed the treasure in earthern vessels, but then our bishop has encouraged no expectations of any thing else; and what he represented to be the duty of others he scrupulously exacted of himself.

4. A Commentary upon the Holy Bible.

5. A Short Introduction to the Lord's Supper. A work not superseded, perhaps not surpassed, by any other upon the same subject. Writing to his son, who had sent to him some letters which were highly commendatory of his publications, he says, "I am not elated with the letters you enclosed me; if any good is likely to be done, far be it from me to take the praise to myself; let it be ascribed to the good Spirit of God; and let me take the shame to myself for the many faults I plainly see in it, and for the negligence with which it is performed. May God forgive me these, and pardon the things I have been wanting in, and the good I might and have not done in the way of my duty, in a long, long life, and in my proper calling; and I shall bless his name for ever!"

6. Short Observations on the Historical Books of the Old Testament.

7. Morning and Evening Prayers and Meditations for Families, and for Persons in Private.

8. Maxims of Piety and of Christianity.

9. Forms of Prayer for several public occasions. Amongst these is a Form of Prayer for the Herring Fishery. The bishop says, in his History of the Isle of Man, that "formerly herrings were the great staple commodity of this Isle, of which, (within the memory of some now living), near twenty ty thousand barrels have been exported in one year to France and other places. The time of herring-fishing is between July and All-hallows' tide. The whole fleet of boats, (every boat being about the burden of two tons) are under the government of the water-bailiff on the shore, and under one called a vice-admiral at sea, who, by the signal of a flag, directs them when to shoot their nets, &c. . . . . In acknowledgment of this great blessing, and that God may be prevailed with to continue it, (this being the support of the place), the whole fleet duly attend divine service on the shore, at the several ports, every evening before they go to sea; the respective incumbents on that occasion making use of a form of prayer, lessons, &c. lately composed for that purpose." This pious practice is still continued.

10. Instructions for an Academic Youth, and a Catechetical Instruction, both intended for Candidates for Holy Orders.

In addition to these, many prayers, memoranda, and a few letters on clerical subjects, have been printed in the accounts of his Life, by the Rev. Mr. Cruttwell and the Rev. Mr. Stowell.

This chapter may appropriately conclude with an extract from a letter written by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson to the son of this admirable prelate;—"To think on bishop Wilson with veneration is only to agree with the whole christian world. I hope to look into his books with other purposes than those of criticism, and, after their perusal, not only to write but to live better."

CHAPTER VI.

His Beneficence.

Unskilful he to fawn, or seek for pow'r,
By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour:
Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,
More bent to raise the wretched than to rise.
His home was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wandering, but relieved their pain.

* * * * *

But in his duty prompt, at every call
He watch'd and wept, he prayed and felt for all.
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.

GOLDSMITH'S *Deserted Village.*

The small revenues of the bishopric of Man amounted in the time of bishop Wilson to no more than three hundred pounds a-year, and he found that the lands annexed to it were nothing better than tracts of pasturage for sheep. It soon occurred to him to turn these lands to more profitable account by husbandry; and by skilful management he soon made them produce more than was required to supply his house; a portion of the residue was bartered for other commodities which his farms did not furnish; and what remained was devoted to charitable purposes. Thus it happened that he was able to employ considerable sums in promoting the glory of God and the good of man.

He wished to act in accordance with the sentiment which was thus expressed (we believe) by bishop Fleetwood, "Let us proportion our alms to our incomes, lest God should proportion our incomes to our alms."

In the spirit of this maxim he always appointed a certain portion of his income for pious uses, and at various intervals we find him increasing the sum thus appropriated. The following is one of his memoranda of this kind.

"*Bishop's Court*, Feb. 18, 1718.

"*To the glory of God*; I find by constant experience that God will be no man's debtor, I find that I have enough and to spare; so that for the future I dedicate four-tenths to pious uses, one tenth of the demesnes and customs which I receive in monies, and of my English estate as above. And the good Lord accept his poor servant in this service, for Christ's sake. Amen."

His charity to the poor was so enlarged that the destitute never came to his door in vain. Being told that unworthy persons were often the objects of his bounty, he replied, "I would rather give to ten unworthy, than that one deserving object should go away without relief." Mr. Moore says in the sermon preached at the bishop's funeral, "His charity and beneficence to the poor and needy shine the brightest and most distinguished of all his other numerous virtues and graces. Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, comforting the afflicted, administering to the distresses of all, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow—these acts of humanity and christian charity were the joy, the delight, the great employment and pleasure, of his soul. And to this it was owing, that during his episcopate, no country in the christian world had fewer public beggars to be seen therein: for he kept the poor from almost every body's doors but his own."

In order to supply the poor with clothing, he kept tailors and shoemakers in constant employment at his own house.—And as his pecuniary means were small, he commonly procured the materials for that purpose by bartering the produce of his farm. It is related that one day, giving orders to his tailor to make for him a cloak, he desired that it might be quite plain, and have merely a button and loop to keep it together. "But my lord," said the tailor, "what would become of the poor button makers and their families if every one thought in that way? they would be starved outright." "Do you say so, John?" replied the bishop, "why then button it all over, John."

Some occasions of a most trying nature occurred to draw forth all the energies, as well as to awaken the most tender feelings, of this generous mind. A small duty was paid by all vessels putting into the ports of the island, and, as the contraband trade increased, a portion of this was employed in rendering the harbours more convenient and secure. Thus many hands were drawn away from agricultural labour to carry on these works, and many more were employed about the shipping in various capacities. The neglect of the land was a necessary consequence; the consumption of corn became greater than the produce; and the Manksmen were dependent upon England for the supply of their wants. Hence in dear or scarce years they were in the greatest distress, and sometimes even experienced the miseries of famine.

Such was the wretched condition of the people in the year 1740. Their crops, never sufficient, were in the preceding harvest remarkably light. The bishop writes to his son (July 15, 1739) "The severest drought that I ever knew. A great deal of corn will never be mowed or reaped; and the poor farmers, not being able to dispose of their cattle, will many of them be ruined, I fear." England had equally suffered by this unpropitious weather. The dearth produced high prices, and an embargo was laid upon the exportation of corn. It was a wretched winter to the poor people of Man, and the bishop's heart was with them in their misery. He distributed all his own corn, he then purchased to the extent of his means, and sold it out at a low rate in small proportions, so as to economise to the utmost. In February 1740, he writes again, "Never was such a scarcity of corn! A ship laden with barley, was put in by bad weather. I would have bought fifty pounds' worth, but it could not be sold, the master having given large bonds to land it at Whitehaven, but he was cast away going thither. What this poor place will do, God only knows. I shall give as long as I have any; and money, if any be to be bought."

Disease is generally the companion of famine, and it visited the island with much severity on this occasion. The bishop, who had acquired some knowledge of physic at the University, and had exercised it for the relief of his poor neighbours all his life long, now attended the sick and prescribed for them. They had fresh proofs of the goodness of God in sending a man of such an excellent spirit to dwell amongst them.

In their greatest extremity, when the corn of the island was nearly exhausted, the inhabitants despatched a letter to the duke of Athol, (who had succeeded to the lordship of the isle, by the death of the earl of Derby,) and to Dr. Wilson, in London, representing their appalling situation, and beseeching them to use their earnest endeavours and their interest to effect the removal of the embargo which withheld from them the very means of existence.

The application was made, but without success, and as the case admitted of no delay, the duke and Dr. Wilson immediately contracted for two ship-loads of corn from Holland.—Meanwhile a small vessel, bound to Dumfries with a cargo of Welsh oats, was driven into Douglas by a contrary wind, where the cargo sustained considerable injury; and the people of the town, urged by famine, and knowing that the means of relief were actually perishing before their faces, boarded and took possession of the vessel without resistance. The action, though riotous, was conducted with good order, for they measured out the corn with great exactness, stored it in the school-house, and compelled the churchwardens to take the care and custody of it, and to sell it out at prime cost, reserving the money for the proprietor of the cargo.

Thus a temporary relief was afforded, at least for that part of the island, until the ships arrived from Holland just time enough to save the inhabitants from starving. Further supplies were afterwards obtained, by the embargo being removed for a certain time and to a certain quantity, in consequence of another pressing appeal to the king from Dr. Wilson, in which he says, "Your petitioner's father, and the inhabitants of that place, labour under the inexpressible want of provisions, especially bread-corn; so that, if not speedily relieved, many thousands are in imminent danger of being starved; and what adds to their melancholy circumstances is, that it has pleased God to afflict them with a pestilential flux, owing in a great measure to the want of wholesome food."

The supply now sent saved the whole people from destruction, yet still the poor would have been very scantily provided but for the help of their good bishop. He writes thus to his son; "What I give at home to poor people, I give gratis; having, through God's blessing, about one hundred and fifty Winchester bushels to spare. But my method in the four towns has been to buy it at the market-price, (which is high enough indeed,) and to order it to be sold, but only to poor people, and not above two pecks to any one body."

In another letter it is stated, "I have given this year about five hundred bushels of barley, which have been the support of very many families, as well as private persons, which otherwise must have perished, I verily believe."

The year 1745 was another time of great want and suffering amongst the poor. The circumstances of their distress, and the bishop's help in their time of need, are sufficiently shown in the following extracts from his letters to his son.

"June 14, 1745. Our harvest last year was so difficult to be saved, that it has reduced us to as great straits as we were in four years ago, only we have the liberty of having corn from England and Wales brought to us, but at an excessive price; and, which is still worse, there is amongst the people very little monies to be had to purchase it. I have already given most of my own stock of all sorts of grain, and I believe I shall be obliged to lay out twenty or thirty pounds more before August. Ten pounds worth of barley Mr. Murray has promised me this week, which is coming from Wales, and I hope for as much more. It is generally sold for twenty-four shillings our boll: but before this came in, some of our wicked farmers sold it for upwards of thirty; or five or six shillings a Winchester bushel.

"We have also had a very great loss of black cattle and sheep through the whole country, occasioned by the badness of the fodder, and the cold and wet season, having had scarce three days together without rain or snow since September last. In short, I can foresee nothing but distress of one kind or other."

"July 15, 1745. A most sad dear year, even as hard with the poor as 1741; for though there is corn enough, (at a very dear rate,) yet the people have no monies. We are perfectly drained. I have bought already near one hundred bushels, and shall make it up that quantity before new corn comes in, besides my own growth. No prospect of a fishery. A fine crop upon the ground, except the mountains and the Curragh.'*

But bishop Wilson's charity did not confine itself to the relief of temporal necessities. Besides private exertions in his master's cause, which none who have read his thoughts on that subject can doubt, he contributed towards the general improvement of these unlettered islanders, with a liberality which we can hardly tell how his means supplied. He must often have exceeded the contents of his "poor's box," and must always have administered his little funds with a singular prudence and discretion. He caused parts of the Scriptures† and several good books to be translated and printed in the Manks language; he took part in founding and supplying parochial libraries; he distributed bibles and testaments; put the schools in his diocese on such a footing as to render them seminaries of strict morals and sound learning; and built, or assisted in building and endowing, several churches and chapels.

Nor were his clergy omitted from his schemes of benevolence. He used great exertions to recover some losses, which without such assistance they could never have obtained; he increased, as far as he was able, their incomes, and repaired their houses; and established a fund for their widows and orphans, contributing largely to it himself. His own account of the clergy, given in the History of the Isle of Man, shows that they stood in much need of such kindness as he extended to them.

"The clergy are generally natives; and indeed it cannot well be otherwise, none else being qualified to preach and administer the sacraments in the Manks language; for the English is not understood by two-thirds at least of the island, though there is an English school in every parish; so hard is it to change the language of a whole country.

"The livings are generally small: the two parsonages are, indeed, worth near sixty pounds a-year; but the vicarages, the royal bounty‡ included, are not worth above twenty-five pounds, with which, notwithstanding, the frugal clergy have maintained themselves and pretty numerous families very decently: of late, indeed, the great resort of strangers has made provisions of all sorts as dear again as formerly."

When we consider all the benevolent acts of this warm-hearted man, he seems to have looked upon the whole population of the island as his family, and to have sought out every opportunity of doing them good. George Herbert, whose well-known book, entitled The Country Parson, he always loved and recommended, in describing the parson's charity, presents a true picture of bishop Wilson. "All his works relish of charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himself what good deeds he can do that day, and presently doeth them, counting that day lost in which he hath not exercised his charity. He first considers his own parish," (with the bishop it was his diocese) "and takes care that there be not a begger or idle person in his parish, but that all be in a competent way of getting their living."

Yet, with all this, the Isle of Man contained not within its

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[*] The Curragh is a large tract of land running the breadth of the island between Ballaugh and Ramsea. It was formerly a bog, which, being drained, proved one of the richest parts of the island. Bishop Wilson's *History of the Isle of Man.*

[†] A translation of the Scriptures into the Manks language was commenced under the superintendence and at the cost of bishop Wilson. The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed before his death, and the other Evangelists and the Acts were at that time ready for the press. It is related that bishop Hildesley, Wilson's successor, entered with great interest and zeal upon the completion of this arduous and valuable undertaking, and that he often said, "He only wished to live to see it finished, and then he should be content to die." Through the liberal assistance of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, this great work was completed. On Saturday, November 22, 1772, he received the last part of the Bible, and sang, that evening, the song of Simeon (Luke ii. 29), with much feeling, in the presence of his family. On Sunday he addressed his family after evening prayers on the uncertainty of life, next day he was deprived of his senses by a paralytic seizure, and in a week he was no more. Agreeably to his own desire, he was buried by the side of bishop Wilson, wishing to be united in death with a man whose example he had endeavoured to imitate through life.

[‡] This was the sum of 100*l.* per annum granted in the reign of king Charles the Second, payable out of the excise for ever, for the better maintenance of poor vicars and schoolmasters, "that, through the poverty of the place, the church might never want fit persons to perform divine offices, and to instruct the people in necessary truths and duties."

borders a more humble mind than his. The language in which he speaks of the charities of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, expresses what he thought of the good which was done by his own hand. "If he gave alms to the poor, and denied himself many satisfactions which he could easily have purchased, he did not, however, pretend to merit by these exercises of piety any more than a steward pretends to merit by being faithful, or a sick man by being orderly."

And, in an account-book, in which he entered the sums employed from time to time for pious uses, these words were found written; "A very small page will serve for the number of our good works, when vast volumes will not contain our evil deeds."

CHAPTER VII.

His old age, and latter days.

Adieu most worthy prelate, now released
From mortal toils! Thou whom indulgent Heav'n
Lent us so long, (if long in life can be,)
Who well, attentive, faithfully hast watch'd
Thy little sea-girt see, contented there
Still to remain, devoted to thy charge.
Thy care the naked fed, the hungry clothed,
Reliev'd the friendless orphan in his want,
And caus'd the widow's heart to sing for joy.
The ear which heard thee bless'd thee, and the eye
That saw thee sparkled with all grateful beams.
Each day, each hour, still properly employ'd,
Shone with the merit of thy pious deeds.
Thy task's discharg'd, mature for heav'n thou'rt gone,
Ancient thyself, to the Ancient of all days;
There in a moment, glorious meed, thy staff
Episcopal, and rochet, are exchanged
For dazzling robes and a triumphal palm!

Lines on the Death of Bishop Wilson,
by Dr. Cooper of Chester.

The name of bishop Wilson is so little connected with other names or incidents of note, that we have not seen any necessity for adhering to the order of time in this little narrative; and we rather thought that to take a distinct sketch of his character in different points of view would convey a more correct idea of what he really was, and secure to him that affection and reverence, to obtain which he only requires to be known. But our memoir, few as its details have been, is now drawing to its close, and we propose to gather up the fragments which remain relative to that period of his life when he might fairly be termed an old man; and these we shall arrange in the order of their occurrence.

Here then we have to contemplate the aged christian bishop, still proceeding in his wonted course of usefulness, and not retiring from the duties of a minister of Christ while health and life were spared to him.

In the year 1735, at the age of seventy-two, he made his last visit to England, and, while in London, he did not omit the opportunity of being presented to king George the Second, and his consort, queen Caroline. He came into the drawing-room in his usual simple dress, having a small black cap on the top of his head, with his hair flowing and silvery, and his shoes fastened with leathern thongs instead of buckels. His appearance excited some surprise, and, joined with his well-known piety and virtues, awakened feelings of the deepest veneration. It is related, that as soon as he entered the presence-chamber, the king, stepping out of the circle of his courtiers, and advancing towards the bishop, took him by the hand and said—"My lord, I beg your prayers."

Nor was the queen less impressed with reverence for his character; she wished to keep him in England, and with that view offered him translation. One day when she was conversing with him, she turned round to her levee and said —"See here, my lords, is a bishop who does not come for translation!" "No, and please your majesty," was his remark, "I will not in my old age leave my wife because she is poor!"

Nothing could have been more distressing to bishop Wilson than to observe the growing corruption of manners and principles in that "little quiet nation," as he once could term it. He found it poor, indeed, and unlettered, but then it was free from the crimes with which the annals of most countries are stained; and anxiously did he use his best endeavours, by active personal exertions, by stimulating his clergy, by fervent prayer, and by precautionary measures, to preserve it from contamination. But as we have seen, notwithstanding all these exertions, wickedness and impiety established themselves in the soil, and gained continual strength; this he lamented in private and public, and he urged those in authority, as well as the spiritual guides of the people, to stem the torrent of evil which threatened to overwhelm the island. By this disappointment of the hopes he once entertained of building up Zion there as an honour and a praise in the earth, he was reminded that his reward as well as his rest were not to be looked for in this world.

During his absence in London, three unhappy persons had been tried for the crimes of burglary and robbery; and on his return he found them lying under sentence of death. How must he have mourned over the change since the time when the door of Bishop's-court needed no other fastening, by day or night, than a latch, and that merely to keep out the wind, and not from fear of any ruder aggressor.

On this occasion he addressed a circular letter to the clergy of the island, desiring them to pray for the criminals, and to warn their congregations of the wages of sin in this world and the next. And from the pulpit he himself addressed an impressive exhortation to the people, in which, in his own plain and touching manner, he spoke to them as to children, of the danger and the wickedness of such crimes as those which were then about to pay the pealty of death.

At a later period, in the year 1746, he pursued the same course, on the mournful occasion of the condemnation of a murderer. He wrote a circular letter to his "very dear brethren," in which he expressed a hope that none of them would omit that seasonable occasion of "speaking from the pulpit, and other ways," in such a manner as to awaken most lively impressions of the heinousness of that crime, and the great danger of advancing in wickedness from the smallest beginnings to the greatest enormities. "If people," he said, "will take themselves from under God's protection by leaving off to pray daily to God; if they fall into a careless and idle way of living, run into loose and wicked company, hear profane people make mock at a sin;—if they fall into a habit of profaning the Lord's day by idleness, sinful diversions, or neglecting the public worship of God;—these things will certainly grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by which alone we can be kept from the ways of sin and damnation.

"We have here, therefore, a good occasion of amonishing young people, whether men or women, to take care of the beginnings of sin. Nobody is exceeding wicked all at once; the devil is too cunning to startle men with temptations to great and frightful crimes at first; but if he can tempt them to leave off their prayers, to take God's name in vain, to drink, to swear, to hear filthy discourse, and to speak of the vices of others with pleasure, he will soon tempt them to crimes of a damning nature."

In 1739 he was engaged in extricating his poor clergy from some difficulties in which they were involved by the death of the earl of Derby. The lordship of the Isle of Man then passed into the hands of the duke of Athol, and certain papers relating to the ecclesiastical revenues were missing, by which a considerable portion of the small incomes of the clergy was endangered. And on this occasion, as before, they were ultimately relieved from their uncomfortable situation by the successful exertions of bishop Wilson.

He still, in his old age, continued the practice of riding off on Sunday to take a share of the duties in some distant parish, without regarding the fatigue of travelling on roads which are described as having been perilous even for horsemen in winter, and for carriages at all times. In April 1739, being then in his seventy-sixth year, he writes thus to his son—"I have been as well as ever I can expect to be at this age; I was obliged last Sunday to preach at Peel [eight miles distant from Bishop's-court,] ride there and back again on a most stormy day; and yet I thank God, I am not the worse for it."

In his seventy-ninth and eightieth years he continued to preach occasionally, as appears from his letters to his son; and in the year 1743, we have an account of his state of health from his own pen, in a letter to his son's wife.

"My dear Daughter,—I have the pleasure of yours of the 8th of the last month. You put too great a value upon the little favours I can show you. My great aim and desire is, that my son and you may make one another so easy, as that it may be a means, through the blessing of God, of lengthening your days to a good old age; and that at last we may all meet in the Paradise of God.

"My eyes, I thank God, are much better, though my sight is a little duller than formerly; but that is what I ought to expect at eighty years.

"You have a share in my prayers every day of my life; and if I am so happy as to find favour with God, I have some reason to hope that my prayers afterwards may be accepted at the Throne of Grace, for our happy meeting, through the merits of the Lord Jesus.

"Tho. Sodor and Man.

"Oct. 11, 1743."

Even so late as the year 1749, when he was in his 86th year, he had not discontinued taking horse exercise. "I have at last got a horse," he says, "and now and then ride into the fields." *Letter, October* 11, 1749.

In his 90th year he held an ordination; as he had also done the year before; in his 91st year, he consecrated a chapel at Ramsea; and was still able to meet his clergy at the annual convocation, and to address to them a charge as usual.

The infirmities of old age, however, were taking fast hold upon him. His eyes were growing dim, and his natural force was abated. In June, 1751, he wrote thus to the newly-appointed governor of the island:

"Honoured Governor,—I hope my great age, and the infirmities that attend it, will be some excuse for my forgetting so long to inquire after your health, and settling in your government. I promise to make some amends for that fault, by my daily prayers that God may bless you, and make you a happy instrument of good to this people, and comfort and satisfaction to yourself; this being the duty of, honoured sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"Tho. Sodor and Man."

He was *old and full of days*, and this, combined with the occasional attacks of severe bodily ailment, left him no room to doubt that he would soon be *gathered to his people*. Nor was it an unwelcome thought. He had long been accustomed to contemplate the future world, so far as revelation lifts the veil which rests between it and us; and he rejoiced to have found the *new and living way*, which would conduct him safely from the grave to immortal glory. While he felt weak in himself, a firm reliance on his Saviour's merits preserved him from any fear of evil in the valley of the shadow of death, and feeling assured that the mercy and goodness of God would follow him for ever, the prospect of the change which awaited him was far from being unpleasing. He could understand St. Paul's willingness *rather to be absent from the body*, and felt that it was *better to depart and be with Christ*. A reference to the *Sacra Privata* will show that these were the settled and familiar thoughts of his mind. Hence he was *careful for nothing*, and in a very remarkable degree *the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, kept his heart and mind*. But he always rightly considered that this life was the appointed season in which to prepare for the enjoyment of the society of heaven, and therefore in his prayers he fervently implored the grace of the Spirit of God to make him meet for that rest which remaineth for his people.

His humility was deeply rooted in a conviction of the depravity of human nature, and of its evidences in his own heart. And although the chief aim of his sermons and other writings was to induce all whom his instructions should reach, to give all diligence to "add to their faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity," yet he never forgot that the glory to be revealed is *not of debt but of grace*. We might show this by repeated quotations from his writings; but nothing can evince it more clearly than some words which were casually heard as they fell from his lips a short time before his death. He was just coming forth from the retirement of his chamber, expressing the thoughts of a full heart, and unconscious of any listener but God, exclaiming,—"God be merciful to me a sinner—a vile sinner—a miserable sinner!"

As he drew nearer to the confines of the next world, he became more fit to partake of its spiritual enjoyments. A student who resided with him, and watched the gradual decay of nature, observed that God was indeed preparing him for the change, and causing his light to shine more and more unto the perfect day; his benignity became still more remarkable, his conversation more sweet and heavenly, his prayers more frequent and fervent. The same student could often, from his chamber, overhear the bishop making known his requests to God, and repeating portions of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. Here was an instance that—

Heaven waits not the last moment; owns her friends
On this side death, and points them out to men;
A lecture, silent, but of sovereign power,
To vice confusion, and to virtue peace!

Young.

The immediate cause of bishop Wilson's death was a cold caught by walking into his garden after evening prayers, in very damp weather. And nature held out but a very short time against the assault of the last enemy. His fever being accompanied by delirium, prevented our receiving any of those beautiful and persuasive instructions which are so often learned at the bedside of the dying Christian; yet was there a light shining through the cloud which rested upon his mind; for his words betokened that if his mind had wandered from earthly things, it had settled upon heavenly.

His spirit was soon after admitted to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. He died March the 7th, 1755, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his consecration.

One feeling of sorrow pervaded the island on hearing the melancholy tidings of the decease of this generous, excellent, and venerable friend. A concourse, from which few were absent except the sick and infirm, assembled to follow his remains from Bishop's-court to the grave, a distance of two miles; and tears and signs and tender thoughts did more honour to the departed than the pomp and parade of more costly funerals. The body was borne by the tenants of the estate, and the Rev. Philip Moore preached the funeral sermon.

A plain monument in the church-yard of Kirk-Michael denotes the spot where the mortal remains of this holy man were deposited, surrounded by the ashes of many who, poor perhaps in this world, but rich in faith, were through his means made heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him. The following is the inscription:

Sleeping in Jesus,
here lieth the body of
THOMAS WILSON, D. D.
Lord Bishop of this Isle,
who died March the 7th, 1755,
aged 93,
and in the fifty-eighth year of his consecration.
This monument was erected
by his son Thomas Wilson, D. D.
a native of this parish,
who, in obedience to the *express commands* of his father,
declines giving him the character he so
justly deserved.
Let this island speak the rest.

The principal features of bishop Wilson's character, as far as we have the means of ascertaining it, have been so particularly noticed in this memoir, it can only be necessary to say here in a very few words, that we have represented him as being a zealous, devout, single-minded and really good man; as a bishop, aiming to do all to the glory of God; most exemplary as a son, a husband, and a father; of a peculiarly sweet disposition and temper; that he was benign, generous, disinterested; rarely equalled in his unbounded beneficence to all who stood in need of his assistance; of great fortitude, and remarkable simplicity; and though not possessed of any extraordinary mental faculties, yet eminently endued with good sense. Never, perhaps, did a purer spirit wing its way from the earthly house of this tabernacle to the *building of God, the house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens*.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to know that when he enters St. Paul's cathedral, the dark-coloured steps on which he treads were the produce of quarries in the Isle of Man, and the gift of bishop Wilson.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A FEW PASSAGES FROM BISHOP WILSON'S PAPERS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PRECEDING MEMOIRS.

Resolutions made at the time of his Ordination; see p. 478.

1st. I resolve never to give any person any manner of bribe or gift, nor make any manner of contract or promise, for a church preferment, though never so good, and the consideration how inconsiderable soever it be.

"2dly. That I will never give a bond of resignation upon any consideration whatever; being fully persuaded, that when God sees me fit for such an employment, he can bring me into it without subjecting me to these conditions (which I verily believe are unlawful), and if I can never have any ecclesiastical preferment but upon these terms, I am satisfied it is God's will I should have none.

"3dly. Considering the scandal and injury of pluralities to the church, I resolve never to accept of two church livings with cure of souls (if such should ever be in my choice), though never so conveniently seated.

"4thly. I resolve, that whenever it shall please God to bless me with a parish and a cure of souls, I will reside upon it myself, and not trust that to a curate which ought to be my own particular care.

"That I may not ensnare myself by residence, I mean such as the bishop of the diocese shall determine not only to be consistent with the laws of the land, but such as an honest conscientious man may venture his salvation upon; because, for aught I know, some such cases there may be."

Reflections after his recovery from the fever which seized him Sept. 29, 1693; *see p.* 479.

"1st. That very day se'nnight before, I was guilty of a very great fault, which I am sure was very offensive to God, and which I had not repented of; and perhaps had not done it to this day, but had gone on in my wickedness, if God had not by this or some other fatherly correction diverted me.

"2dly. I began my journey (contrary to a former resolution), on a Sunday, which, without great necessity, I think I ought not to have done; that day being particularly appointed for God's service.

"3dly. I cannot but reflect how very dangerous a thing it is to leave the settling of a man's temporal and spiritual affairs till he is seized with sickness; since I find by a just experience, how very unfit one then is for any manner of business.

"4thly. That my recovery and second life was manifestly owing to God, is what I cannot but acknowledge; that therefore, as I ought never to forget the mercy, so ought I to spend the remainder of this life to the honour, and in the service, of the author of it; which, by the grace of God, I will do.

"5thly. I am now most sensible that sickness is an excellent means of bringing us nearer to God. As then I am, by what God has wrought in me, extremely satisfied that it was the great blessing of my life, I ought (as my Master's service obliges me to it), to take all occasions of making God's fatherly correction useful to those who are chastised by this or any other affliction.

"And may the good and merciful God, who has put these good reflections into my heart, may He give me grace never to forget them, nor the blessing I this day received. May I, dear God, never provoke Thee to plague me with diseases, nor bring thy punishments upon me, which Thou never dost, unless we force Thee by our repeated transgressions. This, I confess, with all sense of sorrow, was my case; and Thou, O God, hadst been less kind to me, hadst thou been less severe. I acknowledge thy justice, and I acknowledge thy favour. Couldst Thou have been just and not merciful, I had been utterly destroyed; hadst thou been merciful and not just, I might have gone on in my wickedness, till I had brought down destruction upon my own head. It is good for me that I have been in trouble, for I have since learned to keep thy commandments; but it had not been good for me, had I not fallen into the hands of a merciful God. Since, therefore, Thou didst in great mercy restore me to my former health; since Thou hast given me a new life, give me grace likewise, without which my life will be no blessing to me; give me grace, I humbly beg, to serve Thee with this life which is thine. Thou needest not, O God, my service, but accept of my ambition of serving Thee, I would do something that might be acceptable to my great benefactor. Thou desirest no sacrifice, else I would give it Thee; I offer my life to be employed in thine immediate service, to which I have dedicated it. I will preach thy way unto the wicked; and by my ministry, if Thou seest good, sinners shall be converted unto Thee. They shall taste and see how gracious the Lord is to those whom he chastises in his love.

"Blessed are all they that put their trust in him; and blessed be the name of the Lord, who has indulged me this opportunity of returning my hearty thanks for this mercy in particular, which I do this day commemorate. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all praise, honour and glory, by me, and all that are sharers of these mighty blessings. Amen."

"*Reflections upon my own present circumstances, October* 21, 1696."

This was the day before his conversation with the earl of Derby; see p. 479.

"It has pleased God to call me out of a family (which through its honesty and industry, by God's blessing, has secured it from poverty, yet is far from being rich), to a post which my own merits and prudence could never have brought me to. The several steps I have made to this place have been very extraordinary, and such as plainly appear to have been by the direction and goodness of God; from which I cannot but conclude, that since God has thus raised me, it must certainly be for some wise and good end; and that I might be obliged, by all the force of interest and gratitude, to do my duty in this state of life to which I am called. It is true, it may at first sight appear very hazardous, to use that liberty and freedom which may seem necessary to advise and reclaim that great man whom I serve. But then I am to consider, that were I really to lose all my expectations, as well as what I have gotten, I am but where I was when God at first showed me his favour. Nay, my education will still set me above my father's house.

"But this is not what I ought to fear: for cannot God who raised me without myself, cannot He raise me, or keep me up, though my ruin should be designed and attempted? And perhaps it may never come to this: for who knows, but God may give a blessing to my honest endeavours? And then I am sure it will be the greatest advantage, as well as honour of my whole life, and an ease to my soul all my days; and if he only falls out with me, and discharges me his family, I have the glory and satisfaction of having done a great good work.

"Now, if I neglect this, which I take to be my duty, or for fear of danger or any temporal consideration, put it off in hopes of a better occasion, I may justly expect that God who raised me (it may be for this very purpose), when I am found so backward in his service, will level me with the meanest of my father's house. My fortune is in his hand entirely; and He that could find a way to raise me without myself, can find out a way to ruin me in spite of my best endeavours.

"And since in my conscience I know that I have not the least pretence to what I enjoy, but all is owing to his providence and goodness, I am his debtor for it; and I have no other way of making a return, but by doing my duty honestly, and leaving the event to God.

"And may that Eternal Goodness inspire me with a resotion answerable to this good and great design! May no weak and cowardly apprehensions fright me from my duty! May I fear Him only who has power over my soul, as well as body, to destroy them both if I am disobedient to the heavenly command.

"Inspire me, O God, with a zeal and courage becoming my profession, that I may rebuke vice boldly, and discountenance wickedness wherever I find it, and be jealous for thy glory in the presence of the greatest men on earth. Above all, O Lord Almighty, make me to do some good in this station in which, by thy providence, is my present lot; that when Thou shalt please to remove me (whether for the better or worse, thy will be done), I may not repent of having done nothing which thou requirest of me. Grant this, Oh my great and bountiful Lord and Master, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

His Prayer when he was Enthroned in the Cathedral of St. Germain, in Peel Castle, April 11, 1698; *see p.* 480.

"In an humble and thankful sense of thy great goodness to a very sinful and very unworthy creature, I look up to Thee, O gracious Lord and benefactor, who from a low obscurity hast called me to this high office, for grace and strength to fit me for it. What am I, or what is my father's house, that Thou shouldst vouchsafe us such instances of thy notice and favour? I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies which Thou hast showed unto thy servant.

"O God, grant that, by a conscientious discharge of my duty, I may profit those over whom I am appointed thy minister, that I may make such a return as shall be acceptable to Thee.

"Give me such a measure of thy spirit as shall be sufficient to support me under, and lead me through, all the difficulties I shall meet with.

"Command a blessing upon my studies, that I may make full proof of my ministry, and be instrumental in converting many to the truth.

"Give me skill and conduct, that with a pious, prudent and charitable hand, I may lead and govern the people committed to my care; that I may be watchful in ruling them, earnest in correcting them, fervent in loving them, and patient in bearing with them.

"Let thy grace and blessing, O father of mankind, rest upon all those whom I bless in thy name; and especially upon those who, together with me, are appointed to watch over thy flock.

"Bless every member of this church; support the weak, confirm and settle those that stand, and feed our flock, together with ourselves, through Jesus Christ the chief shepherd. Lord, who is sufficient for so great a work? Thou, O Lord, canst enable the meanest of thy creatures to bring to pass what Thou hast determined; be pleased to make me an instrument of great good to this church and people; and grant, that when I have preached to and governed others, I myself may not be lost or go astray.

"Preserve me from the dangers of a prosperous condition, from pride, and forgetfulness of Thee, from a proud conceit of myself, and from disdaining others. Rather turn me out of all earthly possessions, than they should hinder me in my way to heaven.

"If affliction be needful for me, let me not want it; only give me grace thankfully to receive and bear thy fatherly correction, that after this life is ended in thine immediate service, I may have a place of rest amongst thy faithful servants in the paradise of God, in sure hopes of a blessed resurrection, through Jesus Christ. Amen."

The Prayer which he used before his Sermons.

"Almighty God, maker of all things, judge of all men, graciously receive the supplications and prayers of this congregation, for themselves and for all estates and conditions of men.

"Lord, in mercy grant unto us, and unto all sinners, a true sense of our errors, and grace to amend whatever we have done amiss, that iniquity may not be our ruin. Let not those judgments fall upon us which our sins have justly deserved; and grant that thy great mercy and forbearance may oblige us to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

"Have mercy upon the work of thy hands, that all the world may come to the knowledge of Thee, and of thy goodness in Jesus Christ; that all who are weary with the burthen of their sins, may know where to find rest unto their souls.

"Preserve thy church in the midst of this uncertain world, and prepare her for what thy providence shall bring forth; that neither prosperity may corrupt thy faithful servants, nor adversity discourage them from professing the truth.

"Keep this church and nation in the peaceable enjoyment of thy word and sacraments; and grant that we may live answerable to the means of grace which thy providence hath afforded us.

"Bless all the reformed churches; keep them from all wicked and dangerous errors; and bring into the way of truth all such as have gone astray; that thy kingdom, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be glorified.

"O God! whose kingdom ruleth over all, bless these nations to which we belong; that peace, and truth, and justice—that true religion and piety, may be secured and countenanced; that all ignorance and profaneness, and whatever else opposeth thy Divine will made known to us, may be effectually discharged. To this end we pray God to hear us, for the king's majesty, that his days may be many, his government happy, his commands just and equal, and his people faithful and obedient:—for the royal family, that we may be blessed with a succession of princes fearing God:—for all such as are in council and authority, (and especially for the high court of parliament,) that they may consult the honour of God, the true interest of his church, and the welfare of the people:—for the bishops and pastors of Christ's flock, that they may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke and oppose vice, and be living examples of those graces and virtues which they recommend to others: and the Lord Jesus Christ be always with them according to his promise; and grant unto the people of their flocks that they may profit by them daily.

"Blessed God and lover of souls, preserve, by Thy grace, those that are in the way of life; enlighten the minds of the ignorant; awaken the consciences of the careless; silence the gainsayers; convert the profane; and bring them all to Thine everlasting kingdom.

"We commend unto the tender mercy of God, all sick and dying persons; all that are in affliction of mind or body, or under any pressing calamity; all that are poor, and have none else to help them; and especially all such as suffer persecution for a righteous cause.

"Lord, pity and sanctify the miseries of this life, to the everlasting benefit of all that suffer; that the tears of the oppressed, the pains of the afflicted, the wants of the poor, may all help forward and end in the salvation of their immortal souls.

"We beseech God to hear our prayers for all those that never pray for themselves; that they may see the danger, before it is too late, of living without God in the world.

"And God Almighty grant that we may all of us have worthy thoughts of His majesty—for His great power in creating us—for His wonderful providence in preserving us—for His great goodness in redeeming us by Jesus Christ; for whose doctrine and example, and for the examples of all His faithful servants, we pray God make us truly thankful, and grant us grace to follow their steps, that we may with them be made partakers of a blessed resurrection.

"That we may obtain these blessings, and whatever else is needful for us, let us all join, and with one heart and voice pray to God in that perfect form of words which Jesus Christ hath taught us—'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c."

Two of the letters which Dr. Wilson, the bishop's son, received after the publication of his father's life and writings, will give an additional interest to this memoir.

I. *Letter from Bishop Horne.*

"I am charmed with the view the books afford me of the good man your father, in his diocese and in his closet. *The Life*, the *Sacra Privata*, the *Maxims*, the *Parochialia*, &c. &c. exhibit altogether a complete and lovely portrait of a christian bishop going through all his functions with consummate prudence, fortitude, and piety; the pastor and father of a happy island for near threescore years! The case is really an *unique* in ecclesiastical story.

"The *Sermons* are the affectionate addresses of a parent to his children, descending to the minutest particulars, and adapted to all their wants. In a delicate and fastidious age, they may perhaps be slighted for their plainness and simplicity; but they were just what they should be for the place and for the people. To use an illustration of his own, he is the best physician who cures the most patients: and at the last great day, may they who value themselves on their learning, their elegance, and their eloquence, give as good an account of their stewardship as the bishop of Sodor and Man!"

II. *Letter from Mr. William Matthews, of Bath, one of the Society of Friends.*

Walcot, 12*th month* 12, 1780.

"My worthy friend—There are times when our minds are particularly impressed with sentiments of a social kind, and our souls expand in the feeling of religious good. Such are the times when communication will not only be sincere, but carry with it an evidence of that truth which reduces to one level the little and the great. Our minds are blessed various ways; but all good is derived from the one immortal source of it, even from God himself. Yet I desire to receive and esteem as I ought, those instrumental means which Divine Providence is appointing in aid of human weakness.

"I am now reading with admiration and delight the works of thy late venerable father, so lately given as another scriptural blessing to mankind. And while I read, I cannot but secretly applaud the twofold motive by which they were brought forth and ushered into the world: in the old age of his son; a last testimony of filial reverence, and a laudable concern for the good of the present and succeeding generations! Suffer me, then, to congratulate thee on living to see the publication of this invaluable work. Thy only remaining solicitude must be that of all good men, that the public in general may be wise enough to read it with a serious and devout attention. But, alas! my good friend, so general is the folly of the multitude, so great their depravity of mind, that wisdom is treated with contempt; and the writings of the wise and good, inspired from heaven for the purpose of salvation, must give way to the amusements of a comedy, and be rejected for the poison of a ludicrous romance! There are other classes of readers, too, from whom little must be expected; speculative men, whose principal aim is to find out some new thing, that they may be wiser in their own conceit, and able to amuse their fellow-creatures without the requisite qualifications for making them better: such men will perhaps affect to treat the most spiritual part of this excellent work as the fruit of a mind unnecessarily burthened with a weight of extreme devotion; others, admitting in theory all due reverence to the christian religion, yet under the influence of prejudice in matters of mere opinion, may not receive the work with that willing mind which would lead them to look into a book published by some favourite sectary, or some wild enthusiast. But as the memory of the just is blessed, so are their works. And though there were among the Jews those who disregarded Moses and the Prophets; and the present age aboundeth with those who will neither hear them nor the Gospel of Him who is risen from the dead: yet shall the words of the wise remain, to be as goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd. They are not given forth in vain, for they are parts of that universal and eternal Word of God, which shall accomplish the work whereunto he hath sent it.

"The *Sermons*, I think, are simple, clear, and interesting, beyond any body of discourses which I have seen. The other parts are certainly not inferior in their kind. But what a rich fund of pure, sublime, and heavenly devotion is the *Sacra Privata!* There we find the true picture of a truly christian mind. A progressive series of faithful exercises, in communion, through Jesus Christ, with God the Father, who seeth and heareth in secret, and who, with the abundant graces of his Holy Spirit, rewardeth his children openly. Such were the primitive apostles and preachers of the gospel of Christ; such was the bishop of Man; and such as they were must all men be, who ever come to be adorned with the real beauty of holiness. They only are pleasant in their lives, and in their death they are not divided!

"The *Sacra Privata* is a treasure to which I often resort in my short relaxations from the cares of the day; and I am fully convinced, that nothing short of apostolical wisdom, piety, and purity of soul, could bring forth such fervent strains of devotion. May it, and the works at large, be blessed to thousands and tens of thousands, while the name of the author shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

"In coming to a conclusion of these few sentences, I must indulge in a more particular and affectionate address to thyself. I think of thee with that unfeigned esteem and regard which an honourable and peaceful old age inspires. Honourable in itself, and deriving a peculiar honour from a father so truly great and good!

"I consider thee as one whom the course of nature is soon to remove from among the living, and number with the generations that are gone before. Such must be a time of great seriousness; a time for that resignation, which I am persuaded thou feelest, to the Divine Disposer of all events. To be resigned in such a situation is the most happy of all privileges; a last great instance of that goodness and mercy which followed the royal psalmist all the days of his life, and which we humbly trust had not forsaken good Hezekiah when he turned his face to the wall and wept!

"I have no pretensions to ceremonious addresses or conclusions, and they would ill become us both; but in the fervent spirit of christian good-will, I wish thy every day of declining from this world may produce new comfort from another, and *the better comforter*. And that thy last day may bring thee to a communion with thy father's spirit, made perfect for a glorious immortality.

"Thy very sincerely affectionate friend,
"WILLIAM MATTHEWS."

SERMONS

BY

THE RIGHT REV. JOSEPH BUTLER, D. C. L.

LATE

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

PREFACE.

Though it is scarce possible to avoid judging, in some way or other, of almost every thing which offers itself to one's thoughts; yet it is certain, that many persons, from different causes, never exercise their judgment, upon what comes before them, in the way of determining whether it be conclusive, and holds. They are perhaps entertained with some things, not so with others; they like, and they dislike: but whether that which is proposed to be made out be really made out or not; whether a matter be stated according to the real truth of the case, seems to the generality of people merely a circumstance of no consideration at all. Arguments are often wanted for some accidental purpose: but proof as such is what they never want for themselves; for their own satisfaction of mind, or conduct in life. Not to mention the multitudes who read merely for the sake of talking, or to qualify themselves for the world, or some such kind of reasons; there are, even of the few who read for their own entertainment, and have a real curiosity to see what is said, several, which is prodigious, who have no sort of curiosity to see what is true: I say, curiosity; because it is too obvious to be mentioned, how much that religious and sacred attention, which is due to truth, and to the important question, What is the rule of life? is lost out of the world.

For the sake of this whole class of readers, for they are of different capacities, different kinds, and get into this way from different occasions, I have often wished, that it had been the custom to lay before people nothing in matters of argument but premises, and leave them to draw conclusions themselves; which, though it could not be done in all cases, might in many.

The great number of books and papers of amusement, which, of one kind or another, daily come in one's way, have in part occasioned, and most perfectly fall in with and humour, this idle way of reading and considering things. By this means, time even in solitude is happily got rid of, without the pain of attention: neither is any part of it more put to the account of idleness, one can scarce forbear saying, is spent with less thought, than great part of that which is spent in reading.

Thus people habituate themselves to let things pass through their minds, as one may speak, rather than to think of them. Thus by use they become satisfied merely with seeing what is said, without going any further. Review and attention, and even forming a judgment, becomes fatigue; and to lay any thing before them that requires it, is putting them quite out of their way.

There are also persons, and there are at least more of them than have a right to claim such superiority, who take for granted, that they are acquainted with every thing; and that no subject, if treated in the manner it should be, can be treated in any manner but what is familiar and easy to them.

It is true indeed, that few persons have a right to demand attention; but it is also true, that nothing can be understood without that degree of it, which the very nature of the thing requires. Now morals, considered as a science, concerning which speculative difficulties are daily raised, and treated with regard to those difficulties, plainly require a very peculiar attention. For here ideas never are in themselves determinate, but become so by the train of reasoning and the place they stand in; since it is impossible that words can always stand for the same ideas, even in the same author, much less in different ones. Hence an argument may not readily be apprehended, which is different from its being mistaken; and even caution to avoid being mistaken may, in some cases, render it less readily apprehended. It is very unallowable for a work of imagination or entertainment not to be of easy comprehension, but may be unavoidable in a work of another kind, where a man is not to form or accommodate, but to state things as he finds them.

It must be acknowledged, that some of the following Discourses are very abstruse and difficult; or, if you please, obscure; but I must take leave to add, that those alone are judges, whether or no and how far this is a fault, who are judges, whether or no and how far it might have been avoided—those only who will be at the trouble to understand what is here said, and to see how far the things here insisted upon, and not other things, might have been put in a plainer manner; which yet I am very far from asserting that they could not.

Thus much however will be allowed, that general criticisms concerning obscurity considered as a distinct thing from confusion and perplexity of thought, as in some cases there may be ground for them; so in others, they may be nothing more at the bottom than complaints, that every thing is not to be understood with the same ease that some things are. Confusion and perplexity in writing, is indeed without excuse, because any one may, if he pleases, know whether he understands and sees through what he is about: and it is unpardonable for a man to lay his thoughts before others, when he is conscious that he himself does not know whereabouts he is, or how the matter before him stands. It is coming abroad in disorder, which he ought to be dissatisfied to find himself in at home.

But even obscurities arising from other causes than the abstruseness of the argument may not be always inexcusable. Thus a subject may be treated in a manner, which all along supposes the reader acquainted with what has been said upon it, both by ancient and modern writers; and with what is the present state of opinion in the world concerning such subject. This will create a difficulty of a very peculiar kind, and even throw an obscurity over the whole before those who are not thus informed; but those who are will be disposed to excuse such a manner, and other things of the like kind, as a saving of their patience.

However, upon the whole, as the title of Sermons gives some right to expect what is plain and of easy comprehension, and as the best auditories are mixed, I shall not set about to justify the propriety of preaching, or under that title publishing, Discourses so abstruse as some of these are: neither is it worth while to trouble the reader with the account of my doing either. He must not however impute to me, as a repetition of the impropriety, this second edition, but to the demand for it.

Whether he will think he has any amends made him by the following illustrations of what seemed most to require them, I myself am by no means a proper judge.

There are two ways in which the subject of morals may be treated. One begins from inquiring into the abstract relations of things: the other from a matter of fact, namely, what the particular nature of man is, its several parts, their economy or constitution; from whence it proceeds to determine what course of life it is, which is correspondent to this whole nature. In the former method the conclusion is expressed thus, that vice is contrary to the nature and reason of things: in the latter, that it is a violation or breaking in upon our own nature. Thus they both lead us to the same thing, our obligations to the practice of virtue; and thus they exceedingly strengthen and enforce each other. The first seems the most direct formal proof, and in some respects the least liable to cavil and dispute: the latter is in a peculiar manner adapted to satisfy a fair mind; and is more easily applicable to the several particular relations and circumstances in life.

The following Discourses proceed chiefly in this latter method. The three first wholly. They were intended to explain what is meant by the nature of man, when it is said that virtue consists in following, and vice in deviating from it; and by explaining to show that the assertion is true. That the ancient moralists had some inward feeling or other, which they chose to express in this manner, that man is born to virtue, that it consists in following nature, and that vice is more contrary to this nature than tortures of death, their works in our hands are instances. Now a person who found no mystery in this way of speaking of the ancients; who, without being very explicit with himself, kept to his natural feeling, went along with them, and found within himself a full conviction, that what they laid down was just and true; such a one would probably wonder to see a point, in which he never perceived any difficulty, so laboured as this is, in the second and third Sermons; insomuch perhaps as to be at a loss for the occasion, scope, and drift of them. But it need not be thought strange that this manner of expression, though familiar with them, and, if not usually carried so far, yet not uncommon amongst ourselves, should want explaining; since there are several perceptions daily felt and spoken of, which yet it may not be very easy at first view to explicate, to distinguish from all others, and ascertain exactly what the idea or perception is. The many treatises upon the passions are a proof of this; since so many would never have undertaken to unfold their several complications, and trace and resolve them into their principles, if they had thought, what they were endeavouring to show was obvious to every one, who felt and talked of those passions. Thus, though there seems no ground to doubt, but that the generality of mankind have the inward perception expressed so commonly in that manner by the ancient moralists, more than to doubt whether they have those passions; yet it appeared of use to unfold that inward conviction, and lay it open in a more explicit manner, than I had seen done; especially when there were not wanting persons, who manifestly mistook the whole thing, and so had great reason to express themselves dissatisfied with it. A late author of great and deserved reputation says, that to place virtue in following nature, is at best a loose way of talk. And he has reason to say this, if what I think he intends to express, though with great decency, be true, that scarce any other sense can be put upon those words, but acting as any of the several parts, without distinction, of a man's nature happened most to incline him.

Whoever thinks it worth while to consider this matter thoroughly, should begin with stating to himself exactly the idea of a system, economy, or constitution of any particular nature, or particular any thing; and he will, I suppose, find, that it is a one or a whole, made up of several parts; but yet, that the several parts, even considered as a whole, do not complete the idea, unless in the notion of a whole you include the relations and respects which those parts have to each other. Every work, both of nature and of art, is a system: and as every particular thing, both natural and artificial, is for some use or purpose out of and beyond itself, one may add, to what has been already brought into the idea of a system, its conduciveness to this one or more ends. Let us instance in a watch—suppose the several parts of it taken to pieces, and placed apart from each other: let a man have ever so exact a notion of these several parts, unless he considers the respects and relations which they have to each other, he will not have any thing like the idea of a watch. Suppose these several parts brought together and any how united: neither will he yet, be the union ever so close, have an idea which will bear any resemblance to that of a watch. But let him view those several parts put together, or consider them as to be put together in the manner of a watch; let him form a notion of the relations which those several parts have to each other—all conducive in their respective ways to this purpose, showing the hour of the day; and then he has the idea of a watch. Thus it is with regard to the inward frame of man. Appetites, passions, affections, and the principle of reflection, considered merely as the several parts of our inward nature, do not at all give us an idea of the system or constitution of this nature; because the constitution is formed by somewhat not yet taken into consideration, namely, by the relations which these several parts have to each other; the chief of which is the authority of reflection or conscience. It is from considering the relations which the several appetites and passions in the inward frame have to each other, and, above all, the supremacy of reflection or conscience, that we get the idea of the system or constitution of human nature. And from the idea itself as it will fully appear, that this our nature, *i. e.* constitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the idea of a watch it appears, that its nature, *i. e.* constitution or system, is adapted to measure time. What in fact or event commonly happens is nothing to this question. Every work of art is apt to be out of order: but this is so far from being according to its system, that let the disorder increase, and it will totally destroy it. This is merely by way of explanation, what an economy, system, or constitution is. And thus far the cases are perfectly parallel. If we go further, there is indeed a difference, nothing to the present purpose, but too important a one ever to be omitted. A machine is inanimate and passive; but we are agents. Our constitution is put in our own power. We are charged with it; and therefore are accountable for any disorder or violation of it.

Thus nothing can possibly be more contrary to nature than vice; meaning by nature not only the *several parts* of our internal frame, but also the *constitution* of it. Poverty and disgrace, tortures and death, are not so contrary to it. Misery and injustice are indeed equally contrary to some different parts of our nature taken singly; but injustice is moreover contrary to the whole constitution of the nature.

If it be asked, whether this constitution be really what those philosophers meant, and whether they would have explained themselves in this manner; the answer is the same, as if it should be asked, whether a person, who had often used the word *resentment*, and felt the thing, would have explained this passion exactly in the same manner in which it is done in one of these Discourses. As I have no doubt, but that this is a true account of that passion, which he referred to and intended to express by the word *resentment;* so I have no doubt, but that this is the true account of the ground of that conviction which they referred to, when they said, vice was contrary to nature. And though it should be thought that they meant no more than that vice was contrary to the higher and better part of our nature; even this implies such a constitution as I have endeavoured to explain. For the very terms, higher and better, imply a relation or respect of parts to each other; and these relative parts, being in one and the same nature, form a constitution, and are the very idea of it. They had a perception that injustice was contrary to their nature, and that pain was so also. They observed these two perceptions totally different, not in degree, but in kind; and the reflecting upon each of them, as they thus stood in their nature, wrought a full intuitive conviction, that more was due and of right belonged to one of these inward perceptions, than to the other; that it demanded in all cases to govern such a creature as man. So that, upon the whole, this is a fair and true account of what was the ground of their conviction; of what they intended to refer to, when they said, virtue consisted in following nature: a manner of speaking not loose and undeterminate, but clear and distinct, strictly just and true.

Though I am persuaded the force of this conviction is felt by almost every one; yet since, considered as an argument, and put in words, it appears somewhat abstruse, and since the connexion of it is broken in the three first Sermons, it may not be amiss to give the reader the whole argument here in one view.

Mankind has various instincts and principles of action, as brute creatures have; some leading most directly and immediately to the good of the community, and some most directly to private good.

Man has several which brutes have not; particularly reflection or conscience, an approbation of some principles or actions, and disapprobation of others.

Brutes obey their instincts or principles of action, according to certain rules; suppose the constitution of their body, and the objects around them.

The generality of mankind also obey their instincts and principles, all of them; those propensions we call good, as well as the bad, according to the same rules; namely, the constitution of their body, and the external circumstances which they are in. [Therefore it is not a true representation of mankind to affirm, that they are wholly governed by self-love, the love of power and sensual appetites: since, as on the one hand they are often actuated by these, without any regard to right or wrong; so on the other it is a manifest fact, that the same persons, the generality, are frequently influenced by friendship, compassion, gratitude; and even a general abhorrence of what is base, and liking of what is fair and just, takes its turn amongst the other motives of action. This is the partial inadequate notion of human nature treated of in the first Discourse; and it is by this nature, if one may speak so, that the world is in fact influenced, and kept in that tolerable order in which it is.]

Brutes, in acting according to the rules before mentioned, their bodily constitution and circumstances, act suitably to their whole nature. [It is however to be distinctly noted, that the reason why we affirm this is not merely that brutes in fact act so; for this alone, however universal, does not at all determine whether such course of action be correspondent to their whole nature: but the reason of the assertion is, that as in acting thus, they plainly act conformably to somewhat in their nature, so, from all observations we are able to make upon them, there does not appear the least ground to imagine them to have any thing else in their nature which requires a different rule or course of action.]

Mankind also in acting thus would act suitably to their whole nature, if no more were to be said of man's nature than what has been now said; if that, as it is a true, were also a complete, adequate account of our nature.

But that is not a complete account of man's nature. Somewhat further must be brought in to give us an adequate notion of it; namely, that one of those principles of action, conscience or reflection, compared with the rest as they all stand together in the nature of man, plainly bears upon it marks of authority over all the rest, and claims the absolute direction of them all, to allow or forbid their gratification; a disapprobation of reflection being in itself a principle manifestly superior to a mere propension. And the conclusion is, that to allow no more to this superior principle or part of our nature, than to other parts; to let it govern and guide only occasionally in common with the rest, as its turn happens to come, from the temper and circumstances one happens to be in; this is not to act conformably to the constitution of man: neither can any human creature be said to act conformably to his constitution of nature, unless he allows to that superior principle the absolute authority which is due to it. And this conclusion is abundantly confirmed from hence, that one may determine what course of action the economy of man's nature requires, without so much as knowing in what degrees of *strength* the several principles prevail, or which of them have actually the greatest influence.

The practical reason of insisting so much upon this natural authority of the principle of reflection or conscience is, that it seems in great measure overlooked by many, who are by no means the worse sort of men. It is thought sufficient to abstain from gross wickedness, and to be humane and kind to such as happen to come in their way. Whereas in reality the very constitution of our nature requires, that we bring our whole conduct before this superior faculty; wait its determination; enforce upon ourselves its authority, and make it the business of our lives, as it is absolutely the whole business of a moral agent, to conform ourselves to it. This is the true meaning of that ancient precept, *Reverence thyself.*

The not taking into consideration this authority, which is implied in the idea of reflex approbation or disapprobation, seems a material deficiency or omission in lord Shaftsbury's Inquiry concerning Virtue. He has shown beyond all contradiction, that virtue is naturally the interest or happiness, and vice the misery, of such a creature as man, placed in the circumstances which we are in this world. But suppose there are particular exceptions: a case which this author was unwilling to put, and yet surely it is to be put: or suppose a case which he has put and determined, that of a sceptic not convinced of this happy tendency of virtue, or being of a contrary opinion. His determination is, that it would be *without remedy.* One may say more explicitly, that leaving out the authority or reflex approbation of disapprobation, such a one would be under an obligation to act viciously; since interest, one's own happiness, is a manifest obligation, and there is not supposed to be any other obligation in the case. "But does it much mend the matter, to take in that natural authority of reflection? There indeed would be an obligation to virtue; but would not the obligation from supposed interest on the side of vice remain?" If it should, yet to be under two contrary obligations, *i. e.* under none at all, would not be exactly the same, as to be under a formal obligation to be vicious, or to be in circumstances in which the constitution of man's nature plainly required that vice should be preferred. But the obligation on the side of interest really does not remain. For the natural authority of the principle of reflection is an obligation the most near and intimate, the most certain and known: whereas the contrary obligation can at the utmost appear no more than probable; since no man can be *certain* in any circumstances that vice is his interest in the present world, much less can he be certain against another: and thus the certain obligation would entirely supersede and destroy the uncertain one; which yet would have been of real force without the former.

In truth, the taking in this consideration totally changes the whole state of the case; and shows, what this author does not seem to have been aware of, that the greatest degree of scepticism which he thought possible will still leave men under the strictest moral obligations, whatever their opinion be concerning the happiness of virtue. For that mankind upon reflection felt an approbation of what was good, and disapprobation of the contrary, he thought a plain matter of fact, as it undoubtedly is, which none could deny, but from mere affectation. Take in then that authority and obligation, which is a constituent part of this reflex approbation, and it will undeniably follow, though a man should doubt of every thing else, yet, that he would still remain under the nearest and most certain obligation to the practice of virtue; an obligation implied in the very idea of virtue, in the very idea of reflex approbation.

And how little influence soever this obligation alone can be expected to have in fact upon mankind, yet one may appeal even to interest and self-love, and ask, since from man's nature, condition, and the shortness of life, so little, so very little indeed, can possibly in any case be gained by vice; whether it be so prodigious a thing to sacrifice that little to the most intimate of all obligations; and which a man cannot transgress without being self-condemned, and, unless he has corrupted his nature, without real self-dislike: this question, I say, may be asked, even upon supposition that the prospect of a future life were ever so uncertain.

The observation, that man is thus by his very nature a law to himself, pursued to its just consequences, is of the utmost importance; because from it it will follow, that though men should, through stupidity or speculative scepticism, be ignorant of, or disbelieve, any authority in the universe to punish the violation of this law; yet, if there should be such authority, they would be as really liable to punishment, as though they had been beforehand convinced, that such punishment would follow. For in whatever sense we understand justice, even supposing, what I think would be very presumptuous to assert, that the end of divine punishment is no other than that of civil punishment, namely, to prevent future mischief; upon this bold supposition, ignorance or disbelief of the sanction would by no means exempt even from this justice: because it is foreknowledge of the punishment which renders us obnoxious to it; but merely violating a known obligation.

And here it comes in one's way to take notice of a manifest error or mistake in the author now cited, unless perhaps he has incautiously expressed himself so as to be misunderstood; namely, that *it is malice only, and not goodness, which can make us afraid.* Whereas in reality, goodness is the natural and just object of the greatest fear to an ill man. Malice may be appeased or satiated; humour may change, but goodness is a fixed, steady, immovable principle of action. If either of the former holds the sword of justice, there is plainly ground for the greatest of crimes to hope for impunity: but if it be goodness, there can be no possible hope, whilst the reasons of things, or the ends of government, call for punishment. Thus every one sees how much greater chance of impunity an ill man has in a partial administration, than in a just and upright one. It is said, that *the interest or good of the whole must be the interest of the universal Being, and that he can have no other.* Be it so. This author has proved, that vice is naturally the misery of mankind in this world. Consequently it was for the good of the whole that it should be so. What shadow of reason then is there to assert, that this may not be the case hereafter? Danger of future punishment (and if there be danger, there is ground of fear) no more supposes malice, than the present feeling of punishment does.

The Sermon *upon the character of Balaam*, and that *upon Self-Deceit*, both relate to one subject. I am persuaded, that a very great part of the wickedness of the world is, one way or other, owing to the self-partiality, self-flattery, and self-deceit, endeavoured there to be laid open and explained. It is to be observed amongst persons of the lowest rank, in proportion to their compass of thought, as much as amongst men of education and improvement. It seems, that people are capable of being thus artful with themselves, in proportion as they are capable of being so with others. Those who have taken notice that there is really such a thing, namely, plain falseness and insincerity in men with regard to themselves, will readily see the drift and design of these Discourses, and nothing that I can add will explain the design of them to him, who has not beforehand remarked, at least, somewhat of the character. And yet the admonitions they contain may be as much wanted by such a person, as by others; for it is to be noted, that a man may be entirely possessed by this unfairness of mind, without having the least speculative notion what the thing is.

The account given of *Resentment* in the eighth Sermon is introductory to the following one *upon Forgiveness of Injuries.* It may possibly have appeared to some, at first sight, a strange assertion, that injury is the only natural object of settled resentment, or that men do not in fact resent deliberately any thing but under this appearance of injury. But I must desire the reader not to take any assertion alone by itself, but to consider the whole of what is said upon it: because this is necessary, not only in order to judge of the truth of it, but often, such is the nature of language, to see the very meaning of the assertion. Particularly as to this, injury and injustice is, in the Sermon itself, explained to mean, not only the more gross and shocking instances of wickedness, but also contempt, scorn, neglect, any sort of disagreeable behaviour towards a person, which he thinks other than what is due to him. And the general notion of injury or wrong plainly comprehends this, though the words are mostly confined to the higher degrees of it.

Forgiveness of injuries is one of the very few moral obligations which has been disputed. But the proof, that it is really an obligation, what our nature and condition require, seems very obvious, were it only from the consideration, that revenge is doing harm merely for harm's sake. And as to the love of our enemies: resentment cannot supersede the obligation to universal benevolence, unless they are in the nature of the thing inconsistent, which they plainly are not.

This divine precept, to forgive injuries and love our enemies, though to be met with in Gentile moralists, yet is in a peculiar sense a precept of Christianity; as our Saviour has insisted more upon it than upon any other single virtue. One reason of this doubtless is, that it so peculiarly becomes an imperfect, faulty creature. But it may be observed also, that a virtuous temper of mind, consciousness of innocence, and good meaning towards every body, and a strong feeling of injustice and injury, may itself, such is the imperfection of our virtue, lead a person to violate this obligation, if he be not upon his guard. And it may well be supposed, that this is another reason why it is so much insisted upon by him, who *knew what was in man.*

The chief design of the eleventh Discourse is to state the notion of self-love and disinterestedness, in order to show that benevolence is not more unfriendly to self-love, than any other particular affection whatever. There is a strange affectation in many people of explaining away all particular affections, and representing the whole of life as nothing but one continued exercise of self-love. Hence arises that surprising confusion and perplexity in the Epicureans[*] of old, Hobbes, the author of *Reflections*, *Sentences*, *et Maximes Morales*, and this whole set of writers; the confusion of calling actions interested which are done in contradiction to the most manifest known interest, merely for the gratification of a present passion. Now all this confusion might easily be avoided, by stating to ourselves wherein the idea of self-love in general consists, as distinguished from all particular movements towards particular external objects; the appetites of sense, resentment, compassion, curiosity, ambition, and the rest. When this is done, if the words *selfish* and *interested* cannot be parted with, but must be applied to every thing; yet, to avoid such total confusion of all language, let the distinction be made by epithets: and the first may be called cool or settled selfishness, and the other passionate or sensual selfishness. But the most natural way of speaking plainly is, to call the first only, self-love, and the actions proceeding from it, interested: and to say of the latter, that they are not love to ourselves, but movements towards somewhat external: honour, power, the harm or good of another: and that the pursuit of these external objects, so far as it proceeds from these movements (for it may proceed from self-love), is no otherwise interested, than as every action of every creature must, from the nature of the thing, be; for no one can act but from a desire, or choice, or preference of his own.

Self-love and any particular passion may be joined together; and from this complication, it becomes impossible in numberless instances to determine precisely, how far an action, perhaps even of one's own, has for its principle general self-love, or some particular passion. But this need create no confusion in the ideas themselves of self-love and particular passions. We distinctly discern what one is, and what the other are: though we may be uncertain how far one or the other influences us. And though, from this uncertainty, it cannot but be that there will be different opinions concerning mankind, as more or less governed by interest; and some will ascribe actions to self-love, which others will ascribe to particular passions: yet it is absurd to say that mankind are wholly actuated by either; since it is manifest that both have their influence. For as, on the one hand, men form a general notion of interest, some placing it in one thing, and some in another, and have a considerable regard to it throughout the course of their life, which is owing to self-love; so, on the other hand, they are often set on work by the particular passions themselves, and a considerable part of life is spent in the actual gratification of them, *i. e.* is employed, not by self-love, but by the passions.

Besides, the very idea of an interested pursuit necessarily presupposes particular passions or appetites; since the very idea of interest or happiness consists in this, that an appetite or affection enjoys its object. It is not because we love ourselves that we find delight in such and such objects, but because we have particular affections towards them. Take away these affections, and you leave self-love absolutely nothing at all to employ itself about; no end or object for it to pursue, excepting only that of avoiding pain. Indeed the Epicureans, who maintained that absence of pain was the highest happiness, might, consistently with themselves, deny all affection, and, if they had so pleased, every sensual appetite too: but the very idea of interest or happiness other than absence of pain implies particular appetites or passions; these being necessary to constitute that interest or happiness.

The observation, that benevolence is no more disinterested than any of the common particular passions, seems in itself worth being taken notice of; but is insisted upon to obviate that scorn, which one sees rising upon the faces of people who are said to know the world, when mention is made of a disinterested, generous, or public-spirited action. The truth of that observation might be made appear in a more formal manner of proof: for whoever will consider all the possible respects and relations which any particular affection can have to self-love and private interest, will, I think, see demonstrably, that benevolence is not in any respect more at variance with self-love, than any other particular affection whatever, but that it is in every respect, at least, as friendly to it.

If the observation be true, it follows, that self-love and benevolence, virtue and interest, are not to be opposed, but only to be distinguished from each other; in the same way as virtue and any other particular affection, love of arts, suppose, are to be distinguished. Every thing is what it is, and not another thing. The goodness or badness of actions does not arise from hence, that the epithet, interested or disinterested, may be applied to them, any more than that any other indifferent epithet, suppose inquisitive or jealous, may or may not be applied to them; not from their being attended with present or future pleasure or pain; but from their being what they are; namely, what becomes such creatures as we are, what the state of the case requires, or the contrary. Or in other words, we may judge and determine, that an action is morally good or evil, before we so much as consider, whether it be interested or disinterested. This consideration no more comes in to determine whether an action be virtuous, than to determine whether it be resentful. Self-love in its due degree is as just and morally good, as any affection whatever. Benevolence towards particular persons may be to a degree of weakness, and so be blameable: and disinterestedness is so far from being in itself commendable, that the utmost possible depravity which we can in imagination conceive, is that of disinterested cruelty.

Neither does there appear any reason to wish self-love were weaker in the generality of the world than it is. The influence which it has, seems plainly owing to its being constant and habitual, which it cannot but be, and not to the degree or strength of it. Every caprice of the imagination, every curiosity of the understanding, every affection of the heart, is perpetually showing its weakness, by prevailing over it.

Men daily, hourly sacrifice the greatest known interest to fancy, inquisitiveness, love or hatred, any vagrant inclination. The thing to be lamented is, not that men have so great regard to their own good or interest in the present world, for they have not enough; but that they have so little to the good of others. And this seems plainly owing to their being so much engaged in the gratification of particular passions unfriendly to benevolence, and which happen to be most prevalent in them, much more than to self-love. As a proof of this may be observed, that there is no character more void of friendship, gratitude, natural affection, love to their country, common justice, or more equally and uniformly hardhearted, than the *abandoned* in, what is called, the way of pleasure——hardhearted and totally without feeling in behalf of others; except when they cannot escape the sight of distress, and so are interrupted by it in their pleasures. And yet it is ridiculous to call such an abandoned course of pleasure interested, when the person engaged in it knows beforehand, and goes on under the feeling and apprehension, that it will be as ruinous to himself, as to those who depend upon him.

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[*] One need only look into Torquatus's account of the Epicurean system, in Cicero's first book *De Finibus*, to see in what a surprising manner this was done by them. Thus the desire of praise, and of being beloved, he explains to be no other than desire of safety: regard to our country, even in the most virtuous character, to be nothing but regard to ourselves. The author of *Reflections*, *&c. Morales*, says, Curiosity proceeds from interest or pride; which pride also would doubtless have been explained to be self-love. Page 85, ed. 1725. As if there were no such passions in mankind as desire of esteem, or of being beloved, or of knowledge. Hobbes's account of the affections of good-will and pity are instances of the same kind.

Upon the whole, if the generality of mankind were to cultivate within themselves the principle of self-love; if they were to accustom themselves often to set down and consider, what was the greatest happiness they were capable of attaining for themselves in this life, and if self-love were so strong and prevalent, as that they would uniformly pursue this their supposed chief temporal good, without being diverted from it by any particular passion; it would manifestly prevent numberless follies and vices. This was in a great measure the Epicurean system of philosophy. It is indeed by no means the religious or even moral institution of life. Yet, with all the mistakes men would fall into about interest, it would be less mischievous than the extravagances of mere appetite, will, and pleasure: for certainly self-love, though confined to the interest of this life, is, of the two, a much better guide than passion, which has absolutely no bound nor measure, but what is set to it by this self-love, or moral considerations.

From the distinction above made between self-love, and the several particular principles or affections in our nature, we may see how good ground there was for that assertion, maintained by the several ancient schools of philosophy against the Epicureans, namely, that virtue is to be pursued as an end, eligible in and for itself. For, if there be any principles or affections in the mind of man distinct from self-love, that the things those principles tend towards, or that the objects of those affections, are, each of them, in themselves eligible, to be pursued upon its own account, and to be rested in as an end, is implied in the very idea of such principle or affection. They indeed asserted much higher things of virtue, and with very good reason; but to say thus much of it, that it is to be pursued for itself, is to say no more of it, than may truly be said of the object of every natural affection whatever.

The question, which was a few years ago disputed in France, concerning *the love of God*, which was there called enthusiasm, as it will every where by the generality of the world; this question, I say, answers in religion to that old one in morals now mentioned. And both of them are, I think, fully determined by the same observation, namely, that the very nature of affection, the idea itself, necessarily implies resting in its object as an end.

I shall not here add any thing further to what I have said in the two Discourses upon that most important subject, but only this: that if we are constituted such sort of creatures, as from our very nature to feel certain affections or movements of mind, upon the sight or contemplation of the meanest inanimate part of the creation, for the flowers of the field have their beauty; certainly there must be somewhat due to him himself, who is the Author and Cause of all things; who is more intimately present to us than any thing else can be, and with whom we have a nearer and more constant intercourse, than we can have with any creature: there must be some movements of mind and heart which correspond to his perfections, or of which those perfections are the natural object: and that when we are commanded to *love the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our mind, and with all our soul;* somewhat more must be meant than merely that we live in hope of rewards or fear of punishments from him; somewhat more than this must be intended: though these regards themselves are most just and reasonable, and absolutely necessary to be often recollected in such a world as this.

It may be proper just to advertise the reader, that he is not to look for any particular reason for the choice of the greatest part of these Discourses; their being taken from amongst many others, preached in the same place, through a course of eight years, being in great measure accidental. Neither is he to expect to find any other connexion between them, than that uniformity of thought and design, which will always be found in the writings of the same person, when he writes with simplicity and in earnest.

Stanhope, Sept. 16, 1729.

SERMON I.

UPON HUMAN NATURE.

> For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.—*Rom.* xii. 4, 5.

The Epistles in the New Testament have all of them a particular reference to the condition and usages of the Christian world at the time they were written. Therefore as they cannot be thoroughly understood, unless that condition and those usages are known and attended to: so further, though they be known, yet if they be discontinued or changed; exhortations, precepts, and illustrations of things, which refer to such circumstances now ceased or altered, cannot at this time be urged in that manner, and with that force which they were to the primitive Christians. Thus the text now before us, in its first intent and design, relates to the decent management of those extraordinary gifts which were then in the church, but which are now totally ceased. And even as to the allusion that *we are one body in Christ;* though what the Apostle here intends is equally true of Christians in all circumstances; and the consideration of it is plainly still an additional motive, over and above moral considerations, to the discharge of the several duties and offices of a Christian: yet it is manifest this allusion must have appeared with much greater force to those, who, by the many difficulties they went through for the sake of their religion, were led to keep always in view the relation they stood in to their Saviour, who had undergone the same; to those, who, from the idolatries of all around them, and their ill-treatment, were taught to consider themselves as not of the world in which they lived, but as a distinct society of themselves; with laws and ends, and principles of life and action, quite contrary to those which the world professed themselves at that time influenced by. Hence the relation of a Christian was by them considered as nearer than that of affinity and blood; and they almost literally esteemed themselves as members one of another.

It cannot indeed possibly be denied, that our being God's creatures, and virtue being the natural law we are born under, and the whole constitution of man being plainly adapted to it, are prior obligations to piety and virtue, than the consideration that God sent his son into the world to save it, and the motives which arise from the peculiar relation of Christians, as members one of another under Christ our head.—However, though all this be allowed, as it expressly is by the inspired writers; yet it is manifest that Christians at the time of the revelation, and immediately after, could not but insist mostly upon considerations of this latter kind.

These observations show the original particular reference of the text; and the peculiar force with which the thing intended by the allusion in it, must have been felt by the primitive Christian world. They likewise afford a reason for treating it at this time in a more general way.

The relation which the several parts or members of the natural body have to each other and to the whole body, is here compared to the relation which each particular person in society has to other particular persons and to the whole society; and the latter is intended to be illustrated by the former. And if there be a likeness between these two relations, the consequence is obvious: that the latter shows us we were intended to do good to others, as the former shows us that the several members of the natural body were intended to be instruments of good to each other and to the whole body. But as there is scarce any ground for a comparison between society and the mere material body, this without the mind being a dead unactive thing; much less can the comparison be carried to any length. And since the apostle speaks of the several members as having distinct offices, which implies the mind; it cannot be thought an unallowable liberty, instead of the *body* and *its members*, to substitute the *whole nature of man*, and *all the variety of internal principles which belong to it.* And then the comparison will be between the nature of man as respecting self, and tending to private good, his own preservation and happiness; and the nature of man as having respect to society, and tending to promote public good, the happiness of that society. These ends do indeed perfectly coincide; and to aim at public and private good are so far from being inconsistent, that they mutually promote each other: yet in the following discourse they must be considered as entirely distinct; otherwise the nature of man as tending to one, or as tending to the other, cannot be compared. There can no comparison be made, without considering the things compared as distinct and different.

From this review and comparison of the nature of man as respecting self, and as respecting society, it will plainly appear, that there are as real and the same kind of indications in human nature, that we were made for society and to do good to our fellow-creatures, as that we were intended to take care of our own life and health and private good; and that the same objections lie against one of these assertions as against the other. For,

First, There is a natural principle of *benevolence** in man; which is in some degree to *society* what *self-love* is to the *individual.* And if there be in mankind any disposition to friendship; if there be any such thing as compassion, for compassion is a momentary love; if there be any such thing as the paternal or filial affections; if there be any affection in human nature, the object and end of which is the good of another; this is itself benevolence, or the love of another. Be it ever so short, be it in ever so low a degree, or ever so unhappily confined, it proves the assertion, and points out what we were designed for, as really as though it were in a higher degree and more extensive. I must however remind you that though benevolence and self-love are different; though the former tends most directly to public good, and the latter to private: yet they are so perfectly coincident, that the greatest satisfactions to ourselves depend upon our having benevolence in a due degree; and that self-love is one chief security of our right behaviour towards society. It may be added, that their mutual coinciding, so that we can scarce promote one without the other, is equally a proof that we were made for both.

Secondly, This will further appear from observing that the *several passions* and *affections*, which are distinct* both from benevolence and self-love, do in general contribute and lead us to *public* good as really as to *private.* It might be thought too minute and particular, and would carry us too great a length to distinguish between and compare together the several passions or appetites distinct from benevolence, whose primary use and intention is the security and good of society; and the passions distinct from self-love, whose primary intention and design is the security and good of the individual.†

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* Suppose a man of learning to be writing a grave book upon *human nature*, and to show in several parts of it that he had an insight into the subject he was considering; amongst other things the following one would require to be accounted for; the appearance of benevolence or good-will in men towards each other in the instances of natural relation, and in others. Cautious of being deceived with outward show, he retires within himself to see exactly what that is in the mind of man from whence this appearance proceeds; and, upon deep reflection, asserts the principle in the mind to be only the love of power, and delight in the exercise of it. Would not every body think here was a mistake of one word for another? that the philosopher was contemplating and accounting for some other *human actions*, some other behaviour of man to man? And could any one be thoroughly satisfied, that what is commonly called benevolence or good-will was really the affection meant, but only by being made to understand that this learned person had a general hypothesis, to which the appearance of good-will could no otherwise be reconciled? That what has this appearance is often nothing but ambition; that delight in superiority often (suppose always) mixes itself with benevolence, only makes it more specious to call it ambition than hunger, of the two: but in reality that passion does no more account for the whole appearances of good-will than this appetite does. Is there not often the appearance of one man's wishing that good to another which he knows himself unable to procure him; and rejoicing in it, though bestowed by a third person? And can love of power any way possibly come into account for this desire or delight? Is there not often the appearance of men's distinguishing between two or more persons, preferring one before another, to do good to, in cases where love of power cannot in the least account for the distinction and preference? For this principle can no otherwise distinguish between objects, than as it is a greater instance and exertion of power to do good to one rather than to another. Again, suppose good-will in the mind of man to be nothing but delight in the exercise of power: men might indeed be restrained by distant and accidental consideration; but these restraints being removed, they would have a disposition to, and delight in mischief as an exercise and proof of power: and this disposition and delight would arise from, or be the same principle in the mind, as a disposition to, and delight in charity. Thus cruelty, as distinct from envy and resentment, would be exactly the same in the mind of man as good-will: that one tends to the happiness, the other to the misery of our fellow-creatures, is, it seems, merely an accidental circumstance, which the mind has not the least regard to. These are the absurdities which even men of capacity run into, when they have occasion to belie their nature, and will perversely disclaim that image of God which was originally stamped upon it, the traces of which, however faint, are plainly discernible upon the mind of man.

If any person can in earnest doubt whether there be such a thing as good-will in one man towards another, (for the question is not concerning either the degree or extensiveness of it, but concerning the affection itself), let it be observed, that whether man be thus, or otherwise constituted, what is the inward frame in this particular, is a mere question of fact or natural history, not provable immediately by reason. It is therefore to be judged of and determined in the same way other facts or matters of natural history are, by appealing to the external senses, or inward perceptions, respectively, as the matter under consideration is cognizable by one or the other; by arguing from acknowledged facts and actions; for a great number of actions in the same kind, in different circumstances, and respecting different objects, will prove to a certainty, what principles they do not, and, to the greatest probability, what principles they do proceed from: and lastly, by the testimony of mankind. Now that there is some degree of benevolence amongst men, may be as strongly and plainly proved in all these ways, as it could possibly be proved, supposing there was this affection in our nature. And should any one think fit to assert, that resentment in the mind of man was absolutely nothing but reasonable concern for our own safety, the falsity of this, and what is the real nature of that passion, could be shown in no other way than those in which it may be shown, that there is such a thing in *some degree* as *real* good-will in man towards man. It is sufficient that the seeds of it be implanted in our nature by God. There is, it is owned, much left for us to do upon our own heart and temper; to cultivate, to improve, to call it forth, to exercise it in a steady, uniform manner. This is our work; this is virtue and religion.

* Every body makes a distinction between self-love, and the several particular passions, appetites and affections; and yet they are often confounded again. That they are totally different, will be seen by any one who will distinguish between the passions and appetites *themselves*, and *endeavouring* after the means of their gratification. Consider the appetite of hunger, and the desire of esteem; these being the occasion both of pleasure and pain, the coolest *self-love*, as well as the appetites and passions themselves, may put us upon making use of the *proper methods of obtaining* that pleasure, and avoiding that pain; but the *feelings themselves*, the pain of hunger and shame, and the delight from esteem, are no more self-love than they are any thing in the world. Though a man hated himself, he would as much feel the pain of hunger as he would that of the gout; and it is plainly supposable there may be creatures with self-love in them to the highest degree, who may be quite insensible and indifferent (as men in some cases are), to the contempt and esteem of those upon whom their happiness does not in some further respects depend. And as self-love and the several particular passions and appetites are in themselves totally different, so that some actions proceed from one, and some from the other, will be manifest to any who will observe the two following very supposable cases. One man rushes upon certain ruin for the gratification of a present desire: nobody will call the principle of this action self-love. Suppose another man to go through some laborious work upon promise of a great reward, without any distinct knowledge what the reward will be; this course of action cannot be ascribed to any particular passion. The former of these actions is plainly to be imputed to some particular passion or affection, the latter as plainly to the general affection or principle of self-love. That there are some particular pursuits or actions concerning which we cannot determine how far they are owing to one, and how far to the other, proceeds from this, that the two principles are frequently mixed together, and run up into each other. This distinction is further explained in the eleventh sermon.

† If any desire to see this distinction and comparison made in a particular instance, the appetite and passion now mentioned may serve for one. Hunger is to be considered as a private appetite; because the end for which it was given us is the preservation of the individual. Desire of esteem is a public passion; because the end for which it was given us is to regulate our behaviour towards society. The respect which this has to private good is as remote as the respect that has to public good; and the appetite is no more self-love than the passion is benevolence. The object and end of the former is merely food; the object and end of the latter is merely esteem; but the latter can no more be gratified, without contributing to the good of society, than the former can be gratified, without contributing to the preservation of the individual.

It is enough to the present argument, that desire of esteem from others, contempt and esteem of them, love of society as distinct from affection to the good of it, indignation against successful vice, that these are public affections or passions; have an immediate respect to others, naturally lead us to regulate our behaviour in such a manner as will be of service to our fellow-creatures. If any or all of these may be considered likewise as private affections, as tending to private good, this does not hinder them from being public affections too, or destroy the good influence of them upon society, and their tendency to public good. It may be added, that as persons without any conviction from reason of the desirableness of life, would yet of course preserve it merely from the appetite of hunger; so by acting merely from regard (suppose) to reputation, without any consideration of the good of others, men often contribute to public good. In both these instances they are plainly instruments in the hands of another, in the hands of Providence, to carry on ends, the preservation of the individual and good of society, which they themselves have not in their view or intention. The sum is, men have various appetites, passions, and particular affections, quite distinct both from self-love and from benevolence; all of these have a tendency to promote both public and private good, and may be considered as respecting others and ourselves equally and in common; but some of them seem most immediately to respect others, or tend to public good; others of them most immediately to respect self, or tend to private good; as the former are not benevolence, so the latter are not self-love; neither sort are instances of our love either to ourselves or others, but only instances of our Maker's care and love both of the individual and the species, and proofs that he intended we should be instruments of good to each other, as well as that we should be so to ourselves.

Thirdly, There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve and disapprove their own actions. We are plainly constituted such sort of creatures as to reflect upon our own nature. The mind can take a view of what passes within itself, its propensions, aversions, passions, affections, as respecting such objects, and in such degrees; and of the several actions consequent thereupon. In this survey it approves of one, disapproves of another, and towards a third is affected in neither of these ways, but is quite indifferent. This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience; for this is the strict sense of the word, though sometimes it is used so as to take in more. And that this faculty tends to restrain men from doing mischief to each other, and leads them to do good, is too manifest to need being insisted upon. Thus a parent has the affection of love to his children: this leads him to take care of, to educate, to make due provision for them; the natural affection leads to this: but the reflection that it is his proper business, what belongs to him, that it is right and commendable so to do; this added to the affection becomes a much more settled principle, and carries him on through more labour and difficulties for the sake of his children, than he would undergo from that affection alone, if he thought it, and the course of action it led to, either indifferent or criminal. This indeed is impossible, to do that which is good and not to approve of it; for which reason they are frequently not considered as distinct, though they really are: for men often approve of the actions of others, which they will not imitate, and likewise do that which they approve not. It cannot possibly be denied, that there is this principle of reflection or conscience in human nature. Suppose a man to relieve an innocent person in great distress; suppose the same man afterwards, in the fury of anger, to do the greatest mischief to a person who had given no just cause of offence; to aggravate the injury, add the circumstances of former friendship, and obligation from the injured person; let the man who is supposed to have done these two different actions, coolly reflect upon them afterwards, without regard to their consequences to himself: to assert that any common man would be affected in the same way towards these different actions, that he would make no distinction between them, but approve or disapprove them equally, is too glaring a falsity to need being confuted. There is therefore this principle of reflection or conscience in mankind. It is needless to compare the respect it has to private good, with the respect it has to public; since it plainly tends as much to the latter as to the former, and is commonly thought to tend chiefly to the latter. This faculty is now mentioned merely as another part in the inward frame of man, pointing out to us in some degree what we are intended for, and as what will naturally and of course have some influence. The particular place assigned to it by nature, what authority it has, and how great influence it ought have, shall be hereafter considered.

From this comparison of benevolence and self-love, of our public and private affections, of the courses of life they lead to, and of the principle of reflection or conscience as respecting each of them, it is as manifest, that we were made for society, and to promote the happiness of it, as that we were intended to take care of our own life, and health, and private good.

And from this whole review must be given a different draught of human nature from what we are often presented with. Mankind are by nature so closely united, there is such a correspondence between the inward sensations of one man and those of another, that disgrace is as much avoided as bodily pain, and to be the object of esteem and love as much desired as any external goods: and in many particular cases, persons are carried on to do good to others, as the end their affection tends to and rests in; and manifest that they find real satisfaction and enjoyment in this course of behaviour. There is such a natural principle of attraction in man towards man, that having trod the same tract of land, having breathed in the same climate, barely having been in the same artificial district or division, becomes the occasion of contracting acquaintances and familiarities many years after: for any thing may serve the purpose. Thus relations merely nominal are sought and invented, not by governors, but by the lowest of the people; which are found sufficient to hold mankind together in little fraternities and copartnerships: weak ties indeed, and what may afford fund enough for ridicule, if they are absurdly considered as the real principles of that union: but they are in truth merely the occasions, as any thing may be of any thing, upon which our nature carries us on according to its own previous bent and bias; which occasions therefore would be nothing at all, were there not this prior disposition and bias of nature. Men are so much one body, that in a peculiar manner they feel for each other, shame, sudden danger, resentment, honour, prosperity, distress; one or another, or all of these, from the social nature in general, from benevolence, upon the occasion of natural relation, acquaintance, protection, dependence; each of these being distinct cements of society. And therefore to have no restraint from, no regard to others in our behaviour, is the speculative absurdity of considering ourselves as single and independent, as having nothing in our nature which has respect to our fellow-creatures, reduced to action and practice. And this is the same absurdity, as to suppose a hand, or any part, to have no natural respect to any other, or to the whole body.

But allowing all this, it may be asked, "Has not man dispositions and principles within, which lead him to do evil to others, as well as to do good? Whence come the many miseries else, which men are the authors and instruments of to each other?" These questions, so far as they relate to the foregoing discourse, may be answered by asking, Has not man also dispositions and principles within, which lead him to do evil to himself, as well as good? Whence come the many miseries else, sickness, pain, and death, which men are instruments and authors of to themselves?

It may be thought more easy to answer one of these questions than the other, but the answer to both is really the same; that mankind have ungoverned passions which they will gratify at any rate, as well to the injury of others, as in contradiction to known private interest: but that as there is no such thing as self-hatred, so neither is there any such thing as ill-will in one man towards another, emulation and resentment being away; whereas there is plainly benevolence or good-will: there is no such thing as love of injustice, oppression, treachery, ingratitude; but only eager desires after such and such external good; which, according to a very ancient observation, the most abandoned would choose to obtain by innocent means, if they were as easy, and as effectual to their end; that even emulation and resentment, by any one who will consider what these passions really are in nature,* will be found nothing to the purpose of this objection; and that the principles and passions in the mind of man, which are distinct both from self-love and benevolence, primarily and most directly lead to right behaviour with regard to others as well as himself, and only secondarily and accidentally to what is evil. Thus, though men, to avoid the shame of one villany, are sometimes guilty of a greater, yet it is easy to see, that the original tendency of shame is to prevent the doing of shameful actions; and its leading men to conceal such actions when done, is only in consequence of their being done; *i. e.* of the passions not having answered its first end.

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* Emulation is merely the desire and hope of equality with, or superiority over others, with whom we compare ourselves. There does not appear to be any *other grief* in the natural passion, but only *that want* which is implied in desire. However, this may be so strong as to be the occasion of great *grief*. To desire the attainment of this equality or superiority by the *particular means* of others being brought down to our own level, or below it, is, I think, the distinct notion of envy. From whence it is easy to see, that the real end, which the natural passion emulation, and which the unlawful

If it be said, that there are persons in the world, who are in great measure without the natural affections towards their fellow-creatures; there are likewise instances of persons without the common natural affections to themselves: but the nature of man is not to be judged of by either of these, but by what appears in the common world, in the bulk of mankind.

I am afraid it would be thought very strange, if to confirm the truth of this account of human nature, and make out the justness of the foregoing comparison, it should be added, that, from what appears, men in fact as much and as often contradict that *part* of their nature which respects *self*, and which leads them to their *own private* good and happiness; as they contradict that *part* of it which respects *society*, and tends to *public* good; that there are as few persons, who attain the greatest satisfaction and enjoyment which they might attain in the present world; as who do the greatest good to others which they might do; nay, that there are as few who can be said really and in earnest to aim at one, as at the other. Take a survey of mankind: the world in general, the good and bad, almost without exception, equally are agreed, that were religion out of the case, the happiness of the present life would consist in a manner wholly in riches, honours, sensual gratifications; insomuch that one scarce hears a reflection made upon prudence, life, conduct, but upon this supposition. Yet on the contrary, that persons in the greatest affluence of fortune are no happier than such as have only a competency; that the cares and disappointments of ambition for the most part far exceed the satisfactions of it; as also the miserable intervals of intemperance and excess, and the many untimely deaths occasioned by a dissolute course of life; these things are all seen, acknowledged, by every one acknowledged; but are thought no objections against, though they expressly contradict this universal principle, that the happiness of the present life consists in one or other of them. Whence is all this absurdity and contradiction? Is not the middle way obvious? Can any thing be more manifest, than that the happiness of life consists in these possessed and enjoyed only to a certain degree; that to pursue them beyond this degree, is always attended with more inconvenience than advantage to a man's self, and often with extreme misery and unhappiness. Whence then, I say, is all this absurdity and contradiction? Is it really the result of consideration in mankind, how they may become most easy to themselves, most free from care, and enjoy the chief happiness attainable in this world? Or is it not manifestly owing either to this, that they have not cool and reasonable concern enough for themselves to consider wherein their chief happiness in the present life consists; or else, if they do consider it, that they will not act conformably to what is the result of that consideration, *i. e.* reasonable concern for themselves, or cool self-love is prevailed over by passion and appetite. So that from what appears, there is no ground to assert that those principles in the nature of man, which most directly lead to promote the good of our fellow-creatures, are more generally or in a greater degree violated, than those, which most directly lead us to promote our own private good and happiness.

The sum of the whole is plainly this. The nature of man considered in his single capacity, and with respect only to the present world, is adapted and leads him to attain the greatest happiness he can for himself in the present world. The nature of man considered in his public or social capacity leads him to a right behaviour in society to that course of life which we call virtue. Men follow or obey their nature in both these capacities and respects to a certain degree, but not entirely: their actions do not come up to the whole of what their nature leads them to in either of these capacities or respects, and they often violate their nature in both, *i. e.* as they neglect the duties they owe to their fellow-creatures, to which their nature leads them; and are injurious, to which their nature is abhorrent; so there is a manifest negligence in men of their real happiness or interest in the present world, when that interest is inconsistent with a present gratification; for the sake of which they negligently, nay, even knowingly, are the authors and instruments of their own misery and ruin. Thus they are as often unjust to themselves as to others, and for the most part are equally so to both by the same actions.

SERMON II. III.

UPON HUMAN NATURE.

For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves.—*Rom.* ii. 14.

As speculative truth admits of different kinds of proof, so likewise moral obligations may be shown by different methods. If the real nature of any creature leads him and is adapted to such and such purposes only, or more than to any other; this is a reason to believe the author of that nature intended it for those purposes. Thus there is no doubt the eye was intended for us to see with. And the more complex any constitution is, and the greater variety of parts there are which thus tend to some one end, the stronger is the proof that such end was designed. However, when the inward frame of man is considered as any guide in morals, the utmost caution must be used that none make peculiarities in their own temper, or any thing which is the effect of particular customs, though observable in several, the standard of what is common to the species; and above all, that the highest principle be not forgot or excluded, that to which belongs the adjustment and correction of all other inward movements and affections, which principle will of course have some influence, but which being in nature supreme, as shall now be shown, ought to preside over and govern all the rest. The difficulty of rightly observing the two former cautions; the appearance there is of some small diversity amongst mankind with respect to this faculty, with respect to their natural sense of moral good and evil; and the attention necessary to survey with any exactness what passes within, have occasioned that it is not so much agreed what is the standard of the internal nature of man, as of his external form. Neither is this last exactly settled. Yet we understand one another when we speak of the shape of a human body: so likewise we do when we speak of the heart and inward principles, how far soever the standard is from being exact or precisely fixed. There is therefore ground for an attempt of showing men to themselves, of showing them what course of life and behaviour their real nature points out and would lead them to. Now obligations of virtue shown, and motives to the practice of it enforced, from a review of the nature of man, are to be considered as an appeal to each particular person's heart and natural conscience: as the external senses are appealed to for the proof of things cognizable by them. Since then our inward feelings, and the perceptions we receive from our external senses, are equally real; to argue from the former to life and conduct is as little liable to exception, as to argue from the latter to absolute speculative truth. A man can as little doubt whether his eyes were given him to see with, as he can doubt of the truth of the science of *optics*, deduced from ocular experiments. And allowing the inward feeling, shame; a man can as little doubt whether it was given him to prevent his doing shameful actions, as he can doubt whether his eyes were given him to guide his steps. And as to these inward feelings themselves; that they are real, that man has in his nature passions and affections, can no more be questioned, than that he has external senses. Neither can the former be wholly mistaken; though to a certain degree liable to greater mistakes than the latter.

There can be no doubt but that several propensions or instincts, several principles in the heart of man, carry him to society, and to contribute to the happiness of it, in a sense and a manner in which no inward principle leads him to evil. These principles, propensions, or instincts which lead him to do good, are approved of by a certain faculty within, quite

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one envy aims at, is exactly the same; namely, that equality or superiority: and consequently, that to do mischief is not the end of envy, but merely the means it makes use of to attain its end. As to resentment, see the eighth sermon.

distinct from these propensions themselves. All this hath been fully made out in the foregoing discourse.

But it may be said, "What is all this, though true, to the purpose of virtue and religion? these require, not only that we do good to others when we are led this way, by benevolence or reflection, happening to be stronger than other principles, passions, or appetites; but likewise that the *whole* character be formed upon thought and reflection; that *every* action be directed by some determinate rule, some other rule than the strength and prevalency of any principle or passion. What sign is there in our nature (for the inquiry is only about what is to be collected from thence) that this was intended by its Author? Or how does so various and fickle a temper as that of man appear adapted thereto? It may indeed be absurd and unnatural for men to act without any reflection; nay, without regard to that particular kind of reflection which you call conscience; because this does belong to our nature. For as there never was a man but who approved one place, prospect, building, before another, so it does not appear that there ever was a man who would not have approved an action of humanity rather than of cruelty; interest and passion being quite out of the case. But interest and passion do come in, and are often too strong for and prevail over reflection and conscience. Now as brutes have various instincts, by which they are carried on to the end the Author of their nature intended them for: is not man in the same condition; with this difference only, that his instincts (*i. e.* appetites and passions) is added the principle of reflection or conscience? And yet brutes act agreeably to their nature, in following that principle or particular instinct which for the present is strongest in them: does not man likewise act agreeably to his nature, or obey the law of his creation, by following that principle, be it passion or conscience, which for the present happens to be strongest in him? Thus different men are by their particular nature hurried on to pursue honour, or riches, or pleasure: there are also persons whose temper leads them in an uncommon degree to kindness, compassion, doing good to their fellow-creatures: as there are others who are given to suspend their judgment, to weigh and consider things, and to act upon thought and reflection. Let every one then quietly follow his nature; as passion, reflection, appetite, the several parts of it, happen to be strongest: but let not the man of virtue take upon him to blame the ambitious, the covetous, the dissolute; since these equally with him obey and follow their nature. Thus, as in some cases we follow our nature in doing the works *contained in the law*, so in other cases we follow nature in doing contrary."

Now all this licentious talk entirely goes upon a supposition, that men follow their nature in the same sense, in violating the known rules of justice and honesty for the sake of a present gratification, as they do in following those rules when they have no temptation to the contrary. And if this were true, that could not be so which St. Paul asserts, that men are *by nature a law to themselves.* If by following nature were meant only acting as we please, it would indeed be ridiculous to speak of nature as any guide in morals: nay the very mention of deviating from nature would be absurd; and the mention of following it, when spoken by way of distinction, would absolutely have no meaning. For did ever any one act otherwise than as he pleased? And yet the ancients speak of deviating from nature as vice; and of following nature so much as a distinction, that according to them the perfection of virtue consists therein. So that language itself should teach people another sense to the words *following nature*, than barely acting as we please. Let it however be observed, that though the words *human nature* are to be explained, yet the real question of this discourse is not concerning the meaning of words, any other than as the explanation of them may be needful to make out and explain the assertion, that *every man is naturally a law to himself*, that *every one may find within himself the rule of right, and obligations to follow it.* This St. Paul affirms in the words of the text, and this the foregoing objection really denies by seeming to allow it. And the objection will be fully answered, and the text before us explained, by observing that *nature* is considered in different views, and the words used in different senses: and by showing in what view it is considered, and in what sense the word is used, when intended to express and signify that which is the guide of life, that by which men are a law to themselves. I say, the explanation of the term will be sufficient, because from thence it will appear, that in some senses of the word *nature* cannot be, but that in another sense it manifestly is, a law to us.

I. By nature is often meant no more than some principle in man, without regard either to the kind or degree of it. Thus the passion of anger, and the affection of parents to their children, would be called equally *natural.* And as the same person hath often contrary principles, which at the same time draw contrary ways, he may by the same action both follow and contradict his nature in this sense of the word; he may follow one passion and contradict another.

II. *Nature* is frequently spoken of as consisting in those passions which are strongest, and most influence the actions; which being vicious ones, mankind is in this sense naturally vicious, or vicious by nature. Thus St. Paul says of the Gentiles, *who were dead in trespasses and sins, and walked according to the spirit of disobedience, that they were by nature the children of wrath.* They could be no otherwise *children of wrath* by nature, than they were vicious by nature.

Here then are two different senses of the word *nature*, in neither of which men can at all be said to be a law to themselves. They are mentioned only to be excluded; to prevent their being confounded, as the latter is in the objection, with another sense of it, which is now to be inquired after and explained.

III. The apostle asserts, that the Gentiles "do by Nature the things contained in the law." Nature is indeed here put by way of distinction from revelation, but yet it is not a mere negative. He intends to express more than that by which they *did not*, that by which they *did* the works of the law; namely, by *nature.* It is plain the meaning of the word is not the same in this passage as in the former, where it is spoken of as evil; for in this latter it is spoken of as good; as that by which they acted, or might have acted virtuously. What that is in man by which he is *naturally a law to himself*, is explained in the following words: "Which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another." If there be a distinction to be made between the *works written in their hearts*, and the *witness of conscience;* by the former must be meant the natural disposition to kindness and compassion, to do what is of good report, to which this apostle often refers: that part of the nature of man, treated of in the foregoing discourse, which with very little reflection and of course leads him to society, and by means of which he naturally acts a just and good part in it, unless other passions or interests lead him astray. Yet since other passions, and regards to private interest, which lead us (though indirectly, yet they lead us) astray, are themselves in a degree equally natural, and often most prevalent; and since we have no method of seeing the particular degrees in which one or the other is placed in us by nature; it is plain the former, considered merely as natural, good and right as they are, can no more be a law to us than the latter. But there is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man, which distinguishes between the internal principles of his heart, as well as his external actions: which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just, right, good; others to be in themselves evil, wrong, unjust; which, without being consulted, without being advised with, magisterially exerts itself, and approves or condemns him the doer of them accordingly: and which, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and always of course goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence, which shall hereafter second and affirm its own. But this part of the office of conscience is beyond my present design explicitly to consider. It is by this faculty, natural to man, that he is a moral agent, that he is a law to himself: but this faculty, I say, not to be considered merely as a principle in his heart, which is to have some influence as well as others; but considered as a faculty in kind and in nature supreme over all others, and which bears its own authority of being so.

This *prerogative*, this *natural supremacy*, of the faculty which surveys, approves or disapproves the several affections of our mind and actions of our lives, being that by which men *are a law to themselves*, their conformity or disobedience to which law of our nature renders their actions, in the highest and most proper sense, natural or unnatural; it is fit it be further explained to you: and I hope it will be so, if you will attend to the following reflections.

Man may act according to that principle or inclination which for the present happens to be strongest, and yet act in a way disproportionate to, and violate his real proper nature. Suppose a brute creature by any bait to be allured into a snare, by which he is destroyed. He plainly followed the bent of his nature, leading him to gratify his appetite: there is an entire correspondence between his whole nature and such an action: such action therefore is natural. But suppose a man, foreseeing the same danger of certain ruin, should rush into it for the sake of a present gratification; he in this instance would follow his strongest desire, as did the brute creature: but there would be as manifest a disproportion between the nature of a man and such an action, as between the meanest work of art and the skill of the greatest master in that art: which disproportion arises, not from considering the action singly in *itself*, or in its *consequences;* but from *comparison* of it with the nature of the agent. And since such an action is utterly disproportionate to the nature of man, it is in the strictest and most proper sense unnatural; this word expressing that disproportion. Therefore instead of the words *disproportionate to his nature*, the word *unnatural* may now be put; this being more familiar to us: but let it be observed, that it stands for the same thing precisely.

Now what is it which renders such a rash action unnatural? Is it that he went against the principle of reasonable and cool self-love, considered *merely* as a part of his nature? No: for if he had acted the contrary way, he would equally have gone against a principle, or part of his nature, namely, passion or appetite. But to deny a present appetite, from foresight that the gratification of it would end in immediate ruin or extreme misery, is by no means an unnatural action: whereas to contradict or go against cool self-love for the sake of such gratification, is so in the instance before us. Such an action then being unnatural; and its being so not arising from a man's going against a principle or desire barely, nor in going against that principle or desire which happens for the present to be strongest; it necessarily follows, that there must be some other difference or distinction to be made between these two principles, passion and cool self-love, than what I have yet taken notice of. And this difference, not being a difference in strength or degree, I call a difference in *nature* and in *kind.* And since, in the instance still before us, if passion prevails over self-love, the consequent action is unnatural; but if self-love prevails over passion, the action is natural: it is manifest that self-love is in human nature a superior principle to passion. This may be contradicted without violating that nature; but the former cannot. So that, if we will act conformably to the economy of man's nature, reasonable self-love must govern. Thus, without particular consideration of conscience, we may have a clear conception of the *superior nature* of one inward principle to another; and see that there really is this natural superiority, quite distinct from degrees of strength and prevalency.

Let us now take a view of the nature of man, as consisting partly of various appetites, passions, affections, and partly of the principle of reflection or conscience; leaving quite out all consideration of the different degrees of strength, in which either of them prevail, and it will further appear that there is this natural superiority of one inward principle to another, and that it is even part of the idea of reflection or conscience.

Passion or appetite implies a direct simple tendency towards such and such objects, without distinction of the means by which they are to be obtained. Consequently it will often happen there will be a desire of particular objects, in cases where they cannot be obtained without manifest injury to others. Reflection or conscience comes in, and disapproves the pursuit of them in these circumstances; but the desire remains. Which is to be obeyed, appetite or reflection? Cannot this question be answered, from the economy and constitution of human nature merely, without saying which is strongest? Or need this at all come into consideration? Would not the question be *intelligibly* and fully answered by saying, that the principle of reflection or conscience being compared with the various appetites, passions, and affections in men, the former is manifestly superior and chief, without regard to strength? And how often soever the latter happens to prevail, it is mere *usurpation:* the former remains in nature and in kind its superior; and every instance of such prevalence of the latter is an instance of breaking in upon and violation of the constitution of man.

All this is no more than the distinction, which every body is acquainted with, between *mere power* and *authority:* only instead of being intended to express the difference between what is possible, and what is lawful in civil government; here it has been shown applicable to the several principles in the mind of man. Thus that principle, by which we survey, and either approve or disapprove our own heart, temper, and actions, is not only to be considered as what is in its turn to have some influence; which may be said of every passion, of the lowest appetites: but likewise as being superior; as from its very nature manifestly claiming superiority over all others: insomuch that you cannot form a notion of this faculty, conscience, without taking in judgment, direction, superintendency. This is a constituent part of the idea, that is, of the faculty itself: and, to preside and govern, from the very economy and constitution of man, belongs to it. Had it strength, as it had right; had it power, as it had manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world.

This gives us a further view of the nature of man; shows us what course of life we were made for: not only that our real nature leads us to be influenced in some degree by reflection and conscience; but likewise in what degree we are to be influenced by it, if we will fall in with, and act agreeably to the constitution of our nature: that this faculty was placed within to be our proper governor; to direct and regulate all under principles, passions, and motives of action. This is its right and office: thus sacred is its authority. And how often soever men violate and rebelliously refuse to submit to it, for supposed interest, which they cannot otherwise obtain, or for the sake of passion, which they cannot otherwise gratify; this makes no alteration as to the *natural right* and *office* of conscience.

Let us now turn this whole matter another way, and suppose there was no such thing at all as this natural supremacy of conscience; that there was no distinction to be made between one inward principle and another, but only that of strength; and see what would be the consequence.

Consider then what is the latitude and compass of the actions of man with regard to himself, his fellow-creatures, and the Supreme Being? What are their bounds, besides that of our natural power? With respect to the two first, they are plainly no other than these: no man seeks misery as such for himself; and no one unprovoked does mischief to another for its own sake. For in every degree within these bounds, mankind knowingly from passion or wantonness bring ruin and misery upon themselves and others. And impiety and profaneness, I mean, what every one would call so who believes the being of God, have absolutely no bounds at all.—Men blaspheme the Author of nature, formally and in words renounce their allegiance to their Creator. Put an instance then with respect to any one of these three. Though we should suppose profane swearing, and in general that kind of impiety now mentioned, to mean nothing, yet it implies wanton disregard and irreverence towards an infinite Being, our Creator; and is this as suitable to the nature of man, as reverence and dutiful submission of heart towards that Almighty Being? Or suppose a man guilty of parricide, with all the circumstances of cruelty which such an action can admit of. This action is done in consequence of its principle being for the present strongest: and if there be no difference between inward principles, but only that of strength; the strength being given, you have the whole nature of the man given, so far as it relates to this matter. The action plainly corresponds to the principle, the principle being in that degree of strength it was: it therefore corresponds to the whole nature of the man. Upon comparing the action and the whole nature, there arises no disproportion, there appears no unsuitableness between them. Thus the *murder of a father* and the *nature of man* correspond to each other, as the same nature and an act of filial duty. If there be no difference between inward principles, but only that of strength; we can make no distinction between these two actions, considered as the actions of such a creature; but in our coolest hours must approve or disapprove them equally: than which nothing can be reduced to a greater absurdity.

SERMON III.

The natural supremacy of reflection or conscience being thus established: we may from it form a distinct notion of what is meant by *human nature*, when virtue is said to consist in following it, and vice in deviating from it.

As the idea of a civil constitution implies in it united strength, various subordinations, under one direction, that of the supreme authority; the different strength of each particular member of the society not coming into the idea; whereas, if you leave out the subordination, the union, and the one direction, you destroy and lose it: so reason, several appetites, passions, and affections, prevailing in different degrees of strength, is not *that* idea or notion of *human nature;* but *that nature* consists in these several principles considered as having a natural respect to each other, in the several passions being naturally subordinate to the one superior principle of reflection or conscience. Every bias, instinct, propension within, is a natural part of our nature, but not the whole: add to these the superior faculty, whose office it is to adjust, manage, and preside over them, and take in this its natural superiority, and you complete the idea of human nature.—And as in civil government the constitution is broken in upon, and violated by power and strength prevailing over authority; so the constitution of man is broken in upon and violated by the lower faculties or principles within prevailing over that which is in its nature supreme over them all. Thus, when it is said by ancient writers, that tortures and death are not so contrary to human nature as injustice; by this to be sure is not meant, that the aversion to the former in mankind is less strong and prevalent than their aversion to the latter: but that the former is only contrary to our nature considered in a partial view, and which takes in only the lowest part of it, that which we have in common with the brutes; whereas the latter is contrary to our nature, considered in a higher sense, as a system and constitution contrary to the whole economy of man.*

And from all these things put together, nothing can be more evident, than that, exclusive of revelation, man cannot be considered as a creature left by his Maker to act at random, and live at large up to the extent of his natural power, as passion, humour, wilfulness, happen to carry him; which is the condition brute creatures are in: but that *from his make, constitution, or nature, he is in the strictest and most proper sense a law to himself.* He hath the rule of right within: what is wanting is only that he honestly attend to it.

The inquiries which have been made by men of leisure after some general rule, the conformity to, or disagreement from which, should denominate our actions good or evil, are in many respects of great service. Yet let any plain honest man, before he engages in any course of action, ask himself, Is this I am going about right, or is it wrong? Is it good, or is it evil? I do not in the least doubt, but that this question would be answered agreeably to truth and virtue, by almost any fair man in almost any circumstance. Neither do there appear any cases which look like exceptions to this; but those of superstition, and of partiality to ourselves. Superstition may perhaps be somewhat of an exception: but partiality to ourselves is not; this being itself dishonesty. For a man to judge that to be the equitable, the moderate, the right part for him to act, which he would see to be hard, unjust, oppressive in another; this is plain vice, and can proceed only from great unfairness of mind.

But allowing that mankind hath the rule of right within himself, yet it may be asked, "What obligations are we under to attend to and follow it?" I answer: it has been proved that man by his nature is a law to himself, without the particular distinct consideration of the positive sanctions of that law; the rewards and punishments which we feel, and those which from the light of reason we have ground to believe, are annexed to it. The question then carries its own answer along with it. Your obligation to obey this law, is its being the law of your nature. That your conscience approves of and attests to such a course of action, is itself alone an obligation. Conscience does not only offer itself to show us the way we should walk in, but it likewise carries its own authority with it, that it is our natural guide; the guide assigned us by the Author of our nature: it therefore belongs to our condition of being, it is our duty to walk in that path, and follow this guide, without looking about to see whether we may not possibly forsake them with impunity.

However, let us hear what is to be said against obeying this law of our nature. And the sum is no more than this. "Why should we be concerned about any thing out of and beyond ourselves? If we do find within ourselves regards to others, and restraints of we know not how many different kinds; yet these being embarrassments, and hindering us from going the nearest way to our own good, why should we not endeavour to suppress and get over them?"

Thus people go on with words, which, when applied to human nature, and the condition in which it is placed in this world, have really no meaning. For does not all this kind of talk go upon supposition, that our happiness in this world consists in somewhat quite distinct from regard to others; and that it is the privilege of vice to be without restraint or confinement? Whereas, on the contrary, the enjoyments, in a manner all the common enjoyments of life, even the pleasures of vice, depend upon these regards of one kind or another to our fellow-creatures. Throw off all regards to others, and we should be quite indifferent to infamy and to honour; there could be no such thing at all as ambition; and scarce any such thing as covetousness; for we should likewise be equally indifferent to the disgrace of poverty, the several neglects and kinds of contempt which accompany this state; and to the reputation of riches, the regard and respect they usually procure. Neither is restraint by any means peculiar to any course of life; but our very nature, exclusive of conscience and our condition, lays as under an absolute necessity of it. We cannot gain any end whatever without being confined to the proper means which is often the most painful and uneasy confinement. And in numberless instances a present appetite cannot be gratified without such apparent and immediate ruin and misery, that the most dissolute man in the world chooses to forego the pleasure, rather than endure the pain.

Is the meaning then, to indulge those regards to our fellow-creatures, and submit to those restraints, which upon the whole are attended with more satisfaction than uneasiness, and get over only those which bring more uneasiness and inconvenience than satisfaction? "Doubtless this was our meaning." You have changed sides then. Keep to this; be consistent with yourselves; and you and the men of virtue are *in general* pefectly agreed. But let us take care and avoid mistakes. Let it not be taken for granted that the temper of envy, rage, resentment, yields greater delight than meekness, forgiveness, compassion, and good-will: especially when it is acknowledged that rage, envy, resentment, are in themselves mere misery; and the satisfaction arising from the indulgence of them is little more than relief from that misery; whereas the temper of compassion and benevolence is itself delightful; and the indulgence of it, by doing good, affords new positive delight and enjoyment. Let it not be taken for granted, that the satisfaction arising from the reputation of riches and power, however obtained, and from the respect paid to them, is greater than the satisfaction arising from the reputation of justice, honesty, charity, and the esteem which is universally acknowledged to be their due. And if it be doubtful which of these satisfactions is the greatest, as there are persons who think neither of them very considerable, yet there can be no doubt concerning ambition and covetousness, virtue and a good mind, considered in themselves, and as leading to different courses of life; there can, I say, be no doubt, which temper and which course is attended with most peace and tranquillity of mind, which with most perplexity, vexation, and inconvenience. And both the virtues and vices which have been now mentioned, do in a manner equally imply in them regards of one kind or another to our fellow-creatures. And with respect to restraint and confinement: whoever will consider the restraints from fear and chame, the dissimulation, mean arts of concealment, servile compliances, one or other of which belong to almost every sourse of vice, will soon be convinced that the man of virtue is by no means upon a disadvantage in this respect. How many instances are there in which men feel and own and cry aloud under the chains of vice with which they are enthralled, and which yet they will not shake off! How many instances, in which persons manifestly go through more pains and self-denial to gratify a vicious passion, than would have been necessary to the conquest of it! To this is to be added, that when virtue is become habitual, when the temper of it is acquired, what was before confinement ceases to be so, by becoming choice and delight. Whatever restraint and guard upon ourselves may be needful to unlearn any unnatural distortion or odd gesture; yet, in all propriety of speech, natural behaviour must be the most easy and unrestrained. It is manifest that, in the common course of life, there is seldom any inconsistency between our duty and what is *called* interest: it is much seldomer that there is an inconsistency between duty and what is really our present interest; meaning by interest, happiness and satisfaction. Self-love, then, though confined to the interest of the present world, does in general perfectly coincide with virtue; and leads us to one and the same course of life. But, whatever exceptions there are to this, which are much fewer than they are commonly thought, all shall be set right at the final distribution of things. It is a manifest absurdity to suppose evil prevailing finally over good, under the conduct and administration of a perfect mind.

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* Every man in his physical nature is one individual single agent. He has likewise properties and principles, each of which may be considered separately, and without regard to the respects which they have to each other. Neither of these are the nature we are taking a view of. But it is the inward frame of man considered as a *system* or *constitution:* whose several parts are united, not by a physical principle of individuation, but by the respects they have to each other; the chief of which is the subjection which the appetites, passions, and particular affections have to the one supreme principle of reflection or conscience. The system or constitution is formed by and consists in these respects and this subjection. Thus the body is a *system* or *constitution:* so is a tree: so is every machine. Consider all the several parts of a tree without the natural respects they have to each other, and you have not at all the idea of a tree; but add these respects, and this gives you the idea. The body may be impaired by sickness, a tree may decay, a machine be out of order, and yet the system and constitution of them not totally dissolved.—There is plainly somewhat which answers to all this in the moral constitution of man. Whoever will consider his own nature, will see that the several appetites, passions, and particular affections, have different respects amongst themselves. They are restraints upon, and are in a proportion to each other. This proportion is just and perfect, when all those under principles are perfectly coincident with conscience, so far as their nature permits, and in all cases under its absolute and entire direction. The least excess or defect, the least alteration of the due proportions amongst themselves, or of their coincidence with conscience, though not proceeding into action, is some degree of disorder in the moral constitution. But perfection, though plainly intelligible and unsupposable, was never attained by any man. If the higher principle of reflection maintains its place, and as much as it can corrects that disorder, and hinders it from breaking out into action, this is all that can be expected from such a creature as man. And though the appetites and passions have not their exact due proportion to each other; though they often strive for mastery with judgment or reflection: yet, since the superiority of this principle to all others is the chief respect which forms the constitution, so far as this superiority is maintained, the character, the man, is good, worthy, virtuous.

The whole argument, which I have been now insisting upon, may be thus summed up, and given you in one view. The nature of man is adapted to some course of action or other. Upon comparing some actions with this nature, they appear suitable and correspondent to it: from comparison of other actions with the same nature, there arises to our view some unsuitableness or disproportion. The correspondence of actions to the nature of the agent renders them natural: their disproportion to it, unnatural. That an action is correspondent to the nature of the agent, does not arise from its being agreeable to the principle which happens to be the strongest: for it may be so, and yet be quite disproportionate to the nature of the agent. The correspondence therefore, or disproportion, arises from somewhat else. This can be nothing but a difference in nature and kind, altogether distinct from strength, between the inward principles. Some then are in nature and kind superior to others. And the correspondence arises from the action being conformable to the higher principle; and the unsuitableness from its being contrary to it. Reasonable self-love and conscience are the chief or superior principles in the nature of man: because an action may be suitable to this nature, though all other principles be violated; but becomes unsuitable, if either of those are. Conscience and self-love, if we understand our true happiness, always lead us the same way. Duty and interest are perfectly coincident: for the most part in this world, but entirely and in every instance if we take in the future, and the whole; this being implied in the motion of a good and perfect administration of things. Thus they who have been so wise in their generation as to regard only their own supposed interest, at the expense and to the injury of others, shall at last find, that he who has given up all the advantages of the present world, rather than violate his conscience and the relations of life, has infinitely better provided for himself, and secured his own interest and happiness.

SERMON IV.

UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TONGUE.

If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.—*James* i. 26.

The translation of this text would be more determinate by being more literal, thus: "If any man among you seemeth to be religious, not bridling his tongue, but deceiving his own heart, this man's religion is vain." This determines, that the words, *but deceiveth his own heart*, are not put in opposition to, *seemeth to be religious*, but to, *bridleth not his tongue*. The certain determinate meaning of the text then being, that he who seemeth to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but in that particular deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain; we may observe somewhat very forcible and expressive in these words of St. James. As if the apostle had said, No man surely can make any pretences to religion, who does not at least believe that he bridleth his tongue: if he puts on any appearance or face of religion, and yet does not govern his tongue, he must surely deceive himself in that particular, and think he does: and whoever is so unhappy as to deceive himself in this, to imagine he keeps that unruly faculty in due subjection, when indeed he does not, whatever the other part of his life be, his religion is vain; the government of the tongue being a most material restraint which virtue lays us under: without it no man can be truly religious.

In treating upon this subject, I will consider,

First, What is the general vice or fault here referred to: or what disposition in men is supposed in moral reflections and precepts concerning *bridling the tongue.*

Secondly, When it may be said of any one, that he has a due government over himself in this respect.

I. Now the fault referred to, and the disposition supposed, in precepts and reflections concerning the government of the tongue, is not evil-speaking from malice, nor lying or bearing false witness from indirect selfish designs. The disposition to these, and the actual vices themselves, all come under other subjects. The tongue may be employed about, and made to serve all the purposes of vice, in tempting and deceiving, in perjury and injustice. But the thing here supposed and referred to, is talkativeness: a disposition to be talking, abstracted from the consideration of what is to be said; with very little or no regard to, or thought of doing, either good or harm. And let not any imagine this to be a slight matter, and that it deserves not to have so great weight laid upon it; till he has considered, what evil is implied in it, and the bad effects which follow from it. It is perhaps true, that they who are addicted to this folly would choose to confine themselves to trifles and indifferent subjects, and so intend only to be guilty of being impertinent, but as they cannot go on for ever talking of nothing, as common matters will not afford a sufficient fund for perpetual continued discourse: when subjects of this kind are exhausted, they will go on to defamation, scandal, divulging of secrets, their own secrets as well as those of others, any thing rather than be silent. They are plainly hurried on in the heat of their talk to say quite different things from what they first intended, and which they afterwards wish unsaid: or improper things, which they had no end in saying, but only to afford employment to their tongue. And if these people expect to be heard and regarded, for there are some content merely with talking, they will invent to engage your attention: and, when they have heard the least imperfect hint of an affair, they will out of their own head add the circumstances of time and place, and other matters to make out their story, and give the appearance of probability to it, not that they have any concern about being believed, otherwise than as a means of being heard. The thing is, to engage your attention; to take you up wholly for the present time: what reflections will be made afterwards, is in truth the least of their thoughts. And further, when persons, who indulge themselves in these liberties of the tongue, are in any degree offended with another, as little disgusts and misunderstandings will be, they allow themselves to defame and revile such a one without any moderation or bounds; though the offence is so very slight, that they themselves would not do, nor perhaps wish him an injury in any other way. And in this case the scandal and revilings are chiefly owing to talkativeness, and not bridling their tongue; and so come under our present subject. The least occasion in the world will make the humour break out in this particular way, or in another. It is like a torrent, which must and will flow; but the least thing imaginable will first of all give it either this or another direction, turn it into this or that channel: or like a fire; the nature of which, when in a heap of combustible matter, is to spread and lay waste all around; but any one of a thousand little accidents will occasion it to break out first either in this or another particular part.

The subject then before us, though it does run up into, and can scarce be treated as entirely distinct from all others; yet it needs not be so much mixed or blended with them as it often is. Every faculty and power may be used as the instrument of premeditated vice and wickedness, merely as the most proper and effectual means of executing such designs. But if a man, from deep malice and desire of revenge, should meditate a falsehood with a settled design to ruin his neighbour's reputation, and should with great coolness and deliberation spread it; nobody would choose to say of such a one, that he had no government of his tongue. A man may use the faculty of speech as an instrument of false-witness, who yet has so entire a command over that faculty, as never to speak but from forethought and cool design. Here the crime is injustice and perjury: and, strictly speaking, no more belongs to the present subject, than perjury and injustice in any other way. But there is such a thing as a disposition to be talking for its own sake; from which persons often say any thing, good or bad, of others, merely as a subject of discourse, according to the particular temper they themselves happen to be in, and to pass away the present time. There is likewise to be observed in persons such a strong and eager desire of engaging attention to what they say, that they will speak good or evil, truth or otherwise, merely as one or the other seems to be most harkened to, and this, though it is sometimes joined, is not the same with the desire of being thought important and men of consequence. There is in some such a disposition to be talking, that an offence of the slightest kind, and such as would not raise any other resentment, yet raises, if I may so speak, the resentment of the tongue, puts it into a flame, into the most ungovernable motions. This outrage, when the person it respects is present, we distinguish in the lower rank of people by a peculiar term: and let it be observed, that though the decencies of behaviour are a little kept, the same outrage and virulence, indulged when he is absent, is an offence of the same kind. But not to distinguish any farther in this manner: men run into faults and follies, which cannot so properly be referred to any one general head as this, that they have not a due government over their tongue.

And this unrestrained volubility and wantonness of speech is the occasion of numberless evils and vexations in life. It begets resentment in him who is the subject of it; sows the seed of strife and dissension amongst others; and inflames little disgusts and offences, which if let alone would wear away of themselves: it is often of as bad effect upon the good name of others, as deep envy or malice: and, to say the least of it in this respect, it destroys and perverts a certain equity of the utmost importance to society to be observed; namely, that praise and dispraise, a good or bad character, should always be bestowed according to desert. The tongue used in such a licentious manner is like a sword in the hand of a madman; it is employed at random, it can scarce possibly do any good, and for the most part does a world of mischief; and implies not only great folly and a trifling spirit, but great viciousness of mind, great indifference to truth and falsity, and to the reputation, welfare and good of others. So much reason is there for what St. James says of the tongue. "It is a fire, a world of iniquity, it defileth the whole body, setteth on fire the course of nature, and is itself set on fire of hell." This is the faculty or disposition which we are required to keep a guard upon: these are the vices and follies it runs into, when not kept under due restraint.

II. Wherein the due government of the tongue consists, when it may be said of any one in a moral and religious sense that he *bridleth his tongue*, I come now to consider.

The due and proper use of any natural faculty or power, is to be judged of by the end and design for which it was given us. The chief purpose, for which the faculty of speech was given to man, is plainly that we might communicate our thoughts to each other, in order to carry on the affairs of the world; for business, and for our improvement in knowledge and learning. But the good Author of our nature designed us not only necessaries, but likewise enjoyment and satisfaction, in that being he hath graciously given, and in that condition of life he hath placed us in. There are secondary uses of our faculties: they administer to delight, as well as to necessity: and as they are equally adapted to both, there is no doubt but he intended them for our gratification, as well as for the support and continuance of our being. The secondary use of speech is to please and be entertaining to each other in conversation. This is in every respect allowable and right: it unites men closer in alliances and friendships; gives us a fellow-feeling of the prosperity and unhappiness of each other; and is in several respects serviceable to virtue, and to promote good behaviour in the world. And provided there be not too much time spent in it, if it were considered only in the way of gratification and delight, men must have strange notions of God and of religion, to think that he can be offended with it, or that it is any way inconsistent with the strictest virtue. But the truth is, such sort of conversation, though it has no particular good tendency, yet it has a general good one: it is social and friendly, and tends to promote humanity, good-nature, and civility.

As the end and use, so likewise the abuse of speech, relates to the one or other of these; either to business or to conversation. As to the former: deceit in the management of business and affairs does not properly belong to the subject now before us; though one may just mention that multitude, that endless number of words with which business is perplexed; when a much fewer would, as it should seem, better serve the purpose: but this must be left to those who understand the matter. The government of the tongue, considered as a subject of itself, relates chiefly to conversation; to that kind of discourse which usually fills up the time spent in friendly meetings, and visits of civility. And the danger is, lest persons entertain themselves and others at the expense of their wisdom and their virtue, and to the injury or offence of their neighbour. If they will observe and keep clear of these, they may be as free, and easy, and unreserved, as they can desire.

The cautions to be given for avoiding these dangers, and to render conversation innocent and agreeable, fall under the following particulars: silence; talking of indifferent things; and which makes up too great a part of conversation, giving of characters, speaking well or evil of others.

The wise man observes, that "there is a time to speak, and a time to keep silence." One meets with people in the world who seem never to have made the last of these observations. And yet these great talkers do not at all speak from their having any thing to say, as every sentence shows, but only from their inclination to be talking. Their conversation is merely an exercise of the tongue; no other human faculty has any share in it. It is strange these persons can help reflecting that unless they have in truth a superior capacity, and are in an extraordinary manner furnished for conversation; if they are entertaining, it is at their own expense. Is it possible, that it should never come into people's thoughts to suspect, whether or no it be to their advantage to show so very much of themselves? "O that you would altogether hold your peace, and it should be your wisdom." Remember likewise there are persons who love fewer words, an inoffensive sort of people, and who deserve some regard, though of too still and composed tempers for you. Of this number was the son of Sirach; for he plainly speaks from experience, when he says, "As hills of sands are to the steps of the aged, so is one of many words to a quiet man." But one would think it should be obvious to every one, that when they are in company with their superiors of any kind, in years, knowledge and experience: when proper and useful subjects are discoursed of, which they cannot bear a part in; that these are times for silence: when they should learn to hear and be attentive; at least in their turn. It is indeed a very unhappy way these people are in: they in a manner cut themselves out from all advantage of conversation, except that of being entertained with their own talk: their business in coming into company not being at all to be informed, to hear, to learn, but to display themselves, or rather to exert their faculty, and talk without any design at all. And if we consider conversation as an entertainment, as somewhat to unbend the mind; as a diversion from the cares, the business, and the sorrows of life; it is of the very nature of it, that the discourse be mutual. This, I say, is implied in the very notion of what we distinguish by conversation, or being in company. Attention to the continued discourse of one alone, grows more painful often than the cares and business we come to be diverted from. He, therefore, who imposes this upon us is guilty of a double offence; arbitrarily enjoining silence upon all the rest, and likewise obliging them to this painful attention.

I am sensible these things are apt to be passed over, as too little to come into a serious discourse; but in reality men are obliged, even in point of morality and virtue, to observe all the decencies of behaviour. The greatest evils in life have had their rise from somewhat which was thought of too little importance to be attended to. And as to the matter we are now upon, it is absolutely necessary to be considered. For if people will not maintain a due government over themselves, in regarding proper times and seasons for silence, but *will* be talking, they certainly, whether they design it or not at first, will go on to scandal and evil speaking, and divulging secrets.

If it were needful to say any thing further to persuade men to learn this lesson of silence, one might put them in mind how insignificant they render themselves by this excessive talkativeness; insomuch that, if they do chance to say any thing which deserves to be attended to and regarded, it is lost in the variety and abundance which they utter of another sort.

The occasions of silence then are obvious, and one would think should be easily distinguished by every body: namely, when a man has nothing to say; or nothing but what is better unsaid; better, either in regard to particular persons he is present with; or from its being an interruption to conversation itself; or to conversation of a more agreeable kind; or better, lastly, with regard to himself. I will end this particular with two reflections of the wise man; one of which, in the strongest manner, exposes the ridiculous part of this licentiousness of the tongue; and the other, the great danger and viciousness of it. "When he that is a fool walketh by the way side, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool." The other is, "In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin."

As to the government of the tongue in respect to talking upon indifferent subjects; after what has been said concerning the due government of it in respect to the occasions and times for silence, there is little more necessary than only to caution men to be fully satisfied that the subjects are indeed of an indifferent nature; and not to spend too much time in conversation of this kind. But persons must be sure to take heed that the subject of their discourse be at least of an indifferent nature; that it be no way offensive to virtue, religion, or good manners; that it be not of a licentious dissolute sort, this leaving always ill impressions upon the mind; that it be no way injurious or vexatious to others; and that too much time be not spent this way, to the neglect of those duties and offices of life which belong to their station and condition in the world. However, though there is not any necessity that men should aim at being important and weighty in every sentence they speak: yet since useful subjects, at least of some kinds, are as entertaining as others; a wise man, even when he desires to unbend his mind from business, would choose that the conversation might turn upon somewhat instructive.

The last thing is, the government of the tongue as relating to discourse of the affairs of others, and giving of characters. These are in a manner the same; and one can scarce call it an indifferent subject, because discourse upon it almost perpetually runs into somewhat criminal.

And first of all, it were very much to be wished that this did not take up so great a part of conversation, because it is indeed a subject of a dangerous nature. Let any one consider the various interests, competitions and little misunderstandings which arise among men, and he will soon see that he is not unprejudiced and impartial; that he is not, as I may speak, neutral enough to trust himself with talking of the character and concerns of his neighbour, in a free, careless and unreserved manner. There is perpetually, and often it is not attended to, a rivalship amongst people of one kind or another, in respect to wit, beauty, learning, fortune, and that one thing will insensibly influence them to speak to the disadvantage of others, even where there is no formed malice or ill design. Since, therefore, it is so hard to enter into this subject without offending, the first thing to be observed is, that people should learn to decline it; to get over that strong inclination most have to be talking of the concerns and behaviour of their neighbour.

But since it is impossible that this subject should be wholly excluded conversation; and since it is necessary that the characters of men should be known: the next thing is, that it is a matter of importance what is said; and, therefore, that we should be religiously scrupulous and exact to say nothing, either good or bad, but what is true. I put it thus, because it is in reality of as great importance to the good of society, that the characters of bad men should be known, as that the characters of good men should. People, who are given to scandal and detraction, may indeed make an ill use of this observation; but truths which are of service towards regulating our conduct, are not to be disowned, or even concealed, because a bad use may be made of them. This however would be effectually prevented, if these two things were attended to. First, That though it is equally of bad consequence to society, that men should have either good or ill characters which they do not deserve; yet, when you say somewhat good of a man which he does not deserve, there is no wrong done him in particular; whereas, when you say evil of a man which he does not deserve, here is a direct formal injury, a real piece of injustice done him. This, therefore, makes a wide difference, and gives us, in point of virtue, much greater latitude in speaking well than ill of others. Secondly, A good man is friendly to his fellow-creatures, and a lover of mankind; and so will, upon every occasion, and often without any, say all the good he can of every body: but so far as he is a good man, will never be disposed to speak evil of any, unless there be some other reason for it, besides barely that it is true. If he be charged with having given an ill character, he will scarce think it a sufficient justification of himself to say it was a true one, unless he can also give some further account how he came to do so; a just indignation against particular instances of villany, where they are great and scandalous; or to prevent an innocent man from being deceived and betrayed, when he has great trust and confidence in one who does not deserve it. Justice must be done to every part of a subject when we are considering it. If there be a man who bears a fair character in the world, whom yet we know to be without faith or honesty, to be really an ill man; it must be allowed in general, that we shall do a piece of service to society, by letting such a one's true character be known. This is no more than what we have an instance of in our Saviour himself; though he was mild and gentle beyond example. However, no words can express too strongly the caution which should be used in such a case as this.

Upon the whole matter: If people would observe the obvious occasions of silence, if they would subdue the inclinations to tale-bearing, and that eager desire to engage attention, which is an original disease in some minds; they would be in little danger of offending with their tongue; and would, in a moral and religious sense, have due government over it.

I will conclude with some precepts and reflections of the Son of Sirach upon this subject. "Be swift to hear; and, if thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth. Honour and shame is in talk. A man of an ill tongue is dangerous in his city, and he that is rash in his talk shall be hated. A wise man will hold his tongue till he see opportunity; but a babbler and a fool will regard no time. He that useth many words shall be abhorred; and he that taketh to himself authority therein, shall be hated. A backbiting tongue hath disquieted many; strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. The tongue of a man is his fall; but if thou love to hear thou shalt receive understanding."

SERMON V.

UPON COMPASSION.

Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. *Rom.* xii. 15.

Every man is to be considered in two capacities, the private and public; as designed to pursue his own interest, and likewise to contribute to the good of others. Whoever will consider, may see, that in general there is no contrariety between these; but that from the original constitution of man, and the circumstances he is placed in, they perfectly coincide, and mutually carry on each other. But, amongst the great variety of affections or principles of action in our nature, some in their primary intention and design seem to belong to the single or private, others to the public or social capacity. The affections required in the text are of the latter sort. When we rejoice in the prosperity of others, and compassionate their distresses, we, as it were, substitute them for ourselves, their interest for our own; and have the same kind of pleasure in their prosperity, and sorrow in their distress, as we have from reflection upon our own. Now there is nothing strange or unaccountable in our being thus carried out, and affected towards the interests of others. For, if there be any appetite, or any inward principle besides self-love; why may there not be an affection to the good of our fellow-creatures, and delight from that affection's being gratified, and uneasiness from things going contrary to it.*

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* There being manifestly this appearance of men's substituting others for themselves, and being carried out and affected towards them as towards themselves; some persons, who have a system which excludes every affection of this sort, have taken a pleasant method to solve it; and tell you it is *not another* you are at all concerned about, but your *self only*, when you feel the affection called compassion, *i. e.* Here is a plain matter of fact, which men cannot recon-

Of these two, delight in the prosperity of others, and compassion for their distresses, the last is felt much more generally than the former. Though men do not universally rejoice with all whom they see rejoice, yet, accidental obstacles removed, they naturally compassionate all, in some degree, whom they see in distress; so far as they have any real perception or sense of that distress: insomuch that words expressing this latter, pity, compassion, frequently occur; whereas we have scarce any single one, by which the former is distinctly expressed. Congratulation indeed answers condolence: but both these words are intended to signify certain forms of civility, rather than any inward sensation or feeling. This difference or inequality is so remarkable, that we plainly consider compassion as itself an original, distinct, particular affection in human nature; whereas to rejoice in the good of others, is only a consequence of the general affection of love and good-will to them. The reason and account of which matter is this: when a man has obtained any particular advantage or felicity, his end is gained; and he does not in that particular want the assistance of another: there was therefore no need of a distinct affection towards that felicity of another already obtained; neither would such affection directly carry him on to do good to that person: whereas men in distress want assistance; and compassion leads us directly to assist them. The object of the former is the present felicity of another; the object of the latter is the present misery of another. It is easy to see that the latter wants a particular affection for its relief, and that the former does not want one, because it does not want assistance. And upon supposition of a distinct affection in both cases, the one must rest in the exercise of itself, having nothing further to gain; the other does not rest in itself, but carries us on to assist the distressed.

But, supposing these affections natural to the mind, particularly the last, "Has not each man troubles enough of his own? must he indulge an affection which appropriates to himself those of others? which leads him to contract the least desirable of all friendships, friendships with the unfortunate? Must we invert the known rule of prudence, and choose to associate ourselves with the distressed? or, allowing that we ought, so far as it is in our power to relieve them, yet is it not better to do this from reason and duty? Does not passion and affection of every kind perpetually mislead us? Nay, is not passion and affection itself a weakness, and what a perfect being must be entirely free from?" Perhaps so; but is it mankind I am speaking of; imperfect creatures, and who naturally and, from the condition we are placed in, necessarily depend upon each other. With respect to such creatures, it would be found of as bad consequence to eradicate all natural affections, as to be entirely governed by them. This would almost sink us to the condition of brutes; and that would leave us without a sufficient principle of action. Reason alone, whatever any one may wish, is not in reality a sufficient motive of virtue in such a creature as man; but this reason joined with those affections which God has impressed upon his heart: and when these are allowed scope to exercise themselves, but under strict government and direction of reason; then it is we act suitably to our nature, and to the circumstances God has placed us in. Neither is affection itself at all a weakness; nor does it argue defect, any otherwise than as our senses and appetites do; they belong to our condition of nature, and are what we cannot do without. God Almighty is, to be sure, unmoved by passion or appetite, unchanged by affection; but then it is to be added, that he neither sees, nor hears, nor perceives things by any senses like ours; but in a manner infinitely more perfect. Now, as it is an absurdity almost too gross to be mentioned, for a man to endeavourr to get rid of his senses, because the Supreme Being discerns things more perfectly without them; it is a real, though not so obvious an absurdity, to endeavour to eradicate the passions he has given us, because he is without them. For, since our passions are as really a part of our constitution as our senses; since the former as really belong to our condition of nature as the latter; to get rid of either is equally a violation of and breaking in upon that nature and constitution he has given us. Both our senses and our passions are a supply to the imperfection of our nature: thus they show that we are such sort of creatures, as to stand in need of those helps which higher orders of creatures do not. But it is not the supply, but the deficiency; as it is not a remedy, but a disease, which is the imperfection. However, our appetites, passions, senses, no way imply disease: nor indeed do they imply deficiency or imperfection of any sort; but only this, that the constitution of nature, according to which God has made us, is such as to require them. And it is far from being true, that a wise man must entirely suppress compassion, and all fellow-feeling for others, as a

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cile with the general account they think fit to give of things: they therefore, instead of *that* manifest fact, substitute *another*, which is reconcileable to their own scheme. For does not every body by compassion mean an affection, the object of which is another in distress? Instead of this, but designing to have it mistaken for this, they speak of an affection or passion, the object of which is ourselves, or danger to ourselves. Hobbes defines *pity, imagination, or fiction of future calamity to ourselves, proceeding from the sense* (he means sight or knowledge) *of another man's calamity.* Thus fear and compassion would be the same idea, and a fearful and a compassionate man the same character, which every man immediately sees are totally different. Further, to those who give any scope to their affections, there is no perception or inward feeling more universal than this: that one who has been merciful and compassionate throughout the course of his behaviour, should himself be treated with kindness, if he happens to fall into circumstances of distress. Is fear, then, or cowardice, so great a recommendation to the favour of the bulk of mankind? Or is it not plain, that mere fearlessness (and therefore not the contrary) is one of the most popular qualifications? This shows that mankind are not affected towards compassion as fear, but as somewhat totally different.

Nothing would more expose such accounts as these of the affections which are favourable and friendly to our fellow-creatures, than to substitute the definitions, which this author, and others who follow his steps, give of such affections, instead of the words by which they are commonly expressed. Hobbes, after having laid down, that pity or compassion is only fear for ourselves, goes on to explain the reason why we pity our friends in distress more than others. Now substitute the *definition* instead of the word *pity* in this place, and the inquiry will be, why we fear our friends, &c. which words (since he really does not mean why we are afraid of them) make no question or sentence at all. So that common language, the words *to compassionate, to pity*, cannot be accommodated to his account of compassion. The very joining of the words to *pity our friends*, is a direct contradiction to his definition of pity: because those words, so joined, necessarily express that our friends are the objects of the passion: whereas his definition of it asserts, that ourselves (or danger to ourselves) are the only objects of it. He might indeed have avoided this absurdity, by plainly saying what he is going to account for; namely, why the sight of the innocent, or of our friends in distress, raises greater fear for ourselves than the sight of other persons in distress. But had he put the thing thus plainly, the fact itself would have been doubted; that "the sight of our friends in distress raises in us greater fear for ourselves, than the sight of others in distress." And in the next place it would immediately have occurred to every one, that the fact now mentioned, which at least is *doubtful*, whether true or false, was not the same with this fact, which nobody ever doubted, that "the sight of our friends in distress raises in us greater compassion than the sight of others in distress:" every one, I say, would have seen that these are not the *same*, but *two different* inquiries; and consequently, that fear and compassion are not the same. Suppose a person to be in real danger; and by some means or other to have forgot it; any trifling accident, any sound might alarm him, recall the danger to his remembrance, and renew his fear: but it is almost too grossly ridiculous (though it is to show an absurdity) to speak of that sound or accident as an object of compassion; and yet, according to Mr. Hobbes, our greatest friend in distress is no more to us, no more the object of compassion, or of any affection in our heart: neither the one nor the other raises any emotion in our mind, but only the thoughts of our liableness to calamity, and the fear of it; and both equally do this. It is fit such sort of accounts of human nature should be shown to be what they really are, because there is raised upon them a general scheme which undermines the whole foundation of common justice and honesty. See *Hobbes of Human Nature*, c. 9, § 10.

There are often three distinct perceptions or inward feelings upon sight of persons in distress: real sorrow and concern for the misery of our fellow-creatures; some degree of satisfaction from a consciousness of our freedom from that misery; and as the mind passes on from one thing to another, it is not unnatural from such an occasion to reflect upon our liableness to the same or other calamities. The two last frequently accompany the first, but it is the first *only* which is proper compassion, of which the distressed are objects, and which directly carries us with calmness and thought to their assistance. Any one of these, from various and complicated reasons may in particular cases prevail over the other two; and there are, I suppose, instances, where the bare *sight* of distress, without our feeling any compassion for it, may be the occasion of either or both of the two latter perceptions. One might add, that if there be really any such thing as the fiction or imagination of danger to ourselves from the sight of the misery of others, which Hobbes speaks of, and which he has absurdly mistaken for the whole of compassion; if there be any thing of this sort common to mankind, distinct from the reflection of reason, it would be a most remarkable instance of what was furthest from the thoughts, namely, of a mutual sympathy between each particular of the species, a fellow-feeling common to mankind. It would not indeed be an example of our substituting others for ourselves, but it would be an example of substituting ourselves for others. And as it would not be an instance of benevolence, so neither would it be an instance of self-love: for this phantom of danger to ourselves, naturally rising to view upon sight of the distresses of others, would be no more an instance of love to ourselves, than the pain of hunger is.

weakness; and trust to reason alone to teach and enforce upon him the practice of the several charities we owe to our kind; that, on the contrary, even the bare exercise of such affections would itself be for the good and happiness of the world; and the imperfection of the higher principles of reason and religion in man, the little influence they have upon our practice, and the strength and prevalency of contrary ones, plainly require these affections to be a restraint upon these latter, and a supply to the deficiencies of the former.

First, The very exercise itself of these affections in a just and reasonable manner and degree, would upon the whole increase the satisfactions, and lessen the miseries of life.

It is the tendency and business of virtue and religion to procure, as much as may be, universal good-will, trust, and friendship amongst mankind. If this could be brought to obtain; and each man enjoyed the happiness of others, as every one does that of a friend; and looked upon the success and prosperity of his neighbour, as every one does upon that of his children and family; it is too manifest to be insisted upon, how much the enjoyments of life would be increased. There would be so much happiness introduced into the world, without any deduction or inconvenience from it, in proportion as the precept of *rejoicing with those who rejoice* was universally obeyed. Our Saviour has owned this good affection as belonging to our nature, in the parable of the *lost sheep;* and does not think it to the disadvantage of a perfect state, to represent its happiness as capable of increase, from reflection upon that of others.

But since in such a creature as man, compassion or sorrow for the distress of others seems so far necessarily connected with joy in their prosperity, as that whoever rejoices in one must unavoidably compassionate the other; there cannot be that delight or satisfaction, which appears to be so considerable, without the inconveniencies, whatever they are, of compassion.

However, without considering this connexion, there is no doubt but that more good than evil, more delight than sorrow, arises from compassion itself; there being so many things which balance the sorrow of it. There is first the relief which the distressed feel from this affection in others towards them. There is likewise the additional misery which they would feel from the reflection, that no one commiserated their case. It is indeed true, that any disposition, prevailing beyond a certain degree, becomes somewhat wrong; and we have ways of speaking, which, though they do not directly express that excess, yet, always lead our thoughts to it, and give us the notion of it. Thus, when mention is made of delight in being pitied, this always conveys to our mind the notion of somewhat which is really a weakness: the manner of speaking, I say, implies a certain weakness and feebleness of mind, which is and ought to be disapproved. But men of the greatest fortitude would in distress feel uneasiness, from knowing that no person in the world had any sort of compassion or real concern for them; and in some cases, especially when the temper is enfeebled by sickness, or any long and great distress, doubtless, would feel a kind of relief even from the helpless good-will and ineffectual assistances of those about them. Over against the sorrow of compassion is likewise to be set a peculiar calm kind of satisfaction, which accompanies it, unless in cases where the distress of another is by some means so brought home to ourselves, as to become in a manner our own; or when from weakness of mind the affection rises too high, which ought to be corrected. This tranquillity or calm satisfaction proceeds partly from consciousness of a right affection and temper of mind, and partly from a sense of our own freedom from the misery we compassionate. This last may possibly appear to some at first sight faulty; but it really is not so. It is the same with that positive enjoyment, which sudden ease from pain for the present affords, arising from a real sense of misery, joined with a sense of our freedom from it; which in all cases must afford some degree of satisfaction.

To these things must be added the observation, which respects both the affections we are considering; that they who have got over all fellow-feeling for others, have withal contracted a certain callousness of heart, which renders them insensible to most other satisfactions, but those of the grossest kind.

Secondly, Without the exercise of these affections men would certainly be much more wanting in the offices of charity they owe to each other, and likewise more cruel and injurious, than they are at present.

The private interest of the individual would not be sufficiently provided for by reasonable and cool self-love alone; therefore the appetites and passions are placed within as a guard and further security, without which it would not be taken due care of. It is manifest our life would be neglected, were it not for the calls of hunger, and thirst, and weariness; notwithstanding that without them reason would assure us, that the recruits of food and sleep are the necessary means of our preservation. It is therefore absurd to imagine, that without affection, the same reason alone would be more effectual to engage us to perform the duties we owe to our fellow-creatures. One of this make would be as defective, as much wanting, considered with respect to society, as one of the former make would be defective, or wanting, considered as an individual, or in his private capacity. Is it possible any can in earnest think, that a public spirit, *i. e.* a settled reasonable principle of benevolence to mankind, is so prevalent and strong in the species, as that we may venture to throw off the under affections, which are its assistants, carry it forward and mark out particular courses for it; family, friends, neighbourhood, the distressed, our country? The common joys and the common sorrows, which belong to these relations and circumstances, are as plainly useful to society, as the pain and pleasure belonging to hunger, thirst, and weariness, are of service to the individual. In defect of that higher principle of reason, compassion is often the only way by which the indigent can have access to us: and therefore, to eradicate this, though it is not indeed formally to deny them that assistance which is their due; yet it is to cut them off from that which is too frequently their only way of obtaining it. And as for those who have shut up this door against the complaints of the miserable, and conquered this affection in themselves; even these persons will be under great restraints from the same affection in others. Thus a man who has himself no sense of injustice, cruelty, oppression, will be kept from running the utmost lengths of wickedness, by fear of that detestation, and even resentment of inhumanity, in many particular instances of it, which compassion for the object towards whom such inhumanity is exercised, excites in the bulk of mankind. And this is frequently the chief danger, and the chief restraint, which tyrants and the great oppressors of the world feel.

In general, experience will show, that as want of natural appetite to food supposes and proceeds from some bodily disease; so the apathy the stoics talk of, as much supposes, or is accompanied with, somewhat amiss in the moral character, in that which is the health of the mind. Those who formerly aimed at this upon the foot of philosophy, appear to have had better success in eradicating the affections of tenderness and compassion, than they had with the passions of envy, pride and resentment: these latter, at best, were but concealed, and that imperfectly too. How far this observation may be extended to such as endeavour to suppress the natural impulses of their affections, in order to form themselves for business and the world, I shall not determine. But there does not appear any capacity or relation to be named, in which men ought to be entirely deaf to the calls of affection, unless the judicial one is to be excepted.

And as to those who are commonly called the men of pleasure, it is manifest, that the reason they set up for hardness of heart, is to avoid being interrupted in their course, by the ruin and misery they are the authors of: neither are persons of this character always the most free from the impotencies of envy and resentment. What may men at last bring themselves to, by suppressing their passions and affections of one kind, and leaving those of the other in their full strength? But surely it might be expected that persons who make pleasure their study and their business, if they understood what they profess, would reflect, how many of the entertainments of life, how many of those kind of amusements which seem peculiarly to belong to men of leisure and education, they become insensible to by this acquired hardness of heart.

I shall close these reflections with barely mentioning the behaviour of that divine Person, who was the example of all perfection in human nature, as represented in the Gospels, mourning, and even, in a literal sense, weeping over the distresses of his creatures.

The observation already made, that, of the two affections mentioned in the text, the latter exerts itself much more than the former; that, from the original constitution of human nature, we much more generally and sensibly compassionate the distressed, than rejoice with the prosperous, requires to be particularly considered. This observation, therefore, with the reflections which arise out of it, and which it leads our thoughts to, shall be the subject of another discourse.

For the conclusion of this, let me just take notice of the danger of over-great refinements; of going besides or beyond the plain, obvious, first appearances of things, upon the subject of morals and religion. The least observation will show how little the generality of men are capable of speculations. Therefore morality and religion must be somewhat plain and easy to be understood: it must appeal to what we call plain common sense, as distinguished from superior capacity and improvement; because it appeals to mankind. Persons of superior capacity and improvement have often fallen into errors, which no one of mere common understanding could. Is it possible that one of this latter character could ever of himself have thought, that there was absolutely no such thing in mankind as affection to the good of others? suppose of parents to their children; or that what he felt upon seeing a friend in distress was only fear for himself; or, upon supposition of the affections of kindness and compassion, that it was the business of wisdom and virtue to set him about extirpating them as fast as he could? And yet each of these manifest contradictions to nature has been laid down by men of speculation, as a discovery in moral philosophy; which they, it seems, have found out through all the specious appearances to the contrary. This reflection may be extended further. The extravagancies of enthusiasm and superstition do not at all lie in the road of common sense; and, therefore, so far as they are *original mistakes*, must be owing to going beside or beyond it. Now, since inquiry and examination can relate only to things so obscure and uncertain as to stand in need of it, and to persons who are capable of it; the proper advice to be given to plain honest men, to secure them from the extremes both of superstition and irreligion, is that of the son of Sirach: "In every good work trust thy own soul; for this is the keeping of the commandment."

SERMON VI.

UPON COMPASSION.

(Preached the first Sunday in Lent.)

Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.—*Rom.* xii. 15.

There is a much more exact correspondence between the natural and moral world, than we are apt to take notice of. The inward frame of man does in a peculiar manner answer to the external condition and circumstances of life, in which he is placed. This is a particular instance of that general observation of the son of Sirach: "All things are double one against another, and God hath made nothing imperfect." The several passions and affections in the heart of man, compared with the circumstances of life in which he is placed, afford, to such as will attend to them, as certain instances of final causes, as any whatever, which are more commonly alleged for such: since those affections lead him to a certain determinate course of action suitable to those circumstances; as (for instance) compassion, to relieve the distressed. And as all observations of final causes, drawn from the principles of action in the heart of man, compared with the condition he is placed in, serve all the good uses which instances of final causes in the material world about us do; and both these are equally proofs of wisdom and design in the Author of nature: so the former serve to further good purposes; they show us what course of life we are made for, what is our duty, and in a peculiar manner enforce upon us the practice of it.

Suppose we are capable of happiness and of misery in degrees equally intense and extreme, yet, we are capable of the latter for a much longer time, beyond all comparison. We see men in the tortures of pain for hours, days, and, excepting the short suspensions of sleep, for months together, without intermission; to which no enjoyments of life do, in degree and continuance, bear any sort of proportion. And such is our make and that of the world about us, that any thing may become the instrument of pain and sorrow to us. Thus almost any one man is capable of doing mischief to any other, though he may not be capable of doing him good: and if he be capable of doing him some good, he is capable of doing him more evil. And it is, in numberless cases, much more in our power to lessen the miseries of others, than to promote their positive happiness, any otherwise than as the former often includes the latter; ease from misery occasioning for some time the greatest positive enjoyment. This constitution of nature, namely, that it is so much more in our power to occasion and likewise to lessen misery, than to promote positive happiness, plainly required a particular affection, to hinder us from abusing, and to incline us to make a right use of the former powers, *i. e.* the powers both to occasion and to lessen misery; over and above what was necessary to induce us to make a right use of the latter power, that of promoting positive happiness. The power we have over the misery of our fellow-creatures, to occasion or lessen it, being a more important trust than the power we have of promoting their positive happiness; the former requires and has a further, an additional security and guard against its being violated, beyond and over and above what the latter has. The social nature of man, and general good-will to his species, equally prevent him from doing evil, incline him to relieve the distressed, and to promote the positive happiness of his fellow-creatures: but compassion only restrains from the first, and carries him to the second; it hath nothing to do with the third.

The final causes then of compassion are to prevent and to relieve misery.

As to the former: this affection may plainly be a restraint upon resentment, envy, unreasonable self-love; that is, upon all the principles from which men do evil to one another. Let us instance only in resentment. It seldom happens, in regulated societies, that men have an enemy so entirely in their power, as to be able to satiate their resentment with safety. But if we were to put this case, it is plainly supposable, that a person might bring his enemy into such a condition, as from being the object of anger and rage, to become an object of compassion, even to himself, though the most malicious man in the world: and in this case compassion would stop him, if he could stop with safety, from pursuing his revenge any further. But since nature has placed within us more powerful restraints to prevent mischief, and since the final cause of compassion is much more to relieve misery, let us go on to the consideration of it in this view.

As this world was not intended to be a state of any great satisfaction or high enjoyment; so neither was it intended to be a mere scene of unhappiness and sorrow. Mitigations and reliefs are provided by the merciful Author of nature, for most of the afflictions in human life. There is kind provision made even against our frailties; as we are so constituted, that time abundantly abates our sorrows, and begets in us that resignment of temper which ought to have been produced by a better cause; a due sense of the authority of God, and our state of dependence. This holds in respect to far the greatest part of the evils of life; I suppose, in some degree as to pain and sickness. Now this part of the constitution or make of man, considered as some relief to misery, and not as provision for positive happiness, is, if I may so speak, an instance of nature's compassion for us; and every natural remedy or relief to misery may be considered in the same view.

But since in many cases it is very much in our power to alleviate the miseries of each other; and benevolence, though natural in man to man, yet is in a very low degree kept down by interest and competitions; and men, for the most part, are so engaged in the business and pleasures of the world, as to overlook and turn away from objects of misery; which are plainly considered as interruptions to them in their way, as intruders upon their business, their gaiety and mirth; compassion is an advocate within us in their behalf, to gain the unhappy admittance and access, to make their case attended to. If it sometimes serves a contrary purpose, and makes men industriously turn away from the miserable, these are only instances of abuse and perversion: for the end, for which the affection was given us, most certainly is not to make us avoid, but to make us attend to, the objects of it. And if men would only resolve to allow thus much to it; let it bring before their view, the view of their mind, the miseries of their fellow-creatures; let it gain for them that their case be considered; I am persuaded it would not fail of gaining more, and that very few real objects of charity would pass unrelieved. Pain and sorrow and misery have a right to our assistance: compassion puts us in mind of the debt, and that we owe it to ourselves as well as to the distressed. For, to endeavour to get rid of the sorrow of compassion by turning from the wretched, when yet it is in our power to relieve them, is as unnatural as to endeavour to get rid of the pain of hunger by keeping from the sight of food. That we can do one with greater success than we can the other, is no proof that one is less a violation of nature than the other. Compassion is a call, a demand of nature, to relieve the unhappy; as hunger is a natural call for food. This affection plainly gives the objects of it an additional claim to relief and mercy, over and above what our fellow-creatures in common have to our good-will. Liberality and bounty are exceedingly commendable; and a particular distinction in such a world as this, where men set themselves to contract their heart, and close it to all interests but their own. It is by no means to be opposed to mercy, but always accompanies it: the distinction between them is only, that the former leads our thoughts to a more promiscuous and undistinguished distribution of favours; to those who are not, as well as those who are necessitous; whereas the object of compassion is misery. But in the comparison, and where there is not a possibility of both, mercy is to have the preference; the affection of compassion manifestly leads us to this preference. Thus, to relieve the indigent and distressed, to single out the unhappy, from whom can be expected no returns either of present entertainment or future service, for the objects of our favours; to esteem a man's being friendless as a recommendation; dejection, and incapacity of struggling through the world, as a motive for assisting him; in a word, to consider these circumstances of disadvantage, which are usually thought a sufficient reason for neglect and overlooking a person, as a motive for helping him forward: this is the course of benevolence which compassion marks out and directs us to: this is that humanity which is so peculiarly becoming our nature and circumstances in this world.

To these considerations, drawn from the nature of man, must be added the reason of the thing itself we are recommending, which accords to and shows the same. For since it is so much more in our power to lessen the misery of our fellow-creatures, than to promote their positive happiness; in cases where there is an inconsistency, we shall be likely to do much more good by setting ourselves to mitigate the former, than by endeavouring to promote the latter. Let the competition be between the poor and the rich. It is easy, you will say, to see which will have the preference. True: but the question is, which ought to have the preference? What proportion is there between the happiness produced by doing a favour to the indigent, and that produced by doing the same favour to one in easy circumstances? It is manifest, that the addition of a very large estate to one who before had an affluence, will in many instances yield him less new enjoyment or satisfaction, than an ordinary charity would yield to a necessitous person. So that it is not only true, that our nature, *i. e.* the voice of God within us, carries us to the exercise of charity and benevolence in the way of compassion or mercy, preferably to any other way; but we also manifestly discern much more good done by the former; or, if you will allow me the expressions, more misery annihilated and happiness created. If charity and benevolence, and endeavouring to do good to our fellow-creatures, be any thing, this observation deserves to be most seriously considered by all who have to bestow. And it holds with great exactness, when applied to the several degrees of greater and less indigency throughout the various ranks in human life: the happiness or good produced not being in proportion to what is bestowed, but in proportion to this joined with the need there was of it.

It may perhaps be expected, that upon this subject notice should be taken of occasions, circumstances, and characters, which seem at once to call forth affections of different sorts. Thus vice may be thought the object both of pity and indignation: folly, of pity and of laughter. How far this is strictly true, I shall not inquire; but only observe upon the appearance, how much more humane it is to yield and give scope to affections, which are most directly in favour of, and friendly towards, our fellow-creatures; and that there is plainly much less danger of being led wrong by these, than by the other.

But, notwithstanding all that has been said in recommendation of compassion, that it is most amiable, most becoming human nature, and most useful to the world; yet it must be owned, that every affection, as distinct from a principle of reason, may rise too high, and be beyond its just proportion. And by means of this one carried too far, a man throughout his life is subject to much more uneasiness than belongs to his share: and in particular instances, it may be in such a degree, as to incapacitate him from assisting the very person who is the object of it. But as there are some who upon principle set up for suppressing this affection itself as weakness, there is also I know not what of fashion on this side; and, by some means or other, the whole world almost is run into the extremes of insensibility towards the distresses of their fellow-creatures: so that general rules and exhortations must always be on the other side.

And now to go on to the uses we should make of the foregoing reflections, the further ones they lead to, and the general temper they have a tendency to beget in us. There being that distinct affection implanted in the nature of man, tending to lessen the miseries of life, that particular provision made for abating its sorrows, more than for increasing its positive happiness, as before explained; this may suggest to us what should be our general aim respecting ourselves, in our passage through this world: namely, to endeavour chiefly to escape misery, keep free from uneasiness, pain, and sorrow, or to get relief and mitigation of them; to propose to ourselves peace and tranquillity of mind, rather than pursue after high enjoyments. This is what the constitution of nature before explained marks out as the course we should follow, and the end we should aim at. To make pleasure and mirth and jollity our business, and be constantly hurrying about after some gay amusement, some new gratification of sense or appetite, to those who will consider the nature of man and our condition in this world, will appear the most romantic scheme of life that ever entered into thought. And yet how many are there who go on in this course, without learning better from the daily, the hourly disappointments, listlessness, and satiety, which accompany this fashionable method of wasting away their days!

The subject we have been insisting upon would lead us into the same kind of reflections, by a different connexion. The miseries of life brought home to ourselves by compassion, viewed through this affection considered as the sense by which they are perceived, would beget in us that moderation, humility, and soberness of mind, which has been now recommended; and which peculiarly belongs to a season of recollection, the only purpose of which is to bring us to a just sense of things, to recover us out of that forgetfulness of ourselves, and our true state, which it is manifest far the greatest part of men pass their whole life in. Upon this account Solomon says, that "it is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting;" *i. e.* it is more to a man's advantage to turn his eyes towards objects of distress, to recall sometimes to his remembrance the occasions of sorrow, than to pass all his days in thoughtless mirth and gaiety. And he represents the wise as choosing to frequent the former of these places; to be sure not for its own sake, but because *by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better.* Every one observes how temperate and reasonable men are when humbled and brought low by afflictions, in comparison of what they are in high prosperity. By this voluntary resort to the house of mourning, which is here recommended, we might learn all those useful instructions which calamities teach, without undergoing them ourselves; and grow wiser and better at a more easy rate than men commonly do. The objects themselves, which in that place of sorrow lie before our view, naturally give us a seriousness and attention, check that wantonness which is the growth of prosperity and ease, and lead us to reflect upon the deficiencies of human life itself; that *every man, at his best estate, is altogether vanity.* This would correct the florid and gaudy prospects and expectations which we are too apt to indulge, teach us to lower our notions of happiness and enjoyment, bring them down to the reality of things, to what is attainable, to what the frailty of our condition will admit of, which, for any continuance, is only tranquillity, ease, and moderate satisfactions. Thus we might at once become proof against the temptations with which the whole world almost is carried away; since it is plain, that not only what is called a life of pleasure, but also vicious pursuits in general, aim at somewhat besides and beyond these moderate satisfactions.

And as to that obstinacy and wilfulness, which renders men so insensible to the motives of religion; this right sense of ourselves and of the world about us would bend the stubborn mind, soften the heart, and make it more apt to receive impression: and this is the proper temper in which to call our ways to remembrance, to review and set home upon ourselves the miscarriages of our past life. In such a compliant state of mind, reason and conscience will have a fair hearing; which is the preparation for, or rather the beginning of, that repentance, the outward show of which we all put on at this season.

Lastly, The various miseries of life which lie before us wherever we turn our eyes, the frailty of this mortal state we are passing through, may put us in mind that the present world is not our home; that we are merely strangers and travellers in it, as all our fathers were. It is therefore to be considered as a foreign country; in which our poverty and wants, and the insufficient supplies of them, were designed to turn our views to that higher and better state we are heirs to: a state where will be no follies to be overlooked, no miseries to be pitied, no wants to be relieved; where the affection we have been now treating of will happily be lost, as there will be no objects to exercise it upon: for "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying: neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away.

SERMON VII.

UPON THE CHARACTER OF BALAAM.

(Preached the second Sunday after Easter.)

Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.—*Numb.* xxiii. 10.

These words, taken alone, and without respect to him who spoke them, lead our thoughts immediately to the different ends of good and bad men. For though the comparison is no expressed, yet it is manifestly implied; as is also the preference of one of these characters to the other in that last circumstance, death. And, since dying the death of the righteous or of the wicked necessarily implies men's being righteous or wicked, *i. e.* having lived righteously or wickedly; a comparison of them in their lives also might come into consideration, from such a single view of the words themselves. But my present design is to consider them with a particular reference or respect to him who spoke them; which reference, if you please to attend, you will see. And if what shall be offered to your consideration at this time be thought a discourse upon the whole history of this man, rather than upon the particular words I have read, this is of no consequence; it is sufficient, if it afford reflection of use and service to ourselves.

But, in order to avoid cavils respecting this remarkable relation in Scripture, either that part of it which you have heard in the first lesson for the day, or any others; let me just observe, that as this is not a place for answering them, so they no way affect the following discourse; since the character there given is plainly a real one in life, and such as there are parallels to.

The occasion of Balaam's coming out of his own country into the land of Moab, where he pronounced this solemn prayer or wish, he himself relates in the first parable or prophetic speech, of which it is the conclusion. In which is a custom referred to, proper to be taken notice of: that of devoting enemies to destruction, before the entrance upon a war with them. This custom appears to have prevailed over a great part of the world; for we find it amongst the most distant nations. The Romans had public officers, to whom it belonged as a stated part of their office. But there was somewhat more particular in the case now before us; Balaam being looked upon as an extraordinary person, whose blessing or curse was thought to be always effectual.

In order to engage the reader's attention to this passage, the sacred historian has enumerated the preparatory circumstances, which are these. Balaam requires the king of Moab to build him seven altars, and to prepare him the same number of oxen and of rams. The sacrifice being over, he retires alone to a solitude sacred to these occasions, there to wait the divine inspiration or answer, for which the forgoing rites were the preparation. "And God met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth;" upon receiving which, he returns back to the altars, where was the king, who had all this while attended the sacrifice, as appointed; he and all the princes of Moab standing, big with expectation of the prophet's reply. "And he took up his parable, and said, Balak the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountains of the east, saying, Come, curse me Jacob, and come, defy Israel. How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? Or how shall I defy whom the Lord hath not defied? For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him: lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations. Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

It is necessary, as you will see in the progress of this discourse, particularly to observe what he understood by *righteous*. And he himself is introduced in the book of Micah explaining it; if by *righteous* is meant *good*, as to be sure it is. "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal." From the mention of Shittim it is manifest, that it is this very story which is here referred to, though another part of it, the account of which is not now extant; as there are many quotations in Scripture out of books which are not come down to us. "Remember what Balaam answered, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord;" *i. e.* the righteousness which God will accept. Balak demands "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Balaam answers him, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Here is a good man expressly characterized, as distinct from a dishonest and a superstitious man. No words can more strongly exclude dishonesty and falseness of heart, than *doing justice*, and *loving mercy:* and both these, as well as *walking humbly with God*, are put in opposition to those ceremonial methods of recommendation, which Balak hoped might have served the turn. From hence appears what he meant by the *righteous* whose *death* he desires to die.

Whether it was his own character shall now be inquired: and in order to determine it, we must take a view of his whole behaviour upon this occasion. When the elders of Moab came to him, though he appears to have been much allured with the rewards offered, yet he had such regard to the authority of God, as to keep the messengers in suspense until he had consulted his will. "And God said to him, Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed. Upon this he dismisses the ambassadors, with an absolute refusal of accompanying them back to their king. Thus far his regards to duty prevailed, neither does there any thing appear as yet amiss in his conduct. His answer being reported to the king of Moab, a more honourable embassy is immediately despatched, and greater rewards proposed. Then the iniquity of his heart began to disclose itself. A thorough honest man would without hesitation have repeated his former answer, that he could not be guilty of so infamous a prostitution of the sacred character with which he was invested, as in the name of a prophet to curse those whom he knew to be blessed. But instead of this, which was the only honest part in these circumstances that lay before him, he desires the princes of Moab to tarry that night with him also; and for the sake of the reward deliberates, whether by some means or other he might not be able to obtain leave to curse Israel; to do that, which had been before revealed to him to be contrary to the will of God, which yet he resolves not to do without that permission. Upon which, as when this nation afterward rejected God from reigning over them, he gave them a king in his anger; in the same way, as appears from other parts of the narration, he gives Balaam the permission he desired: for this is the most natural sense of the words. Arriving in the territories of Moab, and being received with particular distinction by the king, and he repeating in person the promise of the rewards he had before made to him by his ambassadors: he seeks, the text says, by *sacrifices* and *enchantments* (what these were is not to our purpose), to obtain leave of God to curse the people; keeping still his resolution, not to do it without that permission: which not being able to obtain, he had such regard to the command of God, as to keep this resolution to the last. The supposition of his being under a supernatural restraint is a mere fiction of Philo: he is plainly represented to be under no other force or restraint, than the fear of God. However, he goes on persevering in that endeavour, after he had declared, that "God had not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither had he seen perverseness in Israel; *i. e.* they were a people of virtue and piety, so far as not to have drawn down, by their iniquity, that curse which he was soliciting leave to pronounce upon them. So that the state of Balaam's mind was this: he wanted to do what he knew to be very wicked, and contrary to the express command of God; he had inward checks and restraints, which he could not entirely get over; he therefore casts about for ways to reconcile this wickedness with his duty. How great a paradox soever this may appear, as it is indeed a contradiction in terms, it is the very account which the scripture gives us of him.

But there is a more surprising piece of iniquity yet behind. Not daring in his religious character, as a prophet, to assist the king of Moab, he considers whether there might not be found some other means of assisting him against that very people, whom he himself by the fear of God was restrained from cursing in words. One would not think it possible, that the weakness, even of religious self-deceit in its utmost excess, could have so poor a distinction, so fond an evasion, to serve itself of. But so it was: and he could think of no other method, than to betray the children of Israel to provoke his wrath, who was their only strength and defence. The temptation which he pitched upon, was that concerning which Solomon afterward observed, that it had "cast down many wounded; yea, many strong men had been slain by it:" and of which he himself was a sad example, when "his wives turned away his heart after other gods." This succeeded: the people sin against God; and thus the prophet's counsel brought on that destruction, which he could by no means be prevailed upon to assist with the religious ceremony of execration, which the king of Moab thought would itself have effected it. Their crime and punishment are related in Deuteronomy and Numbers. And from the relation repeated in Numbers, it appears, that Balaam was the contriver of the whole matter. It is also ascribed to him in the Revelation, where he is said to have "taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel.

This was the man, this Balaam, I say, was the man who desired to "die the death of the righteous," and that his "last end might be like his:" and this was the state of his mind, when he pronounced these words.

So that the object we have now before us is the most astonishing in the world: a very wicked man, under a deep sense of God and religion, persisting still in his wickedness, and preferring the wages of unrighteousness, even when he had before him a lively view of death, and that approaching period of his days, which should deprive him of all those advantages for which he was prostituting himself; and likewise a prospect, whether certain or uncertain, of a future state of retribution: all this joined with an explicit ardent wish, that, when he was to leave this world, he might be in the condition of a righteous man. Good God, what inconsistency, what perplexity is here! With what different views of things, with what contradictory principles of action, must such a mind be torn and distracted! It was not unthinking carelessness, by which he run on headlong in vice and folly, without ever making a stand to ask himself what he was doing: no; he acted upon the cool motives of interest and advantage. Neither was he totally hard and callous to impressions of religion, what we call abandoned; for he absolutely denied to curse Israel. When reason assumes her place, when convinced of his duty, when he owns and feels, and is actually under the influence of the divine authority; whilst he is carrying on his views to the grave, the end of all temporal greatness; under this sense of things, with the better character and more desirable state present—full before him—in his thoughts, in his wishes, voluntarily to choose the worse—what fatality is here! Or how otherwise can such a character be explained? And yet strange as it may appear, it is not altogether an uncommon one; nay, with some small alterations, and put a little lower, it is applicable to a very considerable part of the world. For if the reasonable choice be seen and acknowledged, and yet men make the unreasonable one, is not this the same contradiction; that very inconsistency, which appeared so unaccountable?

To give some little opening to such characters and behaviour, it is to be observed in general, that there is no account to be given in the way of reason, of men's so strong attachments to the present world: our hopes and fears and pursuits are in degrees beyond all proportion to the known value of the things they respect. This may be said without taking into consideration religion and a future state; and when these are considered, the disproportion is infinitely heightened. Now when men go against their reason, and contradict a more important interest at a distance, for one nearer, though of less consideration; if this be the whole of the case, all that can be said is, that strong passions, some kind of brute force within, prevails over the principle of rationality. However, if this be with a clear, full, and distinct view of the truth of things, then it is doing the utmost violence to themselves, acting in the most palpable contradiction to their very nature. But if there be any such thing in mankind as putting half-deceits upon themselves; which there plainly is, either by avoiding reflection, or (if they do reflect) by religious equivocation, subterfuges, and palliating matters to themselves; by these means conscience may be laid asleep, and they may go on in a course of wickedness with less disturbance. All the various turns, doubles, and intricacies in a dishonest heart, cannot be unfolded or laid open; but that there is somewhat of that kind is manifest, be it to be called self-deceit, or by any other name. Balaam had before his eyes the authority of God, absolutely forbidding him what he, for the sake of a reward, had the strongest inclination to: he was likewise in a state of mind sober enough to consider death and his last end: by these considerations he was restrained, first from going to the king of Moab; and after he did go, from cursing Israel. But notwithstanding this, there was great wickedness in his heart. He could not forego the rewards of unrighteousness: he therefore first seeks for indulgences; and when these could not be obtained, he sins against the whole meaning, end, and design of the prohibition, which no consideration in the world could prevail with him to go against the letter of. And surely that impious counsel he gave to Balak against the children of Israel, was, considered in itself, a greater piece of wickedness, than if he had cursed them in words.

If it be inquired what his situation, his hopes and fears were, in respect to this his wish; the answer must be, that consciousness of the wickedness of his heart must necessarily have destroyed all settled hopes of dying the death of the righteous; he could have no calm satisfaction in this view of his last end: yet, on the other hand, it is possible that those partial regards to his duty, now mentioned, might keep him from perfect despair.

Upon the whole, it is manifest, that Balaam had the most just and true notions of God and religion; as appears, partly from the original story itself, and more plainly from the passage in Micah, where he explains religion to consist in real virtue and real piety, expressly distinguished from superstition, and in terms which most strongly exclude dishonesty and falseness of heart. Yet you see his behaviour: he seeks indulgences for plain wickedness; which not being able to obtain, he glosses over the same wickedness, dresses it up in a new form, in order to make it pass off more easily with himself. That is, he deliberately contrives to deceive and impose upon himself, in a matter which he knew to be of the utmost importance.

To bring these observations home to ourselves: it is too evident, that many persons allow themselves in very unjustifiable courses, who yet make great pretences to religion; not to deceive the world, none can be so weak as to think this will pass in our age; but from principles, hopes, and fears, respecting God and a future state; and go on thus with a sort of tranquillity and quiet of mind. This cannot be upon a throrough consideration, and full resolution, that the pleasures and advantages they propose are to be pursued at all hazards, against reason, against the law of God, and though everlasting destruction is to be the consequence. This would be doing too great violence upon themselves. No, they are for making a composition with the Almighty. These of his commands they will obey: but as to others—why they will make all the atonements in their power; the ambitious, the covetout, the dissolute man, each in a way which shall not contradict his respective pursuit. Indulgences before, which was Balaam's first attempt, though he was not so successful in it as to deceive himself, or atonements afterwards, are all the same. And here perhaps come in faint hopes that they may, and half-resolves that they will, one time or other, make a change.

Besides these, there are also persons, who, from a more just way of considering things, see the infinite absurdity of this, of substituting sacrifice instead of obedience; there are persons far enough from superstition, and not without some real sense of God and religion upon their minds; who yet are guilty of most unjustifiable practices, and go on with great coolness and command over themselves. The same dishonesty and unsoundness of heart discovers itself in these another way. In all common ordinary cases we see intuitively at first view what is our duty, what is the honest part. This is the ground of the observation, that the first thought is often the best. In these cases doubt and deliberation is itself dishonesty; as it was in Balaam upon the second message. That which is called considering what is our duty in a particular case, is very often nothing but endeavouring to explain it away. Thus those courses, which, if men would fairly attend to the dictates of their own consciences, they would see to be corruption, excess, oppression, uncharitableness; these are refined upon—things were so and so circumstantiated—great difficulties are raised about fixing bounds and degrees: and thus every moral obligation whatever may be evaded. Here is scope, I say, for an unfair mind to explain away every moral obligation to itself. Whether men reflect again upon this internal management and artifice, and how explicit they are with themselves, is another question. There are many operations of the mind, many things pass within, which we never reflect upon again; which a by-stander, from having frequent opportunities of observing us and our conduct, may make shrewd guesses at.

That great numbers are in this way of deceiving themselves is certain. There is scarce a man in the world, who has entirely got over all regards, hopes, and fears, concerning God and a future state; and these apprehensions in the generality, bad as we are, prevail in considerable degrees; yet men will and can be wicked, with calmness and thought; we see they are. There must therefore be some method of making it sit a little easy upon their minds; which, in the superstitious, is those indulgences and atonements before mentioned, and this self-deceit of another kind in persons of another character. And both these proceed from a certain unfairness of mind, a peculiar inward dishonesty; the direct contrary to that simplicity which our Saviour recommends, under the notion of *becoming little children*, as a necessary qualification for our entering into the kingdom of heaven.

But to conclude: How much soever men differ in the course of life they prefer, and in their ways of palliating and excusing their vices to themselves; yet all agree in the one thing, desiring to *die the death of the righteous*. This is surely remarkable. The observation may be extended further, and put thus: Even without determining what that is which we call guilt or innocence, there is no man but would choose, after having had the pleasure or advantage of a vicious action, to be free of the guilt of it, to be in the state of an innocent man. This shows at least the disturbance and implicit dissatisfaction in vice. If we inquire into the grounds of it, we shall find it proceeds partly from an immediate sense of having done evil, and partly from an apprehension, that this inward sense shall one time or another be seconded by a higher judgment, upon which our whole being depends. Now to suspend and drown this sense, and these apprehensions, be it by the hurry of business or of pleasure, or by superstition, or moral equivocations, this is in a manner one and the same, and makes no alteration at all in the nature of our case. Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived? As we are reasonable creatures, and have any regard to ourselves, we ought to lay these things plainly and honestly before our mind, and upon this, act as you please, as you think most fit; make that choice, and prefer that course of life, which you can justify to yourselves, and which sits more easy upon your own mind. It will immediately appear, that vice cannot be the happiness, but must upon the whole be the misery, of such a creature as man; a moral, an accountable agent. Superstitious observances, self-deceit, though of a more refined sort, will not in reality at all mend matters with us. And the result of the whole can be nothing else, but that with simplicity and fairness we "keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that is right; for this alone shall bring a man peace at the last."

SERMON VIII.

UPON RESENTMENT.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.—*Matt.* v. 43, 44.

Since perfect goodness in the Deity is the principle from whence the universe was brought into being, and by which it is preserved; and since general benevolence is the great law of the whole moral creation; it is a question which immediately occurs, Why had man implanted in him a principle, which appears the direct contrary to benevolence? Now the foot upon which inquiries of this kind should be treated is this: to take human nature as it is, and the circumstances in which it is placed as they are; and then consider the correspondence between that nature and those circumstances, or what course of action and behaviour, respecting those circumstances, any particular affection or passion leads us to. This I mention to distinguish the matter now before us from disquisitions of quite another kind; namely, Why we are not made more perfect creatures, or placed in better circumstances? these being questions which we have not, that I know of, any thing at all to do with. God Almighty undoubtedly foresaw the disorders, both natural and moral, which would happen in this state of things. If upon this we set ourselves to search and examine why he did not prevent them; we shall, I am afraid, be in danger of running into somewhat worse than impertinent curiosity. But upon this to examine how far the nature which he hath given us hath a respect to those circumstances, such as they are; how far it leads us to act a proper part in them; plainly belongs to us: and such inquiries are in many ways of excellent use. Thus the thing to be considered is, not, Why we were not made of such a nature, and placed in such circumstances, as to have no need of so harsh and turbulent a passion as resentment: but, taking our nature and condition as being what they are, Why, or for what end such a passion was given us: and this chiefly in order to show what are the abuses of it.

The persons who laid down for a rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," made short work with this matter. They did not, it seems, perceive any thing to be disapproved in hatred, more than in good-will: and, according to their system of morals, our enemy was the proper natural object of one of these passions, as our neighbour was of the other of them.

This was all they had to say, and all they thought needful to be said, upon the subject. But this cannot be satisfactory; because hatred, malice, and revenge, are directly contrary to the religion we profess, and to the nature and reason of the thing itself. Therefore, since no passion God hath endued us with can be in itself evil; and yet since men frequently indulge a passion in such ways and degrees that at length it becomes quite another thing from what it was originally in our nature; and those vices of malice and revenge in particular take their occasion from the natural passion of resentment: it will be needful to trace this up to its original, that we may see, *what it is in itself, as placed in our nature by its Author;* from which it will plainly appear, *for what ends it was placed there*. And when we know what the passion is in itself, and the ends of it, we shall easily see, *what are the abuses of it, in which malice and revenge consist;* and which are so strongly forbidden in the text, by the direct contrary being commanded.

Resentment is of two kinds: *hasty and sudden, or settled and deliberate*. The former is called anger, and often *passion;* which, though a general word, is frequently appropriated and confined to the particular feeling, sudden anger, as distinct from deliberate resentment, malice, and revenge. In all these words is usually implied somewhat vicious; somewhat unreasonable as to the occasion of the passion, or immoderate as to the degree or duration of it. But that the natural passion itself is indifferent, St. Paul has asserted in that precept, *Be ye angry, and sin not:* which though it is by no means to be understood as an encouragement to indulge ourselves in anger, the sense being certainly this, *Though ye be angry, sin not;* yet here is evidently a distinction made between anger and sin; between the natural passion, and sinful anger.

Sudden anger, upon certain occasions, is mere instinct: as merely so, as the disposition to close our eyes upon the apprehension of somewhat falling into them; and no more necessarily implies any degree of reason. I say, *necessarily:* for to be sure *hasty*, as well as *deliberate*, anger may be occasioned by injury or contempt: in which cases reason suggests to our thoughts that injury and contempt, which is the occasion of the passion: but I am speaking of the former only so far as it is to be distinguished from the latter. The only way in which our reason and understanding can raise anger, is by representing to our mind injustice or injury of some kind or other. Now momentary anger is frequently raised, not only without any real, but without any apparent reason; that is, without any appearance of injury, as distinct from hurt or pain. It cannot, I suppose, be thought, that this passion in infants; in the lower species of animals; and, which is often seen, in men towards them; it cannot, I say, be imagined, that these instances of this passion are the effect of reason: no, they are occasioned by mere sensation and feeling. It is opposition, sudden hurt, violence, which naturally excites the passion; and the real demerit or fault of him who offers that violence, or is the cause of that opposition or hurt, does not, in many cases, so much as come into thought.

The reason and end, for which man was made thus liable to this passion, is, that he might be better qualified to prevent, and likewise (or perhaps chiefly) to resist and defeat, sudden force, violence, and opposition, considered merely as such, and without regard to the fault or demerit of him who is the author of them. Yet, since violence may be considered in this other and further view, as implying fault; and since injury, as distinct from harm, may raise sudden anger; sudden anger may likewise accidentally serve to prevent, or remedy, such fault and injury. But, considered as distinct from settled anger, it stands in our nature for self-defence, and not for the administration of justice. There are plainly cases, and in the uncultivated parts of the world, and, where regular governments are not formed, they frequently happen, in which there is no time for consideration, and yet to be passive is certain destruction; in which sudden resistance is the only security.

But from *this*, *deliberate anger or resentment* is essentially distinguished, as the latter is not naurally excited by, or intended to prevent mere harm without appearance of wrong or injustice. Now, in order to see, as exactly as we can, what is the natural object and occasion of such resentment; let us reflect upon the manner in which we are touched with reading, suppose, a feigned story of baseness and villany, properly worked up to move our passions. This immediately raises indignation, somewhat of a desire that it should be punished. And though the designed injury be prevented, yet that it was designed is sufficient to raise this inward feeling. Suppose the story true, this inward feeling would be as natural and as just: and one may venture to affirm, that there is scarce a man in the world, but would have it upon some occasions. It seems *in us* plainly connected with a sense of virtue and vice, of moral good and evil. Suppose further, we knew both the person who did and who suffered the injury: neither would this make any alteration, only that it would probably affect us more. The indignation raised by cruelty and injustice, and the desire of having it punished, which persons unconcerned would feel, is by no means malice. No, it is resentment against vice and wickedness: it is one of the common bonds, by which society is held together; a fellow-feeling, which each individual has in behalf of the whole species, as well as of himself. And it does not appear that this, generally speaking, is at all too high amongst mankind. Suppose now the injury I have been speaking of to be done against ourselves; or those whom we consider as ourselves. It is plain, the way in which we should be affected would be exactly the same in kind: but it would certainly be in a higher degree, and less transient; because a sense of our own happiness and misery is most intimately and always present to us; and from the very constitution of our nature, we cannot but have a greater sensibility to, and be more deeply interested in, what concerns ourselves. And this seems to be the whole of this passion, which is, properly speaking, natural to mankind: namely, a resentment against injury and wickedness in general; and in a higher degree when towards ourselves, in proportion to the greater regard which men naturally have for themselves, than for others. From hence it appears, that it is not natural, but moral evil; it is not suffering, but injury, which raises that anger or resentment, which is of any continuance. The natural object of it is not one, who appears to the suffering person to have been only the innocent occasion of his pain or loss; but one, who has been in a moral sense injurious either to ourselves or others. This is abundantly confirmed by observing what it is which heightens or lessens resentment; namely, the same which aggravates or lessens the fault: friendship, and former obligations, on one hand; or inadvertency, strong temptations, and mistake, on the other. All this is so much understood by mankind, how little soever it be reflected upon, that a person would be reckoned quite distracted, who should coolly resent a harm, which had not to himself the appearance of injury or wrong. Men do indeed resent what is occasioned through carelessness: but then they expect observance as their due, and so that carelessness is considered as faulty. It is likewise true, that they resent more strongly an injury done, than one which, though designed, was prevented, in cases where the guilt is perhaps the same: the reason however is, not that bare pain or loss raises resentment, but, that it gives a new, and, as I may speak, additional sense of the injury or injustice. According to the natural course of the passions, the degrees of resentment are in proportion, not only to the degree of design and deliberation in the injurious person; but in proportion to this, joined with the degree of the evil designed or premeditated; since this likewise comes in to make the injustice greater or less. And the evil or harm will appear greater when they feel it, than when they only reflect upon it: so therefore will the injury: and consequently the resentment will be greater.

The natural object or occasion of settled resentment then being injury, as distinct from pain or loss; it is easy to see, that to prevent and to remedy such injury, and the miseries arising from it, is the end for which this passion was implanted in man. It is to be considered as a weapon, put into our hands by nature, against injury, injustice, and cruelty: how it may be innocently employed and made use of, shall presently be mentioned.

The account which has been now given of this passion is, in brief, that sudden anger is raised by, and was chiefly intended to prevent or remedy, mere harm distinct from injury: but that it *may* be raised by injury, and *may* serve to prevent or to remedy it; and then the occasions and effects of it are the same with the occasions and effects of deliberate anger. But they are essentially distinguished in this, that the latter is never occasioned by harm, distinct from injury; and its natural proper end is to remedy or to prevent only that harm, which implies, or is supposed to imply, injury or moral wrong. Every one sees that these observations do not relate to those, who have habitually suppressed the course of their passions and affections, out of regard either to interest or virtue; or who, from habits of vice and folly, have changed their nature. But, I suppose, there can be no doubt but this, now described, is the general course of resentment, considered as a natural passion, neither increased by indulgence, nor corrected by virtue, nor prevailed over by other passions, or particular habits of life.

As to the abuses of anger, which it is to be observed may be in all different degrees, the first which occurs is what is commonly called *passion;* to which some men are liable, in the same way as others are to the *epilepsy*, or any sudden particular disorder. This distemper of the mind seizes them upon the least occasion in the world, and perpetually without any real reason at all: and by means of it they are plainly, every day, every walking hour of their lives, liable and in danger of running into the most extravagant outrages. Of a less boisterous, but not of a less innocent kind, is *peevishness;* which I mention with pity, with real pity to the unhappy creatures, who, from their inferior station, or other circumstances and relations, are obliged to be in the way of, and to serve for a supply to it. Both these, for aught that I can see, are one and the same principle: but, as it takes root in minds of different makes, it appears differently, and so is come to be distinguished by different names. That which in a more feeble temper is peevishness, and languidly discharges itself upon every thing which comes in its way; the same principle, in a temper of greater force and stronger passions, becomes rage and fury. In one, the humour discharges itself at once; in the other, it is continually discharging. This is the account of *passion* and *peevishness*, as distinct from each other, and appearing in different persons. It is no objection against the truth of it, that they are both to be seen sometimes in one and the same person.

With respect to deliberate resentment, the chief instances of abuse are: when, from partiality to ourselves, we imagine an injury done us, when there is none: when this partiality represents it to us greater than it really is: when we fall into that extravagant and monstrous kind of resentment, towards one who has innocently been the occasion of evil to us; that is, resentment upon account of pain or inconvenience, without injury; which is the same absurdity, as settled anger at a thing that is inanimate: when the indignation against injury and injustice rises too high, and is beyond proportion to the particular ill action it is exercised upon: or, lastly, when pain or harm of any kind is inflicted merely in consequence of, and to gratify, that resentment, though naturally raised.

It would be endless to descend into and explain all the peculiarities of perverseness and wayward humour which might be traced up to this passion. But there is one thing, which so generally belongs to and accompanies all excess and abuse of it, as to require being mentioned; a certain determination, and resolute bent of mind, not to be convinced or set right; though it be ever so plain, that there is no reason for the displeasure, that it was raised merely by error or misunderstanding. In this there is doubtless a great mixture of pride: but there is somewhat more, which I cannot otherwise express, than that resentment has taken possession of the temper and of the mind, and will not quit its hold. It would be too minute to inquire whether this be any thing more than bare obstinacy: it is sufficient to observe, that it, in a very particular manner and degree, belongs to the abuses of this passion.

But, notwithstanding all these abuses, "Is not just indignation against cruelty and wrong one of the *instruments of death*, which the Author of our nature hath provided? Are not cruelty, injustice, and wrong, the natural objects of that indignation? Surely then it may one way or other be innocently employed against them." True. Since therefore it is necessary for the very subsistence of the world, that injury, injustice, and cruelty, should be punished; and since compassion, which is so natural to mankind, would render that execution of justice exceedingly difficult and uneasy; indignation against vice and wickedness is, and may be allowed to be, a balance to that weakness of pity, and also to any thing else which would prevent the necessary methods of severity. Those who have never thought upon these subjects, may perhaps not see the weight of this: but let us suppose a person guilty of murder, or any other action of cruelty, and that mankind had naturally no indignation against such wickedness and the authors of it; but that every body was affected towards such a criminal in the same way as towards an innocent man: compassion, amongst other things, would render the execution of justice exceedingly painful and difficult, and would often quite prevent it. And notwithstanding that the principle of benevolence is denied by some and is really in a very low degree, that men are in great measure insensible to the happiness of their fellow-creatures; yet they are not insensible to their misery, but are very strongly moved with it: insomuch that there plainly is occasion for that feeling, which is raised by guilt and demerit, as a balance to that of compassion. Thus much may I think justly be allowed to resentment, in the strictest way of moral consideration.

The good influence which this passion has in fact upon the affairs of the world, is obvious to every one's notice. Men are plainly restrained from injuring their fellow-creatures by fear of their resentment; and it is very happy that they are so, when they would not be restrained by a principle of virtue. And after an injury is done, and there is a necessity that the offender should be brought to justice; the cool consideration of reason, that the security and peace of society requires examples of justice should be made, might indeed be sufficient to procure laws to be enacted, and sentence passed: but is it that cool reflection in the injured person, which, for the most part, brings the offender to justice? Or is it not resentment and indignation against the injury and the author of it? I am afraid there is no doubt, which is commonly the case. This however is to be considered as a good effect, notwithstanding it were much to be wished that men would act from a better principle, reason and cool reflection.

The account now given of the passion of resentment, as distinct from all the abuses of it, may suggest to our thoughts the following reflections.

First, that vice is indeed of ill desert, and must finally be punished. Why should men dispute concerning the reality of virtue, and whether it be founded in the nature of things, which yet surely is not matter of question; but why should this, I say, be disputed, when every man carries about him this passion, which affords him demonstration, that the rules of justice and equity are to be the guide of his actions? For every man naturally feels an indignation upon seeing instances of villany and baseness, and therefore cannot commit the same without being self-condemned.

Secondly, That we should learn to be cautious, lest we *charge God foolishly*, by ascribing that to him, or the nature he has given us, which is owing wholly to our own abuse of it. Men may speak of the degeneracy and corruption of the world, according to the experience they have had of it; but human nature, considered as the divine workmanship, should methinks be treated as sacred: for "in the image of God made he man." That passion, from whence men take occasion to run into the dreadful vices of malice and revenge; even that passion, as implanted in our nature by God, is not only innocent, but a generous movement of mind. It is in itself, and in its original, no more than indignation against injury and wickedness: that which is the only deformity in the creation, and the only reasonable object of abhorrence and dislike. How manifold evidence have we of the divine wisdom and goodness, when even pain in the natural world, and the passion we have been now considering in the moral, come out instances of it!

SERMON IX.

UPON FORGIVENESS OF INJURIES.

> Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.—*Matt.* v. 43, 44.

As God Almighty foresaw the irregularities and disorders, both natural and moral, which would happen in this state of things; he hath graciously made some provision against them, by giving us several passions and affections, which arise from, or whose objects are, those disorders. Of this sort are fear, resentment, compassion, and others; of which there could be no occasion or use in a perfect state: but in the present we should be exposed to greater inconveniences without them; though there are very considerable ones, which they themselves are the occasions of. They are encumbrances indeed, but such as we are obliged to carry about with us, through this various journey of life: some of them as a guard against the violent assaults of others, and in our own defence; some in behalf of others; and all of them to put us upon, and help to carry us through a course of behaviour suitable to our condition, in default of that perfection of wisdom and virtue, which would be in all respects our better security.

The passion of anger or resentment hath already been largely treated of. It hath been shown, that mankind naturally feel some emotion of mind against injury and injustice, whoever are the sufferers by it; and even though the injurious design be prevented from taking effect. Let this be called anger, indignation, resentment, or by whatever name any one shall choose; the thing itself is understood, and is plainly natural. It has likewise been observed, that this natural indignation is generally moderate and low enough in mankind, in each particular man, when the injury which excites it doth not affect himself, or one whom he considers as himself. Therefore the precepts to *forgive*, and to *love our enemies*, do not relate to that general indignation against injury and the authors of it, but to this feeling, or resentment when raised by private or personal injury. But no man could be thought in earnest, who should assert, that, though indignation against injury, when others are the sufferers, is innocent and just; yet the same indignation against it, when we ourselves are the sufferers, becomes faulty and blameable. These precepts therefore cannot be understood to forbid this in the latter case, more than in the former. Nay, they cannot be understood to forbid this feeling in the latter case, though raised to a higher degree than in the former: because, as was also observed further, from the very constitution of our nature, we cannot but have a greater sensibility to what concerns ourselves. Therefore the precepts in the text, and others of the like import with them, must be understood to forbid only the excess and abuse of this natural feeling, in cases of personal and private injury: the chief instances of which excess and abuse have likewise been already remarked; and all of them, excepting that of retaliation, do so plainly in the very terms express somewhat unreasonable, disproportionate, and absurd, as to admit of no pretence or shadow of justification.

But since custom and false honour are on the side of retaliation and revenge, when the resentment is natural and just; and reasons are sometimes offered in justification of revenge in these cases; and since love of our enemies is thought too hard a saying to be obeyed: I will show the absolute unlawfulness of the former; the obligations we are under to the latter; and then proceed to some reflections, which may have a more direct and immediate tendency to beget in us a right temper of mind towards those who have offended us.

In showing the unlawfulness of revenge, it is not my present design to examine what is alleged in favour of it, from the tyranny of custom and false honour, but only to consider the nature and reason of the thing itself; which ought to have prevented, and ought now to extirpate, every thing of that kind.

First, Let us begin with the supposition of that being innocent, which is pleaded for, and which shall be shown to be altogether vicious, the supposition that we were allowed to *render evil for evil*, and see what would be the consequence. Malice or resentment towards any man hath plainly a tendency to beget the same passion in him who is the object of it; and this again increases it in the other. It is of the very nature of this vice to propagate itself, not only by way of example, which it does in common with other vices, but in a peculiar way of its own; for resentment itself, as well as what is done in consequence of it, is the object of resentment: hence it comes to pass, that the first offence, even when so slight as presently to be dropped and forgotten, becomes the occasion of entering into a long intercourse of ill offices: neither is it at all uncommon to see persons, in this progress of strife and variance, change parts: and him, who was at first the injured person, become more injurious and blameable than the aggressor. Put the case then, that the law of retaliation was universally received and allowed, as an innocent rule of life, by all; and the observance of it thought by many (and then it would soon come to be thought by all) a point of honour: this supposes every man in private cases to pass sentence in his own cause; and likewise, that anger or resentment is to be the judge. Thus, from the numberless partialities which we all have for ourselves, every one would often think himself injured when he was not: and in most cases would represent an injury as much greater than it really is; the imagined dignity of the person offended would scarce ever fail to magnify the offence. And, if bare retaliation, or returning just the mischief received, always begets resentment in the person upon whom we retaliate, what would that excess do? Add to this, that he likewise has his partialities—there is no going on to represent this scene of rage and madness: it is manifest there would be no bounds, nor any end. "If the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water," what would it come to when allowed this free and unrestrained course? "As coals are to burning coals, or wood to fire; so" would these "contentious men be to kindle strife." And since the indulgence of revenge hath manifestly this tendency, and does actually produce these effects in proportion as it is allowed; a passion of so dangerous a nature ought not to be indulged, were there no other reason against it.

Secondly, It hath been shown that the passion of resentment was placed in man, upon supposition of, and as a prevention or remedy to, irregularity and disorder. Now whether it be allowed or not, that the passion itself and the gratification of it joined together are painful to the malicious person; it must however be so with respect to the person towards whom it is exercised, and upon whom the revenge is taken. Now, if we consider mankind, according to that fine allusion of St. Paul, as "one body, and every one members one of another;" it must be allowed that resentment is, with respect to society, a painful remedy. Thus then the very notion or idea of this passion, as a remedy or prevention of evil, and as in itself a painful means, plainly shows that it ought never to be made use of, but only in order to produce some greater good.

It is to be observed, that this argument is not founded upon an allusion or simile; but that it is drawn from the very nature of the passion itself, and the end for which it was given us. We are obliged to make use of words taken from sensible things, to explain what is the most remote from them: and every one sees from whence the words prevention and remedy are taken. But, if you please, let these words be dropped: the thing itself, I suppose, may be expressed without them.

That mankind is a community, that we all stand in a relation to each other, that there is a public end and interest of society which each particular is obliged to promote, is the sum of morals. Consider then the passion of resentment, as given to this one body, as given to society. Nothing can be more manifest, than that resentment is to be considered as a secondary passion, placed in us upon supposition, upon account of, and with regard to, injury; not, to be sure, to promote and further it, but to render it, and the inconveniences and miseries arising from it, less and fewer than they would be without this passion. It is as manifest, that the indulgence of it is, with regard to society, a painful means of obtaining these ends. Considered in itself, it is very undesirable, and what society must very much wish to be without. It is in every instance absolutely an evil in itself, because it implies producing misery: and consequently must never be indulged or gratified for itself, by any one who considers mankind as a community or family, and himself as a member of it.

Let us now take this in another view. Every natural appetite, passion, and affection, may be gratified in particular instances, without being subservient to the particular chief end, for which these several principles were respectively implanted in our nature. And, if neither this end, nor any other moral obligation, be contradicted, such gratification is innocent. Thus, I suppose, there are cases in which each of these principles, this one of resentment excepted, may innocently be gratified, without being subservient to what is the main end of it; that is, though it does not conduce to, yet it may be gratified without contradicting, that end, or any other obligation. But the gratification of resentment, if it be not conducive to the end for which it was given us, must necessarily contradict, not only the general obligation to benevolence, but likewise that particular end itself. The end, for which it was given, is to prevent or remedy injury; *i. e.* the misery occasioned by injury; *i. e.* misery itself: and the gratification of it consists in producing misery; *i. e.* in contradicting the end for which it was implanted in our nature.

This whole reasoning is built upon the difference there is between this passion and all others. No other principle, or passion, hath for its end the misery of our fellow-creatures. But malice and revenge meditates evil itself; and to do mischief, to be the author of misery, is the very thing which gratifies the passion: this is what it directly tends towards, as its proper design. Other vices eventually do mischief: this alone aims at it as an end.

Nothing can with reason be urged in justification of revenge, from the good effects which the indulgence of it were before mentioned* to have upon the affairs of the world; because, though it be a remarkable instance of the wisdom of Providence to bring good out of evil, yet vice is vice to him who is guilty of it. "But suppose these good effect are foreseen:" that is, suppose reason in a particular case leads a man the same way as passion? Why then, to be sure, he should follow his reason, in this as well as in all other cases. So that, turn the matter which way ever you will, no more can be allowed to this passion, than what hath been already.†

As to that love of our enemies, which is commanded; this supposes the general obligation to benevolence or good-will towards mankind: and this being supposed, that precept is no more than to forgive injuries; that is, to keep clear of those abuses before mentioned: because that we have the habitual temper of benevolence is taken for granted.

Resentment is not inconsistent with good-will; for we often see both together in very high degrees; not only in parents towards their children, but in cases of friendship and dependence, where there is no natural relation. These contrary passions, though they may lessen, do not necessarily destroy each other. We may therefore love our enemy, and yet have resentment against him for his injurious behaviour towards us. But when this resentment entirely destroys our natural benevolence towards him, it is excessive, and becomes malice or revenge. The command to prevent its having this effect, *i. e.* to forgive injuries, is the same as to love our enemies; because that love is always supposed, unless destroyed by resentment.

"But though mankind is the natural object of benevolence, yet may it not be lessened upon vice, *i. e.* injury?" Allowed: but if every degree of vice or injury must destroy that benevolence, then no man is the object of our love; for no man is without faults.

"But if lower instances of injury may lessen our benevolence, why may not higher, or the highest, destroy it?" The answer is obvious. It is not man's being a social creature, much less his being a moral agent, from whence *alone* our obligations to good-will towards him arise. There is an obligation to it prior to either of these, arising from his being a sensible creature; that is, capable of happiness or misery. Now this obligation cannot be superseded by his moral character. What justifies public executions is, not that the guilt, or demerit of the criminal dispenses with the obligation of good-will, neither would this justify any severity; but, that his life is inconsistent with the quiet and happiness of the world: that is, a general and more enlarged obligation necessarily destroys a particular and more confined one of the same kind inconsistent with it. Guilt or injury then does not dispense with or supersede the duty of love and good-will.

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* Serm. VIII. p. 520.

† Ibid.

Neither does that peculiar regard to ourselves, which was before allowed to be natural* to mankind, dispense with it: because that can no way innocently heighten our resentment against those who have been injurious to ourselves in particular, any otherwise than as it heightens our sense of the injury or guilt; and guilt, though in the highest degree, does not, as hath been shown, dispense with or supersede the duty of love and good-will.

If all this be true, what can a man say, who will dispute the reasonableness, or the possibility, of obeying the divine precept we are now considering? Let him speak out, and it must be thus he will speak. "Mankind, *i. e.* a creature defective and faulty, is the proper object of good-will, whatever his faults are, when they respect others; but not when they respect me myself." That men should be *affected* in this manner, and *act* accordingly, is to be accounted for like other vices; but to *assert* that it *ought*, and *must* be thus, is self-partiality possessed of the very understanding.

Thus love to our enemies, and those who have been injurious to us, is so far from being a *rant*, as it has been profanely called, that it is in truth the law of our nature, and what every one must see and own, who is not quite blinded with self-love.

From hence it is easy to see, what is the degree in which we are commanded to love our enemies, or those who have been injurious to us. It were well if it could as easily be reduced to practice. It cannot be imagined, that we are required to love them with any peculiar kind of affection. But suppose the person injured to have a due natural sense of the injury, and no more; he ought to be affected towards the injurious person in the same way any good men, uninterested in the case, would be; if they had the same just sense, which we have supposed the injured person to have, of the fault: after which there will yet remain real good-will towards the offender.

Now what is there in all this, which should be thought impracticable? I am sure there is nothing in it unreasonable. It is indeed no more than that we should not indulge a passion, which, if generally indulged, would propagate itself so as almost to lay waste the world: that we should suppress that partial, that false self-love, which is the weakness of our nature: that uneasiness and misery should not be produced, without any good purpose to be served by it: and that we should not be affected towards persons differently from what their nature and character require.

But since to be convinced that any temper of mind, and course of behaviour, is our duty, and the contrary vicious, hath but a distant influence upon our temper and actions; let me add some few reflections, which may have a more direct tendency to subdue those vices in the heart, to beget in us this right temper, and lead us to a right behaviour towards those who have offended us: which reflections however shall be such as will further show the obligations we are under to it.

No one, I suppose, would choose to have an indignity put upon him, or to be injuriously treated. If then there be any probability of a misunderstanding in the case, either from our imagining we are injured when we are not, or representing the injury to ourselves as greater than it really is; one would hope an intimation of this sort might be kindly received, and that people would be glad to find the injury not so great as they imagined. Therefore, without knowing particulars, I take upon me to assure all persons who think they have received indignities or injurious treatment, that they may depend upon it, as in a manner certain, that the offence is not so great as they themselves imagine. We are in such a peculiar situation, with respect to injuries done to ourselves, that we can scarce any more see them as they really are, than our eye can see itself. If we could place ourselves at a due distance, *i. e.* be really unprejudiced, we should frequently discern that to be in reality inadvertence and mistakes in our enemy, which we now fancy we see to be malice or scorn. From this proper point of view, we should likewise in all probability see something of these latter in ourselves, and most certainly a great deal of the former. Thus the indignity or injury would almost infinitely lessen, and perhaps at last come out to be nothing at all. Self-love is a medium of a peculiar kind; in these cases it magnifies every thing which is amiss in others, at the same time that it lessens every thing amiss in ourselves.

Anger also or hatred may be considered as another false medium of viewing things, which always represents characters and actions much worse than they really are. Ill-will not only never speaks, but never thinks well, of the person towards whom it is exercised. Thus in cases of offence and enmity, the whole character and behaviour is considered with an eye to that particular part which has offended us, and the whole man appears monstrous, without any thing right or human in him: whereas the resentment should surely at least be confined to that particular part of the behaviour which gave offence: since the other parts of a man's life and character stand just the same as they did before.

In general, there are very few instances of enmity carried to any length, but inadvertency, misunderstanding, some real mistake of the case, on one side however, if not on both, has a great share in it.

If these things were attended to, these ill-humours could not be carried to any length amongst good men, and they would be exceedingly abated amongst all. And one would hope they might be attended to: for all that these cautions come to is really no more than desiring, that things may be considered and judged of as they are in themselves, that we should have an eye to, and beware of, what would otherwise lead us into mistakes. So that to make allowances for inadvertence, misunderstanding, for the partialities of self-love, and the false light which anger sets things in; I say, to make allowances for these, is not to be spoken of as an instance of humbleness of mind, or meekness and moderation of temper; but as what common sense should suggest, to avoid judging wrong of a matter before us, though virtue and morals were out of the case. And therefore it as much belongs to ill men, who will indulge the vice I have been arguing against, as to good men, who endeavour to subdue it in themselves. In a word, all these cautions, concerning anger and self-love, are no more than desiring a man, who was looking through a glass, which either magnified or lessened, to take notice, that the objects are not in themselves what they appear through that medium.

To all these things one might add, that, resentment being out of the case, there is not, properly speaking, any such thing as direct ill-will in one man towards another: therefore the first indignity or injury, if it be not owing to inadvertence or misunderstanding, may however be resolved into other particular passions or self-love: principles quite distinct from ill-will, and which we ought all to be disposed to excuse in others, from experiencing so much of them in ourselves. A great man of antiquity is reported to have said, that, as he never was indulgent to any one fault in himself, he could not excuse those of others. This sentence could scarce with decency come out of the mouth of any human creature. But if we invert the former part, and put it thus: that he was indulgent to many faults in himself, as it is to be feared the best of us are, and yet was implacable; how monstrous would such an assertion appear! And this is the case in respect to every human creature, in proportion as he is without the forgiving spirit I have been recommending.

Further, though injury, injustice, oppression, the baseness of ingratitude, are the natural objects of indignation, or if you please of resentment, as before explained; yet they are likewise the objects of compassion, as they are their own punishment, and without repentance will for ever be so. No one ever did a designed injury to another, but at the same time he did a much greater to himself. If therefore we would consider things justly, such a one is, according to the natural course of our affections, an object of compassion, as well as of displeasure: and to be affected really in this manner, I say really, in opposition to show and pretence, argues the true greatness of mind. We have an example of forgiveness in this way in its utmost perfection, and which indeed includes in it all that is good, in that prayer of our blessed Saviour on the cross: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

But lastly, The offences which we are all guilty of against God, and the injuries which men do to each other, are often mentioned together: and, making allowances for the infinite distance between the Majesty of Heaven, and a frail mortal, and likewise for this, that he cannot possibly be affected or moved as we are; offences committed by others against ourselves, and the manner in which we are apt to be affected with them, give a real occasion for calling to mind our own sins against God. Now there is an apprehension and presentiment, natural to mankind, that we ourselves shall one time or other be dealt with as we deal with others; and a peculiar acquiescence in, and feeling of, the equity and justice of this equal distribution. This natural notion of equity the son of Sirach has put in the strongest way. "He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins be forgiven when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another; and doth he seek pardon from the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?" Let any one read our Saviour's parable of *the king who took account of his servants;* and the equity and rightness of the sentence which was passed upon him who was unmerciful to his fellow-servant, will be felt. There is somewhat in human nature, which accords to and falls in with that method determination. Let us then place before our eyes the time which is represented in the parable; that of our own death, or the final judgment. Suppose yourselves under the apprehensions of approaching death; that you were just going to appear naked and without disguise before the Judge of all the earth, to give an account of your behaviour towards your fellow-creatures: could any thing raise more dreadful apprehensions of that judgment, than the reflection that you had been implacable, and without mercy towards those who had offended you: without that forgiving spirit towards others, which that it may now be exercised towards yourselves, is your only hope? And these natural apprehensions are authorized by our Saviour's application of the parable: "So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses." On the other hand, suppose a good man in the same circumstance, in the last part and close of life; conscious of many frailties, as the best are, but conscious too that he had been meek, forgiving, and merciful; that he had in simplicity of heart been ready to pass over offences against himself: the having felt this good spirit will give him, not only a full view of the amiableness of it, but the surest hope that he shall meet with it in his Judge. This likewise is confirmed by his own declaration: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will likewise forgive you." And that we might have a constant sense of it upon our mind, the condition is expressed in our daily prayer. A forgiving spirit is therefore absolutely necessary, as ever we hope for pardon of our own sins, as ever we hope for peace of mind in our dying moments, or for the divine mercy at that day when we shall most stand in need of it.

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* Serm. VIII. p. 519.

SERMON X.

UPON SELF-DECEIT.

And Nathan said to David, Thou art the man.—2 *Sam.* xii. 7.

These words are the application of Nathan's parable to David, upon occasion of his adultery with Bathsheba, and the murder of Uriah her husband. The parable, which is related in the most beautiful simplicity, is this: "There were two men in one city; the one rich and the other poor. The rich man had exceeding many flocks and herds: but the poor man had nothing, save one little ewe-lamb, which he had bought and nourished up: and it grew up together with him, and with his children; it did eat of his own meat, and drank of his own cup, and lay on his bosom, and was unto him as a daughter. And there came a traveller unto the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock, and of his own herd, to dress for the way-faring man that was come unto him, but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him. And David's anger was greatly kindled against the man, and he said to Nathan, As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die. And he shall restore the lamb four-fold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity." David passes sentence, not only that there should be a fourfold restitution made; but he proceeds to the rigour of justice, *the man that hath done this thing shall die:* and this judgment is pronounced with the utmost indignation against such an act of inhumanity; *As the Lord liveth, he shall surely die; and his anger was greatly kindled against the man.* And the prophet answered, *Thou art the man.* He had been guilty of much greater inhumanity, with the utmost deliberation, thought, and contrivance. Near a year must have passed, between the time of the commission of his crimes, and the time of the prophet's coming to him; and it does not appear from the story, that he had in all this while the least remorse or contrition.

There is not any thing, relating to men and characters, more surprising and unaccountable, than this partiality to themselves, which is observable in many; as there is nothing of more melancholy reflection, respecting morality, virtue, and religion. Hence it is that many men seem perfect strangers to their own characters. They think, and reason, and judge quite differently upon any matter relating to themselves, from what they do in cases of others where they are not interested. Hence it is one hears people exposing follies, which they themselves are eminent for; and talking with great severity against particular vices, which if all the world be not mistaken, they themselves are notoriously guilty of. This self-ignorance and self-partiality may be in all different degrees. It is a lower degree of it which David himself refers to in these words, "Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse thou me from my secret faults." This is the ground of that advice of Elihu to Job: "Surely it is meet to be said unto God,—That which I see not, teach thou me; if I have done iniquity, I will do no more." And Solomon saw this thing in a very strong light, when he said, *He that trusteth his own heart is a fool.* This likewise was the reason why that precept, *Know thyself*, was so frequently inculcated by the philosophers of old. For if it were not for that partial and fond regard to ourselves, it would certainly be no great difficulty to know our own character, what passes within the bent and bias of our mind; much less would there be any difficulty in judging rightly of our own actions. But from this partiality it frequently comes to pass, that the observation of many men's being themselves last of all acquainted with what falls out in their own families, may be applied to a nearer home, to what passes within their own breasts.

There is plainly, in the generality of mankind, an absence of doubt or distrust, in a very great measure, as to their moral character and behaviour; and likewise a disposition to take for granted, that all is right and well with them in these respects. The former is owing to their not reflecting, not exercising their judgment upon themselves; the latter, to self-love. I am not speaking of that extravagance, which is sometimes to be met with; instances of persons declaring in words at length, that they never were in the wrong, nor had ever any diffidence of the justness of their conduct, in their whole lives. No, these people are too far gone to have any thing said to them. The thing before us is indeed of this kind, but in a lower degree, and confined to the moral character; somewhat of which we almost all of us have, without reflecting upon it. Now consider, how long and how grossly, a person of the best understanding might be imposed upon by one of whom he had not any suspicion, and in whom he placed an entire confidence; especially if there were friendship and real kindness in the case: surely this holds even stronger with respect to that self we are all so fond of. Hence arises in men a disregard of reproof and instruction, rules of conduct and moral discipline, which occasionally come in their way: a disregard, I say, of these; not in every respect, but in this single one, namely, as what may be of service to them in particular towards mending their own hearts and tempers, and making them better men. It never in earnest comes into their thoughts, whether such admonitions may not relate, and be of service to themselves; and this quite distinct from a positive persuasion to the contrary, a persuasion from reflection that they are innocent and blameless in those respects. Thus we may invert the observation which is somewhere made upon Brutus, that he never read, but in order to make himself a better man. It scarce comes into the thoughts of the generality of mankind, that this use is to be made of moral reflections which they meet with; that this use, I say, is to be made of them by themselves, for every body observes and wonders that it is not done by others.

Further, there are instances of persons having so fixed and steady an eye upon their own interest, whatever they place it in, and the interest of those whom they consider as themselves, as in a manner to regard nothing else; their views are almost confined to this alone. Now we cannot be acquainted with, or in any propriety of speech be said to know any thing, but what we attend to. If therefore they attend only to one side, they really will not, cannot see or know what is to be alleged on the other. Though a man hath the best eyes in the world, he cannot see any way but that which he turns them. Thus these persons, without passing over the least, the most minute thing, which can possibly be urged in favour of themselves, shall overlook entirely the plainest and most obvious things on the other side. And whilst they are under the power of this temper, thought and consideration upon the matter before them has scarce any tendency to set them right: because they are engaged; and their deliberation concerning an action to be done, or reflection upon it afterwards, is not to see whether it be right, but to find out reasons to justify or palliate it; palliate it, not to others, but to themselves.

In some there is to be observed a general ignorance of themselves, and wrong way of thinking and judging in every thing relating to themselves; their fortune, reputation, every thing in which self can come in: and this perhaps attended with the rightest judgment in all other matters. In others this partiality is not so general, has not taken hold of the whole man, but is confined to some particular favourite passion, interest, or pursuit; suppose ambition, covetousness, or any other. And these persons may probably judge and determine what is perfectly just and proper, even in things in which they themselves are concerned, if these things have no relation to their particular favourite passion or pursuit. Hence arises that amazing incongruity, and seeming inconsistency of character, from whence slight observers take it for granted, that the whole is hypocritical and false; not being able otherwise to reconcile the several parts: whereas in truth there is real honesty, so far as it goes. There is such a thing as men's being honest to such a degree, and in such respects, but no further. And this, as it is true, so it is absolutely necessary to be taken notice of, and allowed them; such general and undistinguishing censure of their whole character, as designing and false, being one main thing which confirms them in their self-deceit. They know that the whole censure is not true; and so take for granted that no part of it is.

But to go on with the explanation of the thing itself: Vice in general consists in having an unreasonable and too great regard to ourselves, in comparison of others. Robbery and murder is never from the love of injustice or cruelty, but to gratify some other passion, to gain some supposed advantage: and it is false selfishness alone, whether cool or passionate, which makes a man resolutely pursue that end, be it ever so much to the injury of another. But whereas, in common and ordinary wickedness, this unreasonableness, this partiality and selfishness, relates only, or chiefly, to the temper and passions, in the characters we are now considering, it reaches to the understanding, and influences the very judgment.* And, besides that general want of distrust and diffidence concerning our own character, there are, you see, two things, which may thus prejudice and darken the understanding itself: that overfondness for ourselves, which we are all so liable to; and also being under the power of any particular passion or appetite, or engaged in any particular pursuit. And these, especially the last of the two, may be in so great a degree, as to influence our judgment, even of other persons and their behaviour. Thus a man, whose temper is formed to ambition or covetousness, shall even approve of them sometimes in others.

This seems to be in a good measure the account of self-partiality and self-deceit, when traced up to its original.—Whether it be, or be not thought satisfactory, that there is such a thing is manifest; and that it is the occasion of great part of the unreasonable behaviour of men towards each other: that by means of it they palliate their vices and follies to themselves: and that it prevents their applying to themselves those reproofs and instructions, which they meet with either in scripture or in moral and religious discourses, though exactly suitable to the state of their own mind, and the course of their behaviour. There is one thing further to be added here, that the temper we distinguish by hardness of heart with respect to others, joined with this self-partiality, will carry a man almost any lengths of wickedness, in the way of oppression, hard usage of others, and even to plain injustice; without his having, from what appears, any real sense at all of it. This indeed was not the general character of David: for he plainly gave scope to the affections of compassion and good-will, as well as to his passions of another kind.

But as some occasions and circumstances lie more open to this self-deceit, and give it greater scope and opportunities than others, these require to be particularly mentioned.

It is to be observed then, that as there are express determinate acts of wickedness, such as murder, adultery, theft: so, on the other hand, there are numberless cases in which the vice and wickedness cannot be exactly defined; but consists in a certain general temper and course of action, or in the neglect of some duty, suppose charity or any other, whose bounds and degrees are not fixed. This is the very province of self-deceit and self-partiality; here it governs without check or control. "For what commandment is there broken? Is there a transgression where there is no law? a vice which cannot be defined?"

Whoever will consider the whole commerce of human life, will see that a great part, perhaps the greatest part, of the intercourse amongst mankind, cannot be reduced to fixed determinate rules. Yet in these cases there is a right and a wrong: a merciful, a liberal, a kind and compassionate behaviour, which surely is our duty; and an unmerciful contracted spirit, a hard and oppressive course of behaviour, which is most certainly immoral and vicious. But who can define precisely, wherein that contracted spirit and hard usage of others consist, as murder and theft may be defined? There is not a word in our language, which expresses more detestable wickedness than *oppression*; yet the nature of this vice cannot be so exactly stated, nor the bounds of it so determinately marked, as that we shall be able to say in all instances, where rigid right and justice ends, and oppression begins.—In these cases there is great latitude left, for every one to determine for, and consequently to deceive himself. It is chiefly in these cases that self-deceit comes in; as every one must see that there is much larger scope for it here, than in express, single, determinate acts of wickedness. However it comes in with respect to the *circumstances* attending the most gross and determinate acts of wickedness. Of this, the story of David, now before us, affords the most astonishing instance. It is really prodigious, to see a man, before so remarkable for virtue and piety, going on deliberately from adultery to murder, with the same cool contrivance, and, from what appears, with as little disturbance, as a man would endeavour to prevent the ill consequences of a mistake he had made in any common matter. That total insensibility of mind with respect to those horrid crimes, after the commission of them, manifestly shows that he did some way or other delude himself: and this could not be with respect to the crimes themselves, they were so manifestly of the grossest kind. What the particular circumstances were, with which he extenuated them, and quieted and deceived himself, is not related.

Having thus explained the nature of internal hypocrisy and self-deceit, and remarked the occasions upon which it exerts itself; there are several things further to be observed concerning it: that all of the sources, to which it was traced up, are sometimes observable together in one and the same person: but that one of them is more remarkable, and to a higher degree, in some, and others of them are so in others: that in general it is a complicated thing; and may be in all different degrees and kinds: that the temper itself is essentially in its own nature vicious and immoral. It is unfairness: it is dishonesty; it is falseness of heart: and is therefore so far from extenuating guilt, that it is itself the greatest of all guilt in proportion to the degree it prevails; for it is a corruption of the whole moral character in its principle. Our understanding, and sense of good and evil, is the light and guide of life: "If therefore *this* light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" For this reason our Saviour puts an *evil eye* as the direct opposite to a *single eye;* the absence of that simplicity, which these last words imply, being itself evil and vicious. And whilst men are under the power of this temper, in proportion still to the degree they are so, they are fortified on every side against conviction: and when they hear the vice and folly of what is in truth their own course of life, exposed in the justest and strongest manner, they will often assent to it, and even carry the matter further; persuading themselves, one does not know how, but some way or other persuading themselves, that they are out of these, and that it hath no relation to them. Yet, notwithstanding this, there *frequently appears* a suspicion, that all is not right, or as it should be; and perhaps there *is always* at bottom somewhat of this sort. There are doubtless many instances of the ambitious, the revengeful, the covetous, and those whom with too great indulgence we only call the men of pleasure, who will not allow themselves to think how guilty they are, who explain and argue away their guilt to themselves: and though they do really impose upon themselves in some measure, yet there are none of them but have, if not a proper knowledge, yet at least an implicit suspicion, where the weakness lies, and what part of their behaviour they have reason to wish unknown or forgotten for ever. Truth, and real good sense, and thorough integrity, carry along with them a peculiar consciousness of their own genuineness: there is a feeling belonging to them, which does not accompany their counterfeits, error, folly, half-honesty, partial and slight regards to virtue and right, so far only as they are consistent with that course of gratification which men happen to be set upon. And, if this be the case, it is much the same as if we should suppose a man to have had a general view of some scene, enough to satisfy him that it was very disagreeable, and then to shut his eyes, that he might not have a particular or distinct view of its several deformities. It is as easy to close the eyes of the mind, as those of the body: and the former is more frequently done with wilfulness, and yet not attended to, than the latter; the actions of the mind being more quick and transient, than those of the senses. This may be further illustrated by another thing observable in ordinary life. It is not uncommon for persons, who run out their fortunes, entirely to neglect looking into the state of their affairs, and this from a general knowledge, that the condition of them is bad. These extravagant people are perpetually ruined before they themselves expected it: and they tell you for an excuse, and tell you truly, that they did not think they were so much in debt, or that their expenses so far exceeded their income. And yet no one will take this for an excuse, who is sensible that their ignorance of their particular circumstances was owing to their general knowledge of them; that is, their general knowledge, that matters were not well with them, prevented their looking into particulars. There is somewhat of the like kind with this in respect to morals, virtue, and religion. Men find that the survey of themselves, their own heart and temper, their own life and behaviour, doth not afford them satisfaction: things are not as they should be: therefore they turn away, will not go over particulars, or look deeper, lest they should find more amiss. For who would choose to be put out of humour with himself? No one, surely, if it were not in order to mend, and to be more thoroughly and better pleased with himself for the future.

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* That peculiar regard for ourselves which frequently produces this partiality of judgment in our own favour, may have a quite contrary effect, and occasion the utmost diffidence and distrust of ourselves; were it only, as it may set us upon a more frequent and strict survey and review of our own character and behaviour. This search or recollection itself implies somewhat of diffidence; and the discoveries we make, what is brought to our view, may possibly increase it. Good-will to another may either blind our judgment, so as to make us overlook his faults; or it may put us upon exercising that judgment with greater strictness, to see whether he is so faultless and perfect as we wish him. If that peculiar regard to ourselves leads us to examine our own character with this greater severity, in order really to improve and grow better, it is the most commendable turn of mind possible, and can scarce be to excess. But if, as every thing hath its counterfeit, we are so much employed about ourselves in order to disguise what is amiss, and to make a better appearance; or if our attention to ourselves has chiefly this effect; it is liable to run up into the greatest weakness and excess, and is like all other excesses its own disappointment: for scarce any show themselves to advantage, who are over solicitous of doing so.

If this sincere self-enjoyment and home-satisfaction be thought desirable, and worth some pains and diligence; the following reflections will, I suppose, deserve your attention; as what may be of service and assistance to all who are in any measure honestly disposed, for avoiding that fatal self-deceit, and towards getting acquainted with themselves.

The first is, that those who have never had any suspicion of, who have never made allowances for, this weakness in themselves, who have never (if I may be allowed such a manner of speaking) caught themselves in it, may almost take for granted that they have been very much misled by it. For consider: nothing is more manifest, than that affection and passion of all kinds influence the judgment. Now as we have naturally a greater regard to ourselves than to others, as the private affection is more prevalent than the public; the former will have proportionally a greater influence upon the judgment, upon our way of considering things. People are not backward in owning this partiality of judgment, in cases of friendship and natural relation. The reason is obvious, why it is not so readily acknowledged, when the interest which misleads us is more confined, confined to ourselves: but we all take notice of it in each other in these cases. There is not any observation more common, than that there is no judging of a matter from hearing only one side. This is not founded upon supposition, at least it is not always, of a formed design in the relater to deceive: for it holds in cases, where he expects that the whole will be told over again by the other side. But the supposition, which this observation is founded upon, is the very thing now before us; namely, that men are exceedingly prone to deceive themselves, and judge too favourably in every respect, where themselves and their own interest are concerned. Thus, though we have not the least reason to suspect that such an interested person hath any intention to deceive us, yet we of course make great allowances for his having deceived himself. If this be general, almost universal, it is prodigious that every man can think himself an exception, and that he is free from this self-partiality. The direct contrary is the truth. Every man may take for granted that he has a great deal of it, till, from the strictest observation upon himself, he finds particular reason to think otherwise.

Secondly, There is one easy and almost sure way to avoid being misled by this self-partiality, and to get acquainted with our real character: to have regard to the suspicious part of it, and keep a steady eye over ourselves in that respect. Suppose then a man fully satisfied with himself, and his own behaviour; such a one, if you please, as the Pharisee in the Gospel, or a better man.—Well; but allowing this good opinion you have of yourself to be true, yet every one is liable to be misrepresented. Suppose then an enemy were to set about defaming you, what part of your character would he single out? What particular scandal, think you, would he be most likely to fix upon you? And what would the world be most ready to believe? There is scarce a man living but could, from the most transient superficial view of himself, answer this question. What is that ill thing, that faulty behaviour, which I am apprehensive an enemy, who was thoroughly acquainted with me, would be most likely to lay to my charge, and which the world would be most apt to believe? It is indeed possible that a man may not be guilty in that respect. All that I say is, let him in plainness and honesty fix upon that part of his character for a particular survey and reflection; and by this he will come to be acquainted, whether he be guilty or innocent in that respect, and how far he is one or the other.

Thirdly, It would very much prevent our being misled by this self-partiality, to reduce that practical rule of our Saviour, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do unto them," to our judgment and way of thinking. This rule, you see, consists of two parts. One is, to substitute another for yourself, when you take a survey of any part of your behaviour, or consider what is proper and fit and reasonable for you to do upon any occasion: the other part is, that you substitute yourself in the room of another; consider yourself as the person affected by such a behaviour, or towards whom such an action is done: and then you would not only see, but likewise feel, the reasonableness or unreasonableness of such an action or behaviour. But, alas! the rule itself may be dishonestly applied: there are persons who have not impartiality enough with respect to themselves, nor regard enough for others, to be able to make a just application of it. This just application, if men would honestly make it, is in effect all that I have been recommending; it is the whole thing, the direct contrary to that inward dishonesty as respecting our intercourse with our fellow-creatures. And even the bearing this rule in their thoughts may be of some service; the attempt thus to apply it, is an attempt towards being fair and impartial, and may chance unawares to show them to themselves, to show them the truth of the case they are considering.

Upon the whole it is manifest, that there is such a thing as this self-partiality and self-deceit: that in some persons it is to a degree which would be thought incredible, were not the instances before our eyes; of which the behaviour of David is perhaps the highest possible one, in a single particular case; for there is not the least appearance, that it reached his general character: that we are almost all of us influenced by it in some degree, and in some respects: that therefore every one ought to have an eye to and beware of it. And all that I have further to add upon this subject is, that either there is a difference between right and wrong, or there is not: religion is true, or it is not. If it be not, there is no reason for any concern about it: but if it be true, it requires real fairness of mind and honesty of heart. And, if people will be wicked, they had better of the two be so from the common vicious passions without such refinements, than from this deep and calm source of delusion; which undermines the whole principle of good; darkens that light, that *candle of the Lord within*, which is to direct our steps; and corrupts conscience, which is the guide of life.

SERMON XI.

UPON THE LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR.

(Preached on Advent Sunday.)

And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.—*Rom.* xiii. 9.

It is commonly observed, that there is a disposition in men to complain of the viciousness and corruption of the age in which they live, as greater than that of former ones; which is usually followed with this further observation, that mankind has been in that respect much the same in all times. Now, not to determine whether this last be not contradicted by the accounts of history; thus much can scarce be doubted, that vice and folly takes different turns, and some particular kinds of it are more open and avowed in some ages than in others: and, I suppose, it may be spoken of as very much the distinction of the present to profess a contracted spirit, and greater regards to self-interest, than appears to have been done formerly. Upon this account it seems worth while to inquire, whether private interest is likely to be promoted in proportion to the degree in which self-love engrosses us, and prevails over all other principles; or whether the contracted affection may not possibly be so prevalent as to disappoint itself, and even contradict its own end, private good.

And since, further, there is generally thought to be some peculiar kind of contrariety between self-love and the love of our neighbour, between the pursuit of public and of private good; insomuch that when you are recommending one of these, you are supposed to be speaking against the other; and from hence arises a secret prejudice against, and frequently open scorn of all talk of public spirit, and real good-will to our fellow-creatures; it will be necessary to inquire what respect benevolence hath to self-love, and the pursuit of private interest to the pursuit of public: or whether there be any thing of that peculiar inconsistence and contrariety between them, over and above what there is between self-love and other passions and particular affections, and their respective pursuits.

These inquiries, it is hoped, may be favourably attended to: for there shall be all possible concessions made to the favourite passion, which hath so much allowed to it, and whose cause is so universally pleaded: it shall be treated with the utmost tenderness and concern for its interests.

In order to this, as well as to determine the forementioned questions, it will be necessary to consider the nature, the object, and end of that self-love, as distinguished from other principles or affections in the mind, and their respective objects.

Every man hath a general desire of his own happiness; and likewise a variety of particular affections, passions, and appetites to particular external objects. The former proceeds from, or is self-love; and seems inseparable from all sensible creatures, who can reflect upon themselves and their own interest or happiness, so as to have that interest and object to their minds: what is to be said of the latter is, that they proceed from, or together make up that particular nature, according to which man is made. The object the former pursues is somewhat internal, our own happiness, enjoyment, satisfaction; whether we have, or have not, a distinct particular perception what it is, or wherein it consists: the objects of the latter are this or that particular external thing, which the affections tend towards, and of which it hath always a particular idea or perception. The principle we call self-love never seeks any thing external for the sake of the thing, but only as a means of happiness or good: particular affections rest in the external things themselves. One belongs to man as a reasonable creature reflecting upon his own interest or happiness. The other, though quite distinct from reason, are as much a part of human nature.

That all particular appetites and passions are towards *external things themselves*, distinct from the *pleasure arising from them*, is manifested from hence; that there could not be this pleasure, were it not for that prior suitableness between the object and the passion: there could be no enjoyment or delight from one thing more than another, from eating food more than from swallowing a stone, if there were not an affection or appetite to one thing more than another.

Every particular affection, even the love of our neighbour, is as really our own affection, as self-love; and the pleasure arising from its gratification is as much my own pleasure, as the pleasure self-love would have, from knowing I myself should be happy some time hence, would be my own pleasure. And if, because every particular affection is a man's own, and the pleasure arising from its gratification his own pleasure, or pleasure to himself, such particular affection must be called self-love; according to this way of speaking, no creature whatever can possibly act but merely from self-love; and every action and every affection whatever is to be resolved up into this one principle. But then this is not the language of mankind: or if it were, we should want words to express the difference, between the principle of an action, proceeding from cool consideration that it will be to my own advantage; and an action, suppose of revenge, or of friendship, by which a man runs upon certain ruin, to do evil or good to another. It is manifest the principles of these actions are totally different, and so want different words to be distinguished by: all that they agree in is, that they both proceed from, and are done to gratify an inclination in a man's self. But the principle or inclination in one case is self-love; in the other, hatred or love of another. There is then a distinction between the cool principle of self-love, or general desire of our own happiness, as one part of our nature, and one principle of action; and the particular affections towards particular external objects, as another part of our nature, and another principle of action. How much soever therefore is to be allowed to self-love, yet it cannot be allowed to be the whole of our inward constitution; because, you see, there are other parts or principles which come into it.

Further, private happiness or good is all which self-love can make us desire, or be concerned about: in having this consists its gratification: it is an affection to ourselves; a regard to our own interest, happiness, and private good: and in the proportion a man hath this, he is interested, or a lover of himself. Let this be kept in mind; because there is commonly, as I shall presently have occasion to observe, another sense put upon these words. On the other hand, particular affections tend towards particular external things: these are their objects: having these is their end: in this consists their gratification: no matter whether it be, or be not, upon the whole, our interest or happiness. An action done from the former of these principles is called an interested action. An action proceeding from any of the latter has its denomination of passionate, ambitious, friendly, revengeful, or any other, from the particular appetite or affection from which it proceeds. Thus self-love as one part of human nature, and the several particular principles as the other part, are, themselves, their objects and ends, stated and shown.

From hence it will be easy to see, how far, and in what ways, each of these can contribute and be subservient to the private good of the individual. Happiness does not consist in self-love. The desire of happiness is no more the thing itself, than the desire of riches is the possession or enjoyment of them. People may love themselves with the most entire and unbounded affection, and yet be extremely miserable. Neither can self-love any way help them out, but by setting them on work to get rid of the causes of their misery, to gain or make use of those objects which are by nature adapted to afford satisfaction. Happiness or satisfaction consists only in the enjoyment of those objects, which are by nature suited to our several particular appetites, passions, and affections. So that if self-love wholly engrosses us, and leaves no room for any other principle, there can be absolutely no such thing at all as happiness, or enjoyment of any kind whatever; since happiness consists in the gratification of particular passions, which supposes the having of them. Self-love then does not constitute *this* or *that* to be our interest or good; but, our interest or good being constituted by nature and supposed, self-love only puts us upon obtaining and securing it. Therefore, if it be possible, that self-love may prevail and exert itself in a degree or manner which is not subservient to this end; then it will not follow, that our interest will be promoted in proportion to the degree in which that principle engrosses us, and prevails over others. Nay further, the private and contracted affection, when it is not subservient to this end, private good, may, for any thing that appears, have a direct contrary tendency and effect. And if we will consider the matter, we shall see that it often really has. *Disengagement* is absolutely necessary to enjoyment: and a person may have so steady and fixed an eye upon his own interest, whatever he places it in, as may hinder him from *attending* to many gratifications within his reach, which others have their minds *free* and *open* to. Over-fondness for a child is not generally thought to be for its advantage: and, if there be any guess to be made from appearances, surely that character we call selfish is not the most promising for happiness. Such a temper may plainly be, and exert itself in a degree and manner which may give unnecessary and useless solicitude and anxiety, in a degree and manner which may prevent obtaining the means and materials of enjoyment, as well as the making use of them. Immoderate self-love does very ill consult its own interest: and, how much soever a paradox it may appear, it is certainly true, that even from self-love we should endeavour to get over all inordinate regard to, and consideration of ourselves. Every one of our passions and affections hath its natural stint and bound, which may easily be exceeded; whereas our enjoyments can possibly be but in a determinate measure and degree. Therefore such excess of the affection, since it cannot procure any enjoyment, must in all cases be useless; but is generally attended with inconveniences, and often is downright pain and misery. This holds as much with regard to self-love as to all other affections. The natural degree of it, so far as it sets us on work to gain and make use of the materials of satisfaction, may be to our real advantage; but beyond or besides this, it is in several respects an inconvenience and disadvantage. Thus it appears, that private interest is so far from being likely to be promoted in proportion to the degree in which self-love engrosses us, and prevails over all other principles; that the contracted affection may be so prevalent as to disappoint itself, and even contradict its own end, private good.

"But who, except the most sordidly covetous, ever thought there was any rivalship between the love of greatness, honour, power, or between sensual appetites, and self-love? No, there is a pefect harmony between them. It is by means of these particular appetites and affections that self-love is gratified in enjoyment, happiness, and satisfaction. The competition and rivalship is between self-love and the love of our neighbour: that affection which leads us out of ourselves, makes us regardless of our own interest, and substitute that of another in its stead." Whether then there be any peculiar competition and contrariety in this case, shall now be considered.

Self-love and interestedness was stated to consist in or be an affection to ourselves, a regard to our own private good: it is therefore distinct from benevolence, which is an affection to the good of our fellow-creatures. But that benevolence is distinct from, that is, not the same thing with self-love, is no reason for it being looked upon with any peculiar suspicion; because every principle whatever, by means of which self-love is gratified, is distinct from it: and all things which are distinct from each other are equally so. A man has an affection or aversion to another: that one of these tends to, and is gratified by doing good, that the other tends to, and is gratified by doing harm, does not in the least alter the respect which either one or the other of these inward feelings has to self-love. We use the word *property* so as to exclude any other persons having an interest in that of which we say a particular man has the property. And we often use the word *selfish* so as to exclude in the same manner all regards to the good of others. But the cases are not parallel: for though that exclusion is really part of the idea of property; yet such positive exclusion, or bringing this peculiar disregard to the good of others into the idea of self-love, is in reality adding to the idea, or changing it from what it was before stated to consist in, namely, in an affection to ourselves. This being the whole idea of self-love, it can no otherwise exclude good-will or love of others, than merely by not including it, no otherwise, than it excludes love of arts or of reputation, or of any thing else. Neither on the other hand does benevolence, any more than love of arts or of reputation, exclude self-love. Love of our neighbour then has just the same respect to, is no more distant from self-love, than hatred of our neighbour, or than love or hatred of any thing else. Thus the principles from which men rush upon certain ruin for the destruction of an enemy, and for the preservation of a friend, have the same respect to the private affection, and are equally interested, or equally disinterested: and it is of no avail, whether they are said to be one or the other. Therefore to those who are shocked to hear virtue spoken of as disinterested, it may be allowed that it is indeed absurd to speak thus of it; unless hatred, several particular instances of vice, and all the common affections and aversions in mankind, are acknowledged to be disinterested too. Is there any less inconsistency between the love of inanimate things, or of creatures merely sensitive, and self-love; than between self-love and the love of our neighbour? Is desire of and delight in the happiness of another any more a diminution of self-love, than desire of and delight in the esteem of another? They are both equally desire of and delight in somewhat external to ourselves: either both or neither are so. The object of self-love is expressed in the term self: and every appetite of sense, and every particular affection of the heart, are equally interested or disinterested, because the objects of them all are equally self or somewhat else. Whatever ridicule therefore the mention of a disinterested principle or action may be supposed to lie open to, must, upon the matter being thus stated, relate to ambition, and every appetite and particular affection, as much as to benevolence. And indeed all the ridicule, and all the grave perplexity, of which this subject hath had its full share, is merely from words. The most intelligible way of speaking of it seems to be this: that self-love and the actions done in consequence of it (for these will presently appear to be the same as to this question) are interested; that particular affections towards external objects, and the actions done in consequence of those affection, are not so. But every one is at liberty to use words as he pleases. All that is here insisted upon, is, that ambition, revenge, benevolence, all particular passions whatever, and the actions they produce, are equally interested or disinterested.

Thus it appears that there is no peculiar contrariety between self-love and benevolence; no greater competition between these, than between any other particular affections and self-love. This relates to the affections themselves. Let us now see whether there be any peculiar contrariety between the respective courses of life which these affections lead to; whether there be any greater competition between the pursuit of private and of public good, than between any other particular pursuits and that of private good.

There seems no other reason to suspect that there is any such peculiar contrariety, but only that the courses of action which benevolence leads to, has a more direct tendency to promote the good of others, than that course of action which love of reputation suppose, or any other particular affection leads to. But that any affection tends to the happiness of another, does not hinder its tending to one's own happiness too. That others enjoy the benefit of the air and the light of the sun, does not hinder but that these are as much one's own private advantage now, as they would be if we had the property of them exclusive of all others. So a pursuit which tends to promote the good of another, yet may have as great tendency to promote private interest, as a pursuit which does not tend to the good of another at all, or which is mischievous to him. All particular affections whatever, resentment, benevolence, love of arts, equally lead to a course of action for their own gratifications, *i. e.* the gratifications of ourselves; and the gratification of each gives delight: so far then it is manifest they have all the same respect to private interest. Now take into consideration further, concerning these three pursuits, that the end of the first is the harm, of the second, the good of another, of the last, somewhat indifferent; and is there any necessity, that these additional considerations should alter the respect, which we before saw these three pursuits, had to private interest; or render any one of them less conducive to it, than any other? Thus one man's affection is to honour at his end; in order to obtain which he thinks no pains too great. Suppose another, with such a singularity of mind, as to have the same affection to public good as his end, which he endeavours with the same labour to obtain. In case of success, surely the man of benevolence hath as great enjoyment as the man of ambition; they both equally having the end of their affections, in the same degree, tended to: but in case of disappointment, the benevolent man has clearly the advantage; since endeavouring to do good considered as a virtuous pursuit, is gratified by its own consciousness, *i. e.* is in a degree its own reward.

And as to these two, or benevolence and any other particular passions whatever, considered in a further view, as forming a general temper, which more or less disposes us for enjoyment of all the common blessings of life, distinct from their own gratification: is benevolence less the temper of tranquillity and freedom than ambition or covetousness? Does the benevolent man appear less easy with himself, from his love to his neighbour? Does he less relish his being? Is there any peculiar gloom seated on his face? Is his mind less open to entertainment, to any particular gratification? Nothing is more manifest, than that being in good humour, which is benevolence whilst it lasts, is itself the temper of satisfaction and enjoyment.

Suppose then a man setting down to consider how he might become most easy to himself, and attain the greatest pleasure he could; all that which is his real natural happiness. This can only consist in the enjoyment of those objects, which are by nature adapted to our several faculties. These particular enjoyments make up the sum total of our happiness: and they are supposed to arise from riches, honours, and the gratifications of sensual appetites: be it so; yet none profess themselves so completely happy in these enjoyments, but that there is room left in the mind of others, if they were presented to them: nay, these, as much as they engage us, are not thought so high, but that human nature is capable even of greater. Now there have been persons in all ages, who have professed that they found satisfaction in the exercise of charity, in the love of their neighbour, in endeavouring to promote the happiness of all they had to do with, and in the pursuit of what is just, and right, and good, as the general bent of their mind, and end of their life; and that doing an action of baseness or cruelty, would be as great violence to *their* self, as much breaking in upon their nature, as any external force. Persons of their character would add, if they might be heard, that they consider themselves as acting in the view of an infinite Being, who is in a much higher sense the object of reverence and of love, than all the world besides; and therefore they could have no more enjoyment from a wicked action done under his eye, than the persons to whom they are making their apology could, if all mankind were the spectators of it; and that the satisfaction of approving themselves to his unerring judgment, to whom they thus refer all their actions, is a more continued settled satisfaction than any this world can afford; as also that they have, no less than others, a mind free and open to all the common innocent gratifications of it, such as they are. And if we go no further, does there appear any absurdity in this? Will any one take upon him to say, that a man cannot find his account in this general course of life, as much as in the most unbounded ambition, and the excesses of pleasure? Or that such a person has not consulted so well for himself, for the satisfaction and peace of his own mind, as the ambitious or dissolute man? And though the consideration, that God himself will in the end justify their taste, and support their cause, is not formally to be insisted upon here; yet thus much comes in, that all enjoyments whatever are much more clear and unmixed from the assurance that they will end well. Is it certain then that there is nothing in these pretensions to happiness? especially when there are not wanting persons, who have supported themselves with satisfactions of this kind in sickness, poverty, disgrace, and in the very pangs of death; whereas it is manifest all other enjoyments fail in these circumstances. This surely looks suspicious of having somewhat in it. Self-love methinks should be alarmed. May she not possibly pass over greater pleasures than those she is so wholly taken up with?

The short of the matter is no more than this. Happiness consists in the gratification of certain affections, appetites, passions, with objects which are by nature adapted to them. Self-love may indeed set us on work to gratify these; but happiness or enjoyment has no immediate connexion with self-love, but arises from such gratification alone. Love of our neighbour is one of those affections. This, considered as a *virtuous principle*, is gratified by a consciousness of *endeavouring* to promote the good of others; but considered as natural affection, its gratification consists in the actual accomplishment of this endeavour. Now indulgence or gratification of this affection, whether in that consciousness, or this accomplishment, has the same respect to interest, as indulgence of any other affection; they equally proceed from or do not proceed from self-love, they equally include or equally exclude this principle. Thus it appears, that benevolence and the pursuits of public good hath at least as great respect to self-love and the pursuits of private good, as any other particular passions, and their respective pursuits.

Neither is covetousness, whether as a temper or pursuit, any exception to this. For if by covetousness is meant the desire and pursuit of riches for their own sake, without any regard to, or consideration of, the uses of them; this hath as little to do with self-love, as benevolence hath. But by this word is usually meant, not such madness and total distraction of mind, but immoderate affection to and pursuit of riches as possessions in order to some further end; namely, satisfaction, interest, or good. This therefore is not a particular affection, or particular pursuit, but it is the general principle of self-love, and the general pursuit of our own interest; for which reason, the word selfish is by every one appropriated to this temper and pursuit. Now as it is ridiculous to assert, that self-love and the love of our neighbour are the same; so neither is it asserted, that following these different affections hath the same tendency and respect to our own interest. The comparison is not between self-love and the love of our neighbour; between pursuit of our own interest, and the interest of others: but between the several particular affections in human nature towards external objects, as one part of the comparison; and the one particular affection to the good of our neighbour, as the other part of it: and it has been shown, that all these have the same respect to self-love and private interest.

There is indeed frequently an inconsistence or interfering between self-love or private interest, and the several particular appetites, passions, affections, or the pursuits they lead to. But this competition or interfering is merely accidental; and happens much oftener between pride, revenge, sensual gratifications, and private interest, than between private interest and benevolence. For nothing is more common, than to see men give themselves up to a passion or an affection to their known prejudice and ruin, and in direct contradiction to manifest and real interest, and the loudest calls of self-love: whereas the seeming competitions and interfering, between benevolence and private interest, relate much more to the materials or means of enjoyment, than to enjoyment itself. There is often an interfering in the former, when there is none in the latter. Thus as to riches: so much money as a man gives away, so much less will remain in his possession. Here is a real interfering. But though a man cannot possibly give without lessening his fortune, yet there are multitudes might give without lessening their own enjoyment; because they may have more than they can turn to any real use or advantage to themselves. Thus, the more thought and time any one employs about the interests and good of others, he must necessarily have less to attend his own; but he may have so ready and large a supply of his own wants, that such thought might be really useless to himself, though of great service and assistance to others.

The general mistake, that there is some greater inconsistence between endeavouring to promote the good of another and self-interest, than between self-interest and pursuing any thing else, seems, as hath already been hinted, to arise from our notions of property; and to be carried on by this property's being supposed to be itself our happiness or good. People are so very much taken up with this one subject, that they seem from it to have formed a general way of thinking, which they apply to other things that they have nothing to do with. Hence, in a confused and slight way, it might well be taken for granted, that another's having no interest in an affection, (*i. e.* his good not being the object of it,) renders, as one may speak, the proprietor's interest in it greater; and that if another had an interest in it, this would render his less, or occasion that such affection could not be so friendly to self-love, or conducive to private good, as an affection or pursuit which has not a regard to the good of another. This, I say, might be taken for granted, whilst is was not attended to, that the object of every particular affection is equally somewhat external to ourselves; and whether it be the good of another person, or whether it be any other external thing, makes no alteration with regard to its being one's own affection, and the gratification of it one's own private enjoyment. And so far as it is taken for granted, that barely having the means and materials of enjoyment is what constitutes interest and happiness; that our interest or good consists in possessions themselves, in having the property of riches, houses, lands, gardens, not in the enjoyment of them; so far it will even more strongly be taken for granted, in the way already explained, that an affection's conducing to the good of another, must even necessarily occasion it to conduce less to private good, if not to be positively detrimental to it. For, if property and happiness are one and the same thing, as by increasing the property of another, you lessen your own property, so by promoting the happiness of another, you must lessen your own happiness. But whatever occasion the mistake, I hope it has been fully proved to be one; as it has been proved, that there is no peculiar rivalship or competition between self-love and benevolence; that as there may be a competition between these two, so there may also between any particular affection whatever and self-love; that every particular affection, benevolence among the rest, is subservient to self-love, by being the instrument of private enjoyment; and that in one respect benevolence contributes more to private interest, *i. e.* enjoyment or satisfaction, than any other of the particular common affections, as it is in a degree its own gratification.

And to all these things may be added, that religion, from whence arises our strongest obligation to benevolence, is so far from disowning the principle of self-love, that it often addresses itself to that very principle, and always to the mind in that state when reason presides: and there can no access be had to the understanding, but by convincing men, that the course of life we would persuade them to is not contrary to their interest. It may be allowed, without any prejudice to the cause of virtue and religion, that our ideas of happiness and misery are of all our ideas the nearest and most important to us; that they will, nay, if you please, that they ought to prevail over those of order, and beauty, and harmony, and proportion, if there should ever be, as it is impossible there ever should be, any inconsistence between them: though these last too, as expressing the fitness of actions, are real as truth itself. Let it be allowed, though virtue or moral rectitude does indeed consist in affection to and pursuit of what is right and good, as such; yet, that when we sit down in a cool hour, we can neither justify to ourselves this or any other pursuit, till we are convinced that it will be for our happiness, or at least not contrary to it.

Common reason and humanity, will have some influence upon mankind, whatever becomes of speculations; but, so far as the interests of virtue depend upon the theory of it being secured from open scorn, so far its very being in the world depends upon its appearing to have no contrariety to private interest and self-love. The foregoing observations, therefore, it is hoped, may have gained a little ground in favour of the precept before us; the particular explanation of which shall be the subject of the next discourse.

I will conclude at present, with observing the peculiar obligation which we are under to virtue and religion, as enforced in the verses following the text, in the epistle for the day, from our Saviour's coming into the world. "The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light," &c. The meaning and force of which exhortation is that Christianity lays us under new obligations to a good life, as by it the will of God is more clearly revealed, and as it affords additional motives to the practice of it, over aad above those which arise out of the nature of virtue and vice; I might add, as our Saviour has set us a perfect example of goodness in our own nature. Now love and charity is plainly the thing in which he hath placed his religion; in which therefore, as we have any pretence to the name of Christians, we must place ours. He hath at once enjoined it upon us by way of command with peculiar force; and by his example, as having undertaken the work of our salvation out of pure love and good-will to mankind. The endeavour to set home this example upon our minds is a very proper employment of this season, which is bringing on the festival of his birth: which as it may teach us many excellent lessons of humility, resignation, and obedience to the will of God; so there is none it recommends with greater authority, force, and advantage, than this of love and charity; since it was "for us men, and for our salvation," that "he came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and was made man;" that he might teach us our duty, and more especially that he might enforce the practice of it, reform mankind, and finally bring us to that eternal salvation, of which he is the Author to all those that obey him.

SERMON XII.

UPON THE LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR.

And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. *Rom.* xiii. 9.

Having already removed the prejudices against public spirit, or the love of our neighbour, on the side of private interest and self-love; I proceed to the particular explanation of the precept before us, by showing, Who is our neighbour: In what sense we are required to love him as ourselves: The influence such love would have upon our behaviour in life: and lastly, How this commandment comprehends in it all others.

I. The objects and due extent of this affection will be understood by attending to the nature of it, and to the nature and circumstances of mankind in this world. The love of our neighbour is the same with charity, benevolence, or good-will: it is an affection to the good: and happiness of our fellow-creatures. This implies in it a disposition to produce happiness: and this is the simple notion of goodness, which appears so amiable wherever we meet with it. From hence it is easy to see, that the perfection of goodness consists in love to the whole universe. This is the perfection of Almighty God.

But as man is so much limited in his capacity, as so small a part of the creation comes under his notice and influence, and as we are not used to consider things in so general a way; it is not to be thought of, that the universe should be the object of benevolence to such creatures as we are. Thus in that precept of our Saviour, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect," the perfection of the divine goodness is proposed to our imitation as it is promiscuous, and extends to the evil as well as the good; not as it is absolutely universal, imitation of it in this respect being plainly beyond us. The object is too vast. For this reason moral writers also have substituted a less general object for our benevolence, mankind. But this likewise is an object too general, and very much out of our view. Therefore persons more practical have, instead of mankind, put our country; and this is what we call a public spirit; which in men of public stations is the character of a patriot. But this is speaking to the upper part of the world. Kingdoms and governments are large; and the sphere of action of far the greatest part of mankind is much narrower than the government they live under: or however, common men do not consider their actions as affecting the whole community of which they are members. There plainly is wanting a less general and nearer object of benevolence for the bulk of men, than that of their country. Therefore the scripture, not being a book of theory and speculation, but a plain rule of life for mankind, has with the utmost possible propriety put the principle of virtue upon the love of our neighbour; which is that part of the universe, that part of mankind, that part of our country, which comes under our immediate notice, acquaintance, and influence, and with which we have to do.

This is plainly the true account or reason, why our Saviour places the principle of virtue in the love of our *neighbour;* and the account itself shows who are comprehended under that relation.

II. Let us now consider in what sense we are commanded to love our neighbour *as ourselves.*

This precept, in its first delivery by our Saviour, is thus introduced: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself." These very different manners of expression do not lead our thoughts to the same measure or degree of love, common to both objects; but to one, peculiar to each. Supposing then, which is to be supposed, a distinct meaning and propriety in the words, *as thyself;* the precept we are considering will admit of any of these senses: that we bear the *same kind* of affection to our neighbour, as we do to ourselves: or, that the love we bear to our neighbour should have *some certain proportion or other* to self-love: or, lastly, that it should bear the particular proportion of *equality*, that *it be in the same degree.*

First, The precept may be understood as requiring only, that we have the *same kind* of affection to our fellow-creatures, as to ourselves: that, as every man has the principle of self-love, which disposes him to avoid misery, and consult his own happiness; so we should cultivate the affection of good-will to our neighbour, and that it should influence us to have the same kind of regard to him. This at least must be commanded: and this will not only prevent our being injurious to him, but will also put us upon promoting his good. There are blessings in life, which we share in common with others; peace, plenty, freedom, healthful seasons. But real benevolence to our fellow-creatures would give us the notion of a common interest in a stricter sense: for in the degree we love another, his interest, his joys and sorrows, are our own. It is from self-love that we form the notion of private good, and consider it as our own: love of our neighbour would teach us thus to appropriate to ourselves his good and welfare; to consider ourselves as having a real share in his happiness. Thus the principle of benevolence would be an advocate within our own breasts, to take care of the interests of our fellow-creatures in all the interfering and competitions which cannot but be, from the imperfection of our nature, and the state we are in. It would likewise, in some measure, lessen that interfering; and hinder men from forming so strong a notion of private good, exclusive of the good of others, as we commonly do. Thus, as the private affection makes us in a peculiar manner sensible of humanity, justice or injustice, when exercised towards ourselves; love of our neighbour would give us the same kind of sensibility in his behalf. This would be the greatest security of our uniform obedience to that most equitable rule; "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

All this is indeed no more than that we should have a real love to our neighbour: but then, which is to be observed, the words, *as thyself*, express this in the most distinct manner, and determine the precept to relate to the affection itself.—The advantage, which this principle of benevolence has over other remote considerations, is, that it is itself the temper of virtue: and likewise, that it is the chief, nay, the only effectual security of our performing the several offices of kindness we owe to our fellow-creatures. When from distant considerations men resolve upon any thing to which they have no liking, or perhaps an averseness, they are perpetually finding out evasions and excuses; which need never be wanting, if people look for them; and they equivocate with themselves in the plainest cases in the world. This may be in respect to single determinate acts of virtue: but it comes in much more, where the obligation is to a general course of behaviour; and most of all, if it be such as cannot be reduced to fixed determinate rules. This observation may account for the diversity of the expression, in that known passage of the prophet Micah: "to do justly, and to love mercy." A man's heart must be formed to humanity and benevolence, he must *love mercy*, otherwise he will not act mercifully in any settled course of behaviour. As consideration of the future sanctions of religion is our only security of persevering in our duty, in cases of great temptations: so to get our heart and temper formed to a love and liking of what is good, is absolutely necessary in order to our behaving rightly in the familiar and daily intercourses amongst mankind.

Secondly, The precept before us may be understood to require, that we love our neighbour in some certain *proportion* or other, *according as* we love ourselves. And indeed a man's character cannot be determined by the love he bears to his neighbour, considered absolutely: but the proportion which this bears to self-love, whether it be attended to or not, is the chief thing which forms the character, and influences the actions. For, as the form of the body is a composition of various parts; so likewise our inward structure is not simple or uniform, but a composition of various passions, appetites, affections, together with rationality; including in this last both the discernment of what is right, and a disposition to regulate ourselves by it. There is greater variety of parts in what we call a character, than there are features in a face: and the morality of that is no more determined by one part, than the beauty or deformity of this is by one single feature: each is to be judged of by all the parts or features, not taken singly, but together. In the inward frame the various passions, appetites, affections, stand in different respects to each other. The principles in our mind may be contradictory, or checks and allays only, or incentives and assistants to each other. And principles, which in their nature have no kind of contrariety or affinity, may yet accidentally be each other's allays or incentives.

From hence it comes to pass, that though we were able to look into the inward contexture of the heart, and see with the greatest exactness in what degree any one principle is in a particular man; we could not from thence determine, how far that principle would go towards forming the character, or what influence it would have upon the actions, unless we could likewise discern what other principles prevailed in him, and see the proportion which that one bears to the others.—Thus, though two men should have the affection of compassion in the same degrees exactly: yet one may have the principle of resentment, or of ambition so strong in him, as to prevail over that of compassion, and prevent its having any influence upon his actions; so that he may deserve the character of an hard or cruel man: whereas the other having compassion in just the same degree only, yet having resentment or ambition in a lower degree, his compassion may prevail over them, so as to influence his actions, and to denominate his temper compassionate. So that, how strange soever it may appear to people who do not attend to the thing, yet it is quite manifest, that, when we say one man is more resenting or compassionate than another, this does not necessarily imply that one has the principle of resentment or of compassion stronger than the other. For if the proportion, which resentment or compassion bears to other inward principles, is greater in one than in the other; this is itself sufficient to denominate one more resenting or compassionate than the other. Further, the whole system, as I may speak, of affections (including rationality), which constitute the heart, as this word is used in scripture and on moral subjects, are each and all of them stronger in some than in others. Now the proportion which the two general affections, benevolence and self-love, bear to each other, according to this interpretation of the text, denominates men's character as to virtue. Suppose then one man to have the principle of benevolence in a higher degree than another: it will not follow from hence, that his general temper, or character, or actions, will be more benevolent than the other's. For he may have self-love in such a degree as quite to prevail over benevolence; so that it may have no influence at all upon his actions; whereas benevolence in the other person, though in a lower degree, may yet be the strongest principle in his heart; and strong enough to be the guide of his actions, so as to denominate him a good and virtuous man. The case is here as in scales: it is not one weight, considered in itself, which determines whether the scale shall ascend or descend: but this depends upon the proportion which that one weight hath to the other.

It being thus manifest that the influence which benevolence has upon our actions, and how far it goes towards forming our character, is not determined by the degree itself of this principle in our mind; but by the proportion it has to self-love and other principles: a comparison also being made in the text between self-love and the love of our neighbour; these joint considerations afforded sufficient occasion for treating here of that proportion: it plainly is implied in the precept, though it should be questioned, whether it be the exact meaning of the words, *as thyself*.

Love of our neighbour then must bear some proportion to self-love, and virtue to be sure consists in the due proportion. What this due proportion is, whether as a principle in the mind, or as exerted in actions, can be judged of only from our nature and condition in this world. Of the degree in which affections and the principles of action, considered in themselves, prevail, we have no measure: let us then proceed to the course of behaviour, the actions they produce.

Both our nature and condition require, that each particular man should make particular provision for himself: and the inquiry, what proportion benevolence should have to self-love, when brought down to practice, will be, what is a competent care and provision for ourselves. And how certain soever it be, that each man must determine this for himself; and how ridiculous soever it would be, for any to attempt to determine it for another: yet it is to be observed, that the proportion is real; and that a competent provision has a bound; and that it cannot be all which we can possibly get and keep within our grasp, without legal injustice. Mankind almost universally bring in vanity, supplies for what is called a life of pleasure, covetousness, or imaginary notions of superiority over others, to determine this question: but every one who desires to act a proper part in society, would do well to consider, how far any of them come in to determine it, in the way of moral consideration. All that can be said is, supposing, what, as the world goes, is so much to be supposed that is scarce to be mentioned, that persons do not neglect what they really owe to themselves; the more of their care and thought, and of their fortune, they employ in doing good to their fellow-creatures, the nearer they come up to the law of perfection, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Thirdly, if the words, *as thyself*, were to be understood of an equality of affection; it would not be attended with those consequences, which perhaps may be thought to follow from it. Suppose a person to have the same settled regard to others, as to himself; that in every deliberate scheme or pursuit he took their interest into the account in the same degree as his own, so far as an equality of affection would produce this: yet he would in fact, and ought to be, much more taken up and employed about himself, and his own concerns, than about others, and their interests. For, besides the one common affection toward himself and his neighbour, he would have several other particular affections, passions, appetites, which he could not possibly feel in common both for himself and others: now these sensations themselves very much employ us; and have perhaps as great influence as self-love.—So far indeed as self-love, and cool reflection upon what is for our interest, would set us on work to gain a supply of our own several wants; so far the love of our neighbour would make us do the same for him: but the degree in which we are put upon seeking and making use of the means of gratification, by the feeling of those affections, appetites, and passions, must necessarily be peculiar to ourselves.

That there are particular passions (suppose shame, resentment), which men seem to have, and feel in common, both for themselves and others, makes no alteration in respect to those passions and appetites which cannot possibly be thus felt in common. From hence (and perhaps more things of the like kind might be mentioned) it follows, that though there were an equality of affection to both, yet regard to ourselves, would be more prevalent than attention to the concerns of others.

And from moral considerations it ought to be so, supposing still the equality of affection commanded: because we are in a peculiar manner, as I may speak, intrusted with ourselves; and therefore care of our own interests, as well as of our conduct, particularly belongs to us.

To these things must be added, that moral obligations can extend no further than to natural possibilities. Now we have a perception of our own interests, like consciousness of our own existence, which we always carry about with us; and which, in its continuation, kind, and degree, seems impossible to be felt in respect to the interests of others.

From all these things it fully appears, that though we were to love our neighbour in the same degree as we love ourselves, so far as this is possible; yet the care of ourselves, of the individual, would not be neglected; the apprehended danger of which seems to be the only objection against understanding the precept in this strict sense.

III. The general temper of mind which the due love of our neighbour would form us to, and the influence it would have upon our behaviour in life, is now to be considered.

The temper and behaviour of charity is explained at large, in that known passage of St. Paul: "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things." As to the meaning of the expressions, *seeketh not her own*, *thinketh no evil*, *believeth all things*; however those expressions may be explained away, this meekness, and in some degree easiness of temper, readiness to forego our right for the sake of peace, as well as in the way of compassion, freedom from mistrust, and disposition to believe well of our neighbour; this general temper, I say, accompanies, and is plainly the effect of love and good-will. And, though such is the world in which we live, that experience and knowledge of it not only may, but must beget in us greater regard to ourselves, and doubtfulness of the characters of others, than is natural to mankind; yet these ought not to be carried further than the nature and course of things make necessary. It is still true, even in the present state of things, bad as it is, that a real good man had rather be deceived, than be suspicious; had rather forego his known right, than run the venture of doing even a hard thing. This is the general temper of that charity, of which the apostle asserts, that if he had it not, giving his *body to be burned would avail him nothing*; and which he says *shall never fail.*

The happy influence of this temper extends to every different relation and circumstance in human life. It plainly renders a man better, more to be desired, as to all the respects and relations we can stand in to each other. The benevolent man is disposed to make use of all external advantages in such a manner as shall contribute to the good of others, as well as to his own satisfaction. His own satisfaction consists in this. He will be easy and kind to his dependents, compassionate to the poor and distressed, friendly to all with whom he has to do. This includes the good neighbour, parent, master, magistrate: and such a behaviour would plainly make dependence, inferiority, and even servitude, easy. So that a good or charitable man of superior rank in wisdom, fortune, authority, is a common blessing to the place he lives in: happiness grows under his influence. This good principle in inferiors would discover itself in paying respect, gratitude, obedience, as due. It were therefore methinks one just way of trying one's own character, to ask ourselves, am I in reality a better master or servant, a better friend, a better neighbour, than such and such person; whom, perhaps, I may think not to deserve the character of virtue and religion so much as myself?

And as to the spirit of party, which unhappily prevails amongst mankind, whatever are the distinctions which serve for a supply to it, some or other of which have obtained in all ages and countries: one who is thus friendly to his kind will immediately make due allowances for it, as what cannot but be amongst such creatures as men, in such a world as this. And as wrath and fury and overbearing upon these occasions proceed, as I may speak, from men's feeling only on their own side: so a common feeling, for others as well as for ourselves, would render us sensible to this truth, which it is strange can have so little influence; that we ourselves differ from others, just as much as they do from us. I put the matter in this way, because it can scarce be expected that the generality of men should see, that those things which are made the occasions of dissension and fomenting the party-spirit, are really nothing at all: but it may be expected from all people, how much soever they are in earnest about their respective peculiarities, that humanity, and common good-will to their fellow-creatures, should moderate and restrain that wretched spirit.

This good temper of charity likewise would prevent strife and enmity arising from other occasions: it would prevent our giving just cause of offence, and our taking it without cause. And in cases of real injury, a good man will make all the allowances which are to be made; and, without any attempts of retaliation, he will only consult his own and other men's security for the future, against injustice and wrong.

IV. I proceed to consider lastly, what is affirmed of the precept now explained, that it comprehends in it all others; *i. e.* that to love our neighbour as ourselves includes in it all virtues.

Now the way in which every maxim of conduct, or general speculative assertion, when it is to be explained at large, should be treated, is, to show what are the particular truths which were designed to be comprehended under such a general observation, how far it is strictly true; and then the limitations, restrictions, and exceptions, if there be exceptions, with which it is to be understood. But it is only the former of these; namely, how far the assertion in the text holds, and the ground of the pre-eminence assigned to the precept of it, which in strictness comes into our present consideration.

However, in almost every thing that is said, there is somewhat to be understood beyond what is explicitly laid down, and which we of course supply; somewhat, I mean, which would not be commonly called a restriction, or limitation. Thus, when benevolence is said to be the sum of virtue, it is not spoken of as a blind propension, but as a principle in reasonable creatures, and so to be directed by their reason: for reason and reflection come into our notion of a moral agent. And that will lead us to consider distant consequences, as well as the immediate tendency of an action: it will teach us, that the care of some persons, suppose children and families, is particularly committed to our charge by Nature and Providence; as also that there are other circumstances, suppose friendship or former obligations, which require that we do good to some preferably to others. Reason, considered merely as subservient to benevolence, as assisting to produce the greatest good, will teach us to have particular regard to these relations and circumstances; because it is plainly for the good of the world that they should be regarded. And as there are munberless cases, in which, notwithstanding appearances, we are not competent judges, whether a particular action will upon the whole do good or harm; reason in the same way will teach us to be cautious how we act in these cases of uncertainty. It will suggest to our consideration, which is the safer side; how liable we are to be led wrong by passion and private interest; and what regard is due to laws, and the judgment of mankind. All these things must come into consideration, were it only in order to determine which way of acting is likely to produce the greatest good. Thus, upon supposition that it were in the strictest sense true, without limitation, that benevolence includes in it all virtues; yet reason must come in as its guide and director, in order to attain its own end, the end of benevolence, the greatest public good. Reason then being thus included, let us now consider the truth of the assertion itself.

First, It is manifest that nothing can be of consequence to mankind or any creature, but happiness. This then is all which any person can, in strictness of speaking, be said to have a right to. We can therefore *owe no man any thing*, but only to further and promote his happiness, according to our abilities. And therefore a disposition and endeavour to do good to all with whom we have to do, in the degree and manner which the different relations we stand in to them require, is a discharge of all the obligations we are under to them.

As human nature is not one simple uniform thing, but a composition of various parts, body, spirit, appetites, particular passions, and affections; for each of which reasonable self-love would lead men to have due regard, and make suit able provision: so society consist of various parts, to which we stand in different respects and relations; and just benevolence would as surely lead us to have due regard to each of these, and behave as the respective relations require. Reasonable good-will, and right behaviour towards our fellow-creatures, are in a manner the same: only that the former expresseth the principle as it is in the mind; the latter, the principle as it were become external, *i. e.* exerted in actions.

And so far as temperance, sobriety, and moderation in sensual pleasures, and the contrary vices, have any respect to our fellow-creatures, any influence upon their quiet, welfare, and happiness; as they always have a real, and often a near influence upon it; so far it is manifest those virtues may be produced by the love of our neighbour, and that the contrary vices would be prevented by it. Indeed if men's regard to themselves will not restrain them from excess; it may be thought little probable, that their love to others will be sufficient: but the reason is, that their love to others is not, any more than their regard to themselves, just, and in its due degree. There are however manifest instances of persons kept sober and temperate from regard to their affairs, and the welfare of those who depend upon them. And it is obvious to every one, that habitual excess, a dissolute course of life, implies a general neglect of the duties we owe towards our friends, our families, and our country.

From hence it is manifest that the common virtues, and the common vices of mankind, may be traced up to benevolence, or the want of it. And this entitles the precept, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, to the pre-eminence given to it; and is a justification of the Apostle's assertion, that all other commandments are comprehended in it; whatever cautions and restrictions* there are, which might require to be considered, if we were to state particularly and at length, what is virtue and right behaviour in mankind. But,

Secondly, It might be added, that in a higher and more general way of consideration, leaving out the particular nature of creatures, and the particular circumstances in which they are placed, benevolence seems in the strictest sense to include in it all that is good and worthy; all that is good, which we have any distinct particular notion of. We have no clear conception of any positive moral attribute in the supreme Being, but what may be resolved up into goodness. And, if we consider a reasonable creature or moral agent, without regard to the particular relations and circumstances in which he is placed; we cannot conceive any thing else to come in towards determining whether he is to be ranked in a higher or lower class of virtuous beings, but the higher or lower degree in which that principle, and what is manifestly connected with it, prevail in him.

That which we more strictly call piety, or the love of God, and which is an essential part of a right temper, some may perhaps imagine no way connected with benevolence: yet surely they must be connected, if there be indeed in being an object infinitely good. Human nature is so constituted, that every good affection implies the love of itself; *i. e.* becomes the object of a new affection in the same person. Thus, to be righteous, implies in it the love of righteousness; to be benevolent, the love of benevolence; to be good, the love of goodness; whether this righteousness, benevolence, or goodness, be viewed as in our own mind, or in an another's: and the love of God as a being perfectly good, is the love of perfect goodness contemplated in a being or person. Thus morality and religion, virtue and piety, will at last necesssarily coincide, run up into one and the same point, and *love* will be in all senses *the end of the commandment.*

O Almighty God, inspire us with this divine principle; kill in us all the seeds of envy and ill-will; and help us, by cultivating within ourselves the love of our neighbour, to improve in the love of thee. Thou hast placed in us various kindreds, friendships, and relations, as the school of discipline for our affections: help us, by the due exercise of them, to improve to perfection; till all partial affection be lost in that entire universal one, and thou, O God, shalt be all in all.

SERMON XIII. XIV.

UPON THE LOVE OF GOD.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.—*Matt.* xxii. 37.

Every body knows, you therefore need only just be put in mind, that there is such a thing, as having so great horror of one extreme, as to run insensibly and of course into the contrary; and that a doctrine's having been a shelter for enthusiasm, or made to serve the purposes of superstition, is no proof of the falsity of it: truth or right being somewhat real in itself, and so not to be judged of by its liableness to abuse, or by its supposed distance from or nearness to error. It may be sufficient to have mentioned this in general, without taking notice of the particular extravagancies, which have been vented under the pretence or endeavour of explaining the love of God; or how manifestly we are got into the contrary extreme, under the notion of a reasonable religion; so very reasonable as to have nothing to do with the heart and affections, if these words signify any thing but the faculty by which we discern speculative truth.

By the love of God, I would understand all those regards, all those affections of mind which are due immediately to him from such a creature as man, and which rest in him as their end. As this does not include servile fear; so neither will any other regards, how reasonable soever, which respect any thing out of or besides the perfection of divine nature, come into consideration here. But all fear is not excluded, because his displeasure is itself the natural proper object of fear. Reverence, ambition of his love and approbation, delight in the hope or consciousness of it, come likewise into this definition of the love of God; because he is the natural object of all those affections or movements of mind, as really as he is the object of the affection, which is in the strictest sense called love; and all of them equally rest in him, as their end. And they may all be understood to be implied in these words of our Saviour, without putting any force upon them: for he is speaking of the love of God and our neighbour, as containing the whole of piety and virtue.

It is plain that the nature of man is so constituted, as to feel certain affections upon the sight or contemplation of certain objects. Now the very notion of affection implies resting in its object as an end. And the particular affection to good characters, reverence and moral love of them, is natural to all those who have any degree of real goodness in themselves. This will be illustrated by the description of a perfect character in a creature; and by considering the manner, in which a good man in his presence would be affected towards such a character. He would of course feel the affections of love, reverence, desire of his approbation, delight in the hope or consciousness of it. And surely all this is applicable, and may be brought up to that Being, who is infinitely more than an adequate object of all those affections: whom we are commanded to "love with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind." And of these regards towards Almighty God, some are more particularly suitable to and becoming so imperfect a creature as man, in this mortal state we are passing through; and some of them, and perhaps other exercises of the mind, will be the employment and happiness of good men in a state of perfection.

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* For instance: as we are not competent judges, what is upon the whole for the good of the world, there may be other immediate ends appointed us to pursue, besides that one of doing good, or producing happiness. Though the good of the creation be the only end of the Author of it, yet he may have laid us under particular obligations, which we may discern and feel ourselves under, quite distinct from a perception, that the observance or violation of them is for the happiness or misery of our fellow-creatures. And this is in fact the case. For there are certain dispositions of mind, and certain actions, which are in themselves approved or disapproved by mankind, abstracted from the consideration of their tendency to the happiness or misery of the world; approved or disapproved by reflection, by that principle within, which is the guide of life, the judge of right and wrong. Numberless instances of this kind might be mentioned. There are pieces of treachery, which in themselves appear base and detestable to every one. There are actions, which perhaps can scarce have any other general name given them, than indecencies, which yet are odious and shocking to human nature. There is such a thing as meanness, a little mind; which, as it is quite distinct from incapacity, so it raises a dislike and disapprobation quite different from that contempt, which men are too apt to have, of mere folly. On the other hand; what we call greatness of mind is the object of another sort of approbation, than superior understanding. Fidelity, honour strict justice, are themselves approved in the highest degree, abstracted from the consideration of their tendency. Now, whether it be thought that each of these are connected with benevolence in our nature, and so may be considered as the same thing with it; or whether some of them be though an inferior kind of virtues and vices, somewhat like natural beauties and deformities; or lastly, plain exceptions to the general rule; thus much however is certain, that the things now instanced in, and numberless others, are approved or disapproved by mankind in general, in quite another view than as conducive to the happiness or misery of the world.

This is a general view of what the following discourse will contain. And it is manifest the subject is a real one: there is nothing in it enthusiastical or unreasonable. And if it be indeed at all a subject, it is one of the utmost importance.

As mankind have a faculty by which they discern speculative truth; so we have various affections toward external objects. Understanding and temper, reason and affection, are as distinct ideas, as reason and hunger; and one would think could no more be confounded. It is by reason that we get the ideas of several objects of our affections: but in these cases reason and affection are no more the same, than sight of a particular object, and the pleasure or uneasiness consequent thereupon, are the same. Now, as reason tends to and rests in the discernment of truth, the object of it; so the very nature of affection consists in tending towards, and resting in, its objects as an end. We do indeed often in common language say, that things are loved, desired, esteemed, not for themselves, but for somewhat further, somewhat out of and beyond them: yet, in these cases, whoever will attend, will see, that these things are not in reality the objects of the affections, *i. e.* are not loved, desired, esteemed, but the somewhat further and beyond them. If we have no affections which rest in what are called their objects, then what is called affection, love, desire, hope, in human nature, is only an uneasiness in being at rest; an unquiet disposition to action, progress, pursuit, without end or meaning. But if there be any such thing as delight in the company of one person, rather than of another; whether in the way of friendship, or mirth and entertainment, it is all one, if it be without respect to fortune, honour, or increasing our stores of knowledge, or any thing beyond the present time; here is an instance of an affection absolutely resting in its objects as its end, and being gratified in the same way as the appetite of hunger is satisfied with food. Yet nothing is more common than to hear it asked, what advantage a man hath in such a course, suppose of study, particular friendships, or in any other: nothing, I say, is more common than to hear such a question put in a way which supposes no gain, advantage, or interest, but as a means to somewhat further: and if so, then there is no such thing at all as real interest, gain, or advantage. This is the same absurdity with respect to life, as infinite series of effects without a cause is in speculation. The gain, advantage, or interest, consists in the delight itself, arising from such a faculty's having its object: neither is there any such thing as happiness or enjoyment, but what arises from hence. The pleasures of hope and of reflection are not exceptions: the former being only this happiness anticipated; the latter, the same happiness enjoyed over again after its time. And even the general expectation of future happiness can afford satisfaction, only as it is a present object to the principle of self-love.

It was doubtless intended, that life should be very much a pursuit to the gross of mankind. But this is carried so much further than is reasonable, that what gives immediate satisfaction, *i. e.* our present interest, is scarce considered as our interest at all. It is inventions which have only a remote tendency towards enjoyment, perhaps but a remote tendency towards gaining the means only of enjoyment, which are chiefly spoken of as useful to the world. And though this way of thinking were just with respect to the imperfect state we are now in, where we know so little of satisfaction without satiety; yet it must be guarded against, when we are considering the happiness of a state of perfection; which happiness being enjoyment and not hope, must necessarily consist in this, that our affections have their objects and rest in those objects as an end, *i. e.* be satisfied with them. This will further appear in the sequel of this discourse.

Of the several affections, or inward sensations, which particular objects excite in man, there are some, the having of which implies the love of them, when they are reflected upon.[*] This cannot be said of all our affections, principles, and motives of action. It were ridiculous to assert, that a man upon reflection hath the same kind of approbation of the appetite of hunger, or the passion of fear, as he hath of good-will to his fellow-creatures. To be a just, a good, a righteous man, plainly carries with it a peculiar affection to or love of justice, goodness, righteousness, when these principles are the objects of contemplation. Now if a man approves of, or hath an affection to, any principle in and for itself, incidental things allowed for, it will be the same whether he views it in his own mind, or in another; in himself, or in his neighbour. This is the account of our approbation of, our moral love and affection to good characters; which cannot but be in those who have any degrees of real goodness in themselves, and who discern and take notice of the same principle in others.

From observation of what passes within ourselves, our own actions, and the behaviour of others, the mind may carry on it reflections as far as it pleases; much beyond what we experience in ourselves, or discern in our fellow-creatures. It may go on, and consider goodness as become a uniform continued principle of action, as conducted by reason, and forming a temper and character absolutely good and perfect, which is in a higher sense excellent, and proportionably the object of love and approbation.

Let us then suppose a creature perfect, according to his created nature: let his form be human, and his capacities no more than equal to those of the chief of men: goodness shall be his proper character; with wisdom to direct it, and power within some certain determined sphere of action to exert it; but goodness must be the simple actuating principle within him; this being the moral quality which is amiable, or the immediate object of love as distinct from other affections of approbation. Here then is a finite object for our mind to tend towards, to exercise itself upon: a creature, perfect according to his capacity, fixed, steady, equally unmoved by weak pity or more weak fury and resentment; forming the justest scheme of conduct; going on unindisturbed in the execution of it, through the several methods of severity and reward, towards his end, namely, the general happiness of all with whom he hath to do, as in itself right and valuable. This character, though uniform in itself, in its principle, yet exerting itself in different ways, or considered in different views, may by its appearing variety move different affections. Thus, the severity of justice would not affect us in the same way as an act of mercy: the adventitious qualities of wisdom and power may be considered in themselves: and even the strength of mind, which this immovable goodness supposes, may likewise be viewed as an object of contemplation, distinct from the goodness itself. Superior excellence of any kind, as well as superior wisdom and power, is the object of awe and reverence to all creatures, whatever their moral character be: but so far as creatures of the lowest rank were good, so far the view of this character, as simply good, must appear amiable to them, be the object of, or beget love. Further, suppose we were conscious, that this superior person so far approved of us, that we had nothing servilely to fear from him; that he was really our friend, and kind and good to us in particular, as he had occasionally intercourse with us: we must be other creatures than we are, or we could not but feel the same kind of satisfaction and enjoyment (whatever would be the degree of it), fom this higher acquaintance and friendship, as we feel from common ones; the intercourse being real, and the persons equally present, in both cases. We should have a more ardent desire to be approved by his better judgment, and a satisfaction in that approbation of the same sort with what would be felt in respect to common persons, or be wrought in us by their presence.

Let us now raise the character, and suppose this creature, for we are still going on with the supposition of a creature, our proper guardian and governor; that we were in a progress of being towards somewhat further; and that his scheme of government was too vast for our capacities to comprehend: remembering still that he is perfectly good, and our friend as well as our governor. Wisdom, power, goodness, accidentally viewed any where, would inspire reverence, awe, love: and as these affections would be raised in higher or lower degrees, in proportion as we had occasionally more or less intercourse with the creature endued with those qualities; so this further consideration and knowledge, that he was our proper guardian and governor, would much more bring these objects and qualities home to ourselves; teach us they had a greater respect to us in particular, that we had a higher interest in that wisdom and power and goodness. We should, with joy, gratitude, reverence, love, trust, and dependance, appropriate the character, as what we had a right in; and make our boast in such our relation to it. And the conclusion of the whole would be, that we should refer ourselves implicitly to him, and cast ourselves entirely upon him. As the whole attention of life should be to obey his commands; so the highest enjoyment of it must arise from the contemplation of this character, and our relation to it, from a consciousness of his favour and approbation, and from the exercise of those affections towards him which could not but be raised from his presence. A being who hath these attributes, who stands in this relation, and is thus sensibly present to the mind, must necessarily be the object of these affections: there is as real a correspondence between them, as between the lowest appetite of sense and its object.

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[*] St. Augustin observes, Amor ipse ordinate amandus est, quo bene amatur quod amandum est, ut sit in nobis virtus qui vivitur bene. *i. e.* The affection which we rightly have for what is lovely, must *ordinate* justly, in due manner and proportion, become the object of a new affection, or be itself beloved, in order to our being endued with that virtue which is the principle of a good life.—*Civ. Dei.* l. xv. c. 22.

That this Being is not a creature, but the Almighty God; that he is of infinite power and wisdom and goodness, does not render him less the object of reverence and love, than he would be if he had those attributes only in a limited degree. The Being who made us, and upon whom we entirely depend, is the object of some regards. He hath given us certain affections of mind, which correspond to wisdom, power, goodness; *i. e.* which are raised upon view of those qualities. If then he be really wise, powerful, good; he is the natural object of those affections, which he has endued us with, and which correspond to those attributes. That he is infinite in power, perfect in wisdom and goodness, makes no alteration, but only that he is the object of those affections raised to the highest pitch. He is not indeed to be discerned by any of our senses. "I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him. O that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat!" But is he then afar off? does he not fill heaven and earth with his presence? The presence of our fellow-creatures affects our senses, and our senses give us the knowledge of their presence; which hath different kinds of influence upon us; love, joy, sorrow, restraint, encouragement, reverence. However this influence is not immediately from our senses, but from that knowledge. Thus suppose a person neither to see nor hear another, not to know by any of his senses, but yet certainly to know, that another was with him; this knowledge might, and in many cases would, have one or more of the effects before mentioned. It is therefore not only reasonable, but also natural, to be affected with a presence, though it be not the object of our senses: whether it be, or be not, is merely an accidental circumstance, which needs not come into consideration: it is the certainty that he is with us, and we with him, which hath the influence. We consider persons then as present, not only when they are within reach of our senses, but also when we are assured by any other means that they are within such a nearness; nay, if they are not, we can recall them to our mind, and be moved towards them as present: and must He, who is so much more intimately with us, that "in him we live and move and have our being," be thought too distant to be the object of our affections? We own and feel the force of amiable and worthy qualities in our fellow-creatures: and can we be insensible to the contemplation of perfect goodness? Do we reverence the shadows of greatness here below: are we solicitous about honour and esteem and the opinion of the world: and shall we not feel the same with respect to him, whose are wisdom and power in their original, who "is the God of judgment by whom actions are weighed?" Thus love, reverence, desire of esteem, every faculty, every affection, tends towards, and is employed about its respective object in common cases: and must the exercise of them be suspended with regard to him alone, who is an object, an infinitely more than adequate object, to our most exalted faculties; him, "of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things."

As we cannot remove from this earth, or change our general business on it, so neither can we alter our real nature. Therefore no exercise of the mind can be recommended, but only the exercise of those faculties you are conscious of. Religion does not demand new affections, but only claims the direction of those you already have, those affections you daily feel; though unhappily confined to objects, not altogether unsuitable, but altogether unequal to them. We only represent to you the higher, the adequate objects of those very faculties and affections. Let the man of ambition go on still to consider disgrace as the greatest evil; honour, as his chief good. But disgrace, in whose estimation? Honour, in whose judgment? This is the only question. If shame, and delight in esteem, be spoken of as real, as any settled ground of pain or pleasure; both these must be in proportion to the supposed wisdom and worth of him, by whom we are contemned or esteemed. Must it then be thought enthusiastical to speak of a sensibility of this sort, which shall have respect to an unerring judgment, to infinite wisdom; when we are assured this unerring judgment, this infinite wisdom, does observe upon our actions?

It is the same with respect to the love of God in the strictest and most confined sense. We only offer and represent the highest object of an affection, supposed already in your mind. Some degree of goodness must be previously supposed: this always implies the love of itself, an affection to goodness: the highest, the adequate object of this affection, is perfect goodness; which therefore we are to *love with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength.* "Must we then, forgetting our own interest, as it were go out of ourselves, and love God for his own sake?" No more forget your own interest, no more go out of yourselves, that when you prefer one place, one prospect, the conversation of one man to that of another. Does not every affection necessarily imply, that the object of it be itself loved? If it be not, it is not the object of the affection. You may and ought if you can, but it is a great mistake to think you can love or fear or hate any thing, from consideration that such love or fear or hatred may be a means of obtaining good or avoiding evil. But the question, whether we ought to love God for his sake or for our own, being a mere mistake in language; the real question, which this is mistaken for, will, I suppose, be answered by observing, that the goodness of God already exercised towards us, our present dependence upon him, and our expectation of future benefits, ought, and have a natural tendency, to beget in us the affection of gratitude, and greater love towards him, than the same goodness exercised towards others: were it only for this reason, that every affection is moved in proportion to the sense we have of the object of it; and we cannot but have a more lively sense of goodness, when exercised towards ourselves, than when exercised towards others. I added expectation of future benefits, because the ground of that expectation is present goodness.

Thus Almighty God is the natural object of the several affections, love, reverence, fear, desire of approbation. For though he is simply one, yet we cannot but consider him in partial and different views. He is in himself one uniform being, and for ever the same, without *variableness or shadow of turning:* but his infinite greatness, his goodness, his wisdom, are different objects to our mind. To which is to be added, that from the changes in our characters, together with his unchangeableness, we cannot but consider ourselves as more or less the objects of his approbation, and really be so. For if he approves what is good, he cannot, merely from the unchangeableness of his nature, approve what is evil. Hence must arise more various movements of mind, more different kinds of affections. And this greater variety also is just and reasonable in such creatures as we are, though it respects a Being simple one, good and perfect. As some of these affections are most particularly suitable to so imperfect a creature as man, in this mortal state we are passing through; so there may be other exercises of mind, or some of these in higher degrees, our employment and happiness in a state of perfection.

SERMON XIV.

Consider then our ignorance, the imperfection of our nature, our virtue and our condition in this world, with respect to an infinitely good and just Being, our Creator and Governor; and you will see what religious affections of mind are most particularly suitable to this mortal state we are passing through.

Though we are not affected with any thing so strongly, as what we discern with our senses; and though our nature and condition require, that we be much taken up about sensible things; yet our reason convinces us that God is present with us, and we see and feel the effects of his goodness: he is therefore the object of some regards. The imperfection of our virtue, joined with the consideration of his absolute rectitude or holiness, will scarce permit that perfection of love, which entirely casts out all fear: yet goodness is the object of love to all creatures who have any degree of it themselves; and consciousness of a real endeavour to approve ourselves to him, joined with the consideration of his goodness, as it quite excludes servile dread and horror, so it is plainly a reasonable ground for hope of his favour. Neither fear, nor hope, nor love then are excluded: and one or another of these will prevail, according to the different views we have of God; and ought to prevail, according to the changes we find in our own character. There is a temper of mind made up of, or which follows from all three, fear, hope, love; namely, resignation to the divine will, which is the general temper belonging to this state; which ought to be the habitual frame of our mind and heart, and to be exercised at proper seasons more distinctly, in acts of devotion.

Resignation to the will of God is the whole of piety: it includes in it all that is good, and is a source of the most settled quiet and composure of mind. There is the general principle of submission in our nature. Man is not so constituted as to desire things, and be uneasy in the want of them, in proportion to their known value: many other considerations come in to determine the degrees of desire; particularly whether the advantage we take a view of be within the sphere of our rank. Whoever felt uneasiness, upon observing any of the advantages brute creatures have over us? And yet it is plain they have several. It is the same with respect to advantages belonging to creatures of a superior order. Thus, though we see a thing to be highly valuable, yet that it does not belong to our condition of being, is sufficient to suspend our desires after it, to make us rest satisfied without such advantage. Now there is just the same reason for quiet resignation in the want of every thing equally unattainable, and out of our reach in particular, though others of our species be possessed of it. All this may be applied to the whole of life; to positive inconveniences as well as wants; not indeed to the sensations of pain and sorrow, but to all the uneasinesses of reflection, murmuring, and discontent. Thus is human nature formed to compliance, yielding, submission of temper. We find the principles of it within us; and every one exercises it towards some objects or other; *i. e.* feels it with regard to some persons, and some circumstances. Now this is an excellent foundation of a reasonable and religious resignation. Nature teaches and inclines us to take up with our lot; the consideration, that the course of things is unalterable, hath a tendency to quiet the mind under it, to beget a submission of temper to it. But when we can add, that this unalterable course is appointed and continued by infinite wisdom and goodness; how absolute should be our submission, how entire our trust and dependence!

This would reconcile us to our condition; prevent all the supernumerary troubles arising from imagination, distant fears, impatience; all uneasiness, except that which necessarily arises from the calamities themselves we may be under. How many of our cares should we by this means be disburdened of! Cares not properly our own, how apt soever they may be to intrude upon us, and we to admit them; the anxieties of expectation, solicitude about success and disappointment, which in truth are none of our concern. How open to every gratification would that mind be, which was clear of these encumbrances!

Our resignation to the will of God may be said to be perfect, when our will is lost and resolved up into his; when we rest in his will as our end, as being itself most just, and right, and good. And where is the impossibility of such an affection to what is just, and right, and good, such a loyalty of heart to the Governor of the universe, as shall prevail over all sinister indirect desires of our own? Neither is this at bottom any thing more than faith, and honesty, and fairness of mind; in a more enlarged sense indeed, than those words are commonly used. And as, in common cases, fear and hope and other passions are raised in us by their respective objects: so this submission of heart and soul and mind, this religious resignation, would be as naturally produced by our having just conceptions of Almighty God, and a real sense of his presence with us. In how low a degree soever this temper usually prevails amongst men, yet it is a temper right in itself: it is what we owe to our Creator: it is particularly suitable to our mortal condition, and what we should endeavour after for our own sakes in our passage through such a world as this; where is nothing upon which we can rest or depend; nothing but what we are liable to be deceived and disappointed in. Thus we might "acquaint ourselves with God, and be at peace." This is piety and religion in the strictest sense, considered as an habit of mind; an habitual sense of God's presence with us; being affected towards him, as present, in the manner his superior nature requires from such a creature as man: this is to *walk with God.*

Little more need be said of devotion or religious worship, than that it is this temper exerted into act. The nature of it consists in the actual exercise of those affections towards God, which are supposed habitual in good men. He is always equally present with us: but we are so much taken up with sensible things, that "Lo, he goeth by us, and we see him not: he passeth on also, but we perceive him not." Devotion is retirement, from the world he has made, to him alone: it is to withdraw from the avocations of sense, to employ our attention wholly upon him as upon an object actually present, to yield ourselves up to the influence of the divine presence, and to give full scope to the affections of gratitude, love, reverence, trust and dependence; of which infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, is the natural and only adequate object. We may apply to the whole of devotion those words of the son of Sirach, "When you glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as you can; for even yet will he far exceed; and when you exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for you can never go far enough." Our most raised affections of every kind cannot but fall short and be disproportionate, when an infinite Being is the object of them. This is the highest exercise and employment of mind that a creature is capable of. As this divine service and worship is itself absolutely due to God, so also is it necessary in order to a further end, to keep alive upon our minds a sense of his authority, a sense that in our ordinary behaviour amongst men we act under him as our governor and judge.

Thus you see the temper of mind respecting God, which is particularly suitable to a state of imperfection; to creatures in a progress of being towards somewhat further.

Suppose now this something further attained; that we were arrived at it: what a perception will it be, to see and know and feel that our trust was not vain, our dependence not groundless? that the issue, event, and consummation came out such as fully to justify and answer that resignation? If the obscure view of the divine perfection, which we have in this world, ought in just consequence to beget an entire resignation; what will this resignation be exalted into, when "we shall see face to face, and know as we are known?" If we cannot form any distinct notion of that perfection of the love of God, which *casts out all fear;* of that enjoyment of him, which will be the happiness of good men hereafter; the consideration of our wants and capacities of happiness, and that he will be an adequate supply to them, must serve us instead of such distinct conception of the particular happiness itself.

Let us then suppose a man entirely disengaged from business and pleasure, sitting down alone and at leisure, to reflect upon himself and his own condition of being. He would immediately feel that he was by no means complete of himself, but totally insufficient for his own happiness. One may venture to affirm, that every man hath felt this, whether he hath again reflected upon it or not. It is feeling this deficiency, that they are unsatisfied with themselves, which makes men look out for assistance from abroad; and which has given rise to various kinds of amusements, altogether needless any otherwise than as they serve to fill up the blank spaces of time, and so hinder their feeling this deficiency, and being uneasy with themselves. Now, if these external things we take up with were really an adequate supply to this deficiency of human nature, if by their means our capacities and desires were all satisfied and filled up; then it might be truly said, that we had found out the proper happiness of man; and so might sit down satisfied, and be at rest in the enjoyment of it. But if it appears, that the amusements, which men usually pass their time in, are so far from coming up to or answering our notions and desires of happiness, or good, that they are really no more than what they are commonly called, somewhat to pass away the time; *i. e.* somewhat which serves to turn us aside from, and prevent our attending to, this our internal poverty and want; if they serve only, or chiefly, to suspend, instead of satisfying our conceptions and desires of happiness; if the want remains, and we have found out little more than barely the means of making it less sensible; then are we still to seek for somewhat to be an adequate supply to it. It is plain that there is a capacity in the nature of man, which neither riches, nor honours, nor sensual gratifications, nor any thing in this world can perfectly fill up, or satisfy: there is a deeper and more essential want, than any of these things can be the supply of. Yet surely there is a possibility of somewhat, which may fill up all our capacities of happiness; somewhat, in which our souls may find rest; somewhat, which may be to us that satisfactory good we are inquiring after. But it cannot be any thing which is valuable only as it tends to some further end. Those therefore who have got this world so much into their hearts, as not to be able to consider happiness as consisting in any thing but property and possessions, which are only valuable as the means to somewhat else, cannot have the least glimpse of the subject before us; which is the end, not the means; the thing itself, not somewhat in order to it. But if you can lay aside that general, confused, undeterminate notion of happiness, as consisting in such possessions; and fix in your thoughts, that it really can consist in nothing but in a faculty's having its proper object; you will clearly see, that in the coolest way of consideration, without either the heat of fanciful enthusiasm, or the warmth of real devotion, nothing is more certain, than that an infinite Being may himself be, if he pleases, the supply to all the capacities of our nature. All the common enjoyments of life are from the faculties he hath endued us with, and the objects he hath made suitable to them. He may himself be to us infinitely more than all these: he may be to us all that we want. As our understanding can contemplate itself, and our affections be exercised upon themselves by reflection, so may each be employed in the same manner upon any other mind: and since the supreme Mind, the Author and Cause of all things, is the highest possible object to himself, he may be an adequate supply to all the faculties of our souls; a subject to our understanding, and an object to our affections.

Consider then: when we shall have put off this mortal body, when we shall be divested of sensual appetites, and those possessions which are now the means of gratification shall be of no avail; when this restless scene of business and vain pleasures, which now diverts us from ourselves, shall be all over; we, our proper self, shall still remain: we shall still continue the same creatures we are, with wants to be supplied, and capacities of happiness. We must have faculties of perception, though not sensitive ones; and pleasure or uneasiness from our perceptions, as now we have.

There are certain ideas, which we express by the words, order, harmony, proportion, beauty, the furthest removed from any thing sensual. Now what is there in those intellectual images, forms, or ideas, which begets that approbation, love, delight, and even rapture, which is seen in some persons' faces upon having those objects present to their minds?—"Mere enthusiasm!"—Be it what it will: there are objects, works of nature and of art, which all mankind have delight from, quite distinct from their affording gratification to sensual appetites; and from quite another view of them, than as being for their interest and further advantage. The faculties from which we are capable of these pleasures, and the pleasures themselves, are as natural, and as much to be accounted for, as any sensual appetite whatever, and the pleasure from its gratification. Words to be sure are wanting upon this subject: to say, that every thing of grace and beauty, throughout the whole of nature, every thing excellent and amiable shared in differently lower degrees by the whole creation, meet in the Author and Cause of all things; this is an inadequate, and perhaps improper way of speaking of the divine nature: but it is manifest that absolute rectitude, the perfection of being, must be in all senses, and in every respect, the highest object to the mind.

In this world it is only the effects of wisdom, and power, and greatness, which we discern: it is not impossible, that hereafter the qualities themselves in the supreme Being may be the immediate object of contemplation. What amazing wonders are opened to view by late improvements! What an object is the universe to a creature, if there be a creature who can comprehend its system! But it must be an infinitely higher exercise of the understanding, to view the scheme of it in that mind, which projected it, before its foundations were laid. And surely we have meaning to the words, when we speak of going further; and viewing, not only this system in his mind, but the wisdom and intelligence itself from whence it proceeded. The same may be said of power. But since wisdom and power are not God, he is a wise, a powerful Being; the divine nature may therefore be a further object to the understanding. It is nothing to observe that our senses gives us but an imperfect knowledge of things: effects themselves, if we knew them thoroughly, would give us but imperfect notions of wisdom and power; much less of his Being, in whom they reside. I am not speaking of any fanciful notion of seeing all things in God; but only representing to you, how much an higher object to the understanding an infinite Being himself is, than the things which he has made: and this is no more than saying, that the Creator is superior to the works of his hands.

This may be illustrated by a low example. Suppose a machine, the sight of which would raise, and discoveries in its contrivance gratify, our curiosity: the real delight, in this case, would arise from its being the effect of skill and contrivance. This skill in the mind of the artificer would be an higher object, if we had any senses or ways to discern it. For, observe, the contemplation of that principle, faculty, or power which produced any effect, must be a higher exercise of the understanding, than the contemplation of the effect itself. The cause must be a higher object to the mind than the effect.

But whoever considers distinctly what the light of knowledge is, will see reason to be satisfied that it cannot be the chief good of man: all this, as it is applicable, so it was mentioned with regard to the attribute of goodness. I say, goodness. Our being and all our enjoyments are the effects of it: just men bear its resemblance: but how little do we know of the original, of what it is in itself? Recall what was before observed concerning the affection to moral characters; which, in how low a degree soever, yet is plainly natural to man, and the most excellent part of his nature: suppose this improved, as it may be improved, to any degree whatever, in the *spirits of just men men made perfect;* and then suppose that they had a real view of that *righteousness, which is an everlasting righteousness;* of the conformity of the divine will to the *law of truth,* in which the moral attributes of God consists; of that goodness in the sovereign Mind, which gave birth to the universe: add, what will be true of all good men hereafter, a consciousness of having an interest in what they are contemplating; suppose them able to say, *This God is our God for ever and ever:* would they be any longer to seek for what was their chief happiness, their final good? Could the utmost stretch of their capacities look further? Would not infinite perfect goodness be their very end, the last end and object of their affections; beyond which they could neither have, nor desire; beyond which they could not form a wish or thought?

Consider wherein that presence of a friend consists, which has often so strong an effect, as wholly to possess the mind, and entirely suspend all other affections and regards; and which itself affords the highest satisfaction and enjoyment. He is within reach of the senses. Now, as our capacities of perception improve, we shall have, perhaps by some faculty entirely new, a perception of God's presence with us in a nearer and stricter way; since it is certain he is more intimately present with us than any thing else can be. Proof of the existence and presence of any being is quite different from the immediate perception, the consciousness of it. What then will be the joy of heart, which his presence, and *the light of his countenance,* who is the life of the universe, will inspire good men with, when they shall have a sensation, that he is the sustainer of their being, that they exist in him; when they shall feel his influence to cheer and enliven and support their frame, in a manner of which we have now no conception? He will be in a literal sense *their strength and their portion for ever.*

When we speak of things so much above our comprehension, as the employment and happiness of a future state, doubtless it behoves us to speak with all modesty and distrust of ourselves. But the scripture represents the happiness of that state under the notions of *seeing God, seeing him as he is, knowing as we are known, and seeing face to face.* These words are not general or undetermined, but express a particular determinate happiness. And I will be bold to say, that nothing can account for, or come up to these expressions, but only this, that God himself will be an object to our faculties, that he himself will be our happiness; as distinguished from the enjoyments of the present state, which seem to arise, not immediately from him, but from the objects he has adapted to give us delight.

To conclude: Let us suppose a person tired with care and sorrow and the repetition of vain delights which fill up the round of life; sensible that every thing here below in its best estate is altogether vanity. Suppose him to feel that deficiency of human nature, before taken notice of; and to be convinced that God alone was the adequate supply to it. What could be more applicable to a good man in this state of mind; or better express his present wants and distant hopes, his passage through this world as a progress towards a state of perfection, than the following passages in the devotions of the royal prophet? They are plainly in a higher and more proper sense applicable to this, than they could be to any thing else. "I have seen an end of all pefection. Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever. Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God. My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God: when shall I come to appear before him? How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God! and the children of men shall put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house: and thou shalt give them drink of thy pleasures, as out of the river. For with thee is the well of life: and in thy light shall we see light. Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and receivest unto thee: he shall dwell in thy court, and shall be satisfied with the pleasures of thy house, even of thy holy temple. Blessed is the people, O Lord, that can rejoice in thee: they shall walk in the light of thy countenance. Their delight shall be daily in thy name, and in thy righteousness shall they make their boast. For thou art the glory of their strength: and in thy loving kindness they shall be exalted. As for me, I will behold thy presence in righteousness: and when I awake up after thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it. Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand there is pleasure for evermore."

SERMON XV.

UPON THE IGNORANCE OF MAN.

> When I applied mine heart to know wisdom, and to see the business that is done upon the earth: then I beheld all the work of God, that a man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun: because though a man labour to seek it out, yet he shall not find it; yea further, though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it.—*Eccles.* viii. 16, 17.

The writings of Solomon are very much taken up with reflections upon human nature and human life; to which he hath added, in this book, reflections upon the constitution of things. And it is not improbable, that the little satisfaction and the great difficulties he met with in his researches into the general constitution of nature, might be the occasion of his confining himself, so much as he hath done, to life and conduct. However, upon that joint review he expresses great ignorance of the works of God, and the method of his providence in the government of the world; great labour and weariness in the search and observation he had employed himself about; and great disappointment, pain, and even vexation of mind, upon that which he had remarked of the appearances of things, and of what was going forward upon this earth. This whole review and inspection, and the result of it, sorrow, perplexity, a sense of his necessary ignorance, suggests various reflections to his mind. But, notwithstanding all this ignorance and dissatisfaction, there is somewhat upon which he assuredly rests and depends; somewhat, which is the conclusion of the whole matter, and the only concern of man. Following this his method and train of reflection, let us consider,

I. The assertion of the text, the ignorance of man; that the wisest and most knowing cannot comprehend the ways and works of God: and then,

II. What are the just consequences of this observation and knowledge of our own ignorance, and the reflections which it leads us to.

I. The wisest and most knowing cannot comprehend the works of God, the methods and designs of his providence in the creation and government of the world.

Creation is absolutely and entirely out of our depth, and beyond the extent of our utmost reach. And yet it is as certain that God made the world, as it is certain that effects must have a cause. It is indeed in general no more than effects, that the most knowing are acquainted with: for as to causes, they are as entirely in the dark as the most ignorant. What are the laws by which matter acts upon matter, but certain effects; which some, having observed to be frequently repeated, have reduced to general rules? The real nature and essence of beings likewise is what we are altogether ignorant of. All these things are so entirely out of our reach, that we have not the least glimpse of them. And we know little more of ourselves, than we do of the world about us: how we were made, how our being is continued and preserved, what the faculties of our minds are, and upon what the power of exercising them depends. "I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well." Our own nature, and the objects we are surrounded with, serve to raise our curiosity; but we are quite out of a condition of satisfying it. Every secret which is disclosed, every discovery which is made, every new effect which is brought to view, serves to convince us of numberless more which remain concealed, and which we had before no suspicion of. And what if we were acquainted with the whole creation, in the same way and as thoroughly as we are with any single object in it? What would all this natural knowledge amount to? It must be a low curiosity indeed which such superficial knowledge could satisfy. On the contrary, would it not serve to convince us of our ignorance still; and to raise our desire of knowing the nature of things themselves, the author, the cause, and the end of them?

As to the government of the world: though from consideration of the final causes which come within our knowledge; of characters, personal merit and demerit; of the favour and disapprobation, which respectively are due and belong to the righteous and the wicked, and which therefore must necessarily be in a mind which sees things as they really are; though, I say, from hence we may know somewhat concerning the designs of Providence in the government of the world, enough to enforce upon us religion and the practice of virtue: yet, since the monarchy of the universe is a dominion unlimited in extent, and everlasting in duration; the general system of it must necessarily be quite beyond our comprehension. And, since there appears such a subordination and reference of the several parts to each other, as to constitute it properly one administration or government; we cannot have a thorough knowledge of any part, without knowing the whole. This surely should convince us, that we are much less competent judges of the very small part which comes under our notice in this world, than we are apt to imagine. "No heart can think upon these things worthily: and who is able to conceive his way? It is a tempest which no man can see: for the most part of his works are hid. Who can declare the works of his justice? for his covenant is afar off, and the trial of all things is in the end:" *i. e.* The dealings of God with the children of men are not yet completed, and cannot be judged of by that part which is before us. "So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall be well approved. Thy faithfulness, O Lord, reacheth unto the clouds: thy righteousness standeth like the strong mountains: thy judgments are like the great deep. He hath made every thing beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart; so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end." And thus St. Paul concludes a long argument upon the various dispensations of Providence: "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?"

Thus the scheme of Providence, the ways and works of God, are too vast, of too large extent for our capacities. There is, as I may speak, such an expense of power, and wisdom, and goodness, in the formation and government of the world, as is too much for us to take in, or comprehend. Power, and wisdom, and goodness, are manifest to us in all those works of God, which come within our view: but there are likewise infinite stores of each poured forth throughout the immensity of the creation; no part of which can be thoroughly understood, without taking in its reference and respect to the whole: and this is what we have not faculties for.

And as the works of God, and his scheme of government, are above our capacities thoroughly to comprehend: so there possibly may be reasons which originally made it fit that many things should be concealed from us, which we have perhaps natural capacities of understanding; many things concerning the designs, methods, and ends of divine Providence in the government of the world. There is no manner of absurdity in supposing a veil on purpose drawn over some scenes of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the sight of which might some way or other strike us too strongly; or that better ends are designed and served by their being concealed, than could be by their being exposed to our knowledge. The Almighty may cast clouds and darkness round about him, for reasons and purposes of which we have not the least glimpse or conception.

However, it is surely reasonable, and what might have been expected, that creatures in some stage of their being, suppose in the infancy of it, should be placed in a state of discipline and improvement, where their patience and submission is to be tried by afflictions, where temptations are to be resisted, and difficulties gone through in the discharge of their duty. Now if the greatest pleasures and pains of the present life may be overcome and suspended, as they manifestly may, by hope and fear, and other passions and affections; then the evidence of religion, and the sense of the consequences of virtue and vice, might have been such, as entirely in all cases to prevail over those afflictions, difficulties, and temptations; prevail over them so, as to render them adsolutely none at all. But the very notion itself now mentioned, of a state of discipline and improvement, necessarily excludes such sensible evidence and conviction of religion, and of the consequences of virtue and vice. Religion consists in submission and resignation to the divine will. Our condition in this world is a school of exercise for his temper: and our ignorance, the shallowness of our reason, the temptations, difficulties, afflictions, which we are exposed to, all equally contribute to make it so. The general observation may be carried on; and whoever will attend to the thing will plainly see, that less sensible evidence, with less difficulty in practice, is the same, as more sensible evidence, with greater difficulty in practice. Therefore difficulties in speculation as much come into the notion of a state of discipline, as difficulties in practice: and so the same reason or account is to be given of both. Thus, though it is indeed absurd to talk of the greater merit of assent, upon little or no evidence, than upon demonstration; yet the strict discharge of our duty, with less sensible evidence, does imply in it a better character, than the same diligence in the discharge of it upon more sensible evidence. This fully accounts for and explains that assertion of our Saviour, *Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed;* have become Christians and obeyed the gospel, upon less sensible evidence, than that which Thomas, to whom he is speaking, insisted upon.

But after all, the same account is to be given, why we were placed in these circumstances of ignorance, as why nature has not furnished us with wings; namely, that we were designed to be inhabitants of this earth. I am afraid we think too highly of ourselves; of our rank in the creation, and of what is due to us. What sphere of action, what business is assigned to man, that he has not capacities and knowledge fully equal to? It is manifest he has reason, and knowledge, and faculties superior to the business of the present world: faculties which appear superfluous, if we do not take in the respect which they have to somewhat further, and beyond it. If to acquire knowledge were our proper end, we should indeed be but poorly provided: but if somewhat else be our business and duty, we may, notwithstanding our ignorance, be well enough furnished for it; and the observation of our ignorance may be of assistance to us in the discharge of it.

II. Let us then consider, what are the consequences of this knowledge and observation of our own ignorance, and the reflection it leads us to.

First, We may learn from it, with what temper of mind a man ought to inquire into the subject of religion; namely, with expectation of finding difficulties, and with a disposition to take up and rest satisfied with any evidence whatever, which is real.

He should beforehand expect things mysterious, and such as he will not be able thoroughly to comprehend, or go to the bottom of. To expect a distinct comprehensive view of the whole subject, clear of difficulties and objections, is to forget our nature and condition; neither of which admit of such knowledge, with respect to any science whatever. And to inquire with this expectation, is not to inquire as a man, but as one of another order of creatures.

Due sense of the general ignorance of man would also beget in us a disposition to take up and rest satisfied with any evidence whatever, which is real. I mention this as the contrary to a disposition, of which there are not wanting instances, to find fault with and reject evidence, because it is not such as was desired. If a man were to walk by twilight, must he not follow his eyes as much as if it were broad day and clear sunshine? Or if he were obliged to take a journey by night, would he not "give heed to *any* light shining in the darkness, till the day should break and the day-star arise?" It would not be altogether unnatural for him to reflect how much better it were to have day-light; he might perhaps have great curiosity to see the country round about him; he might lament that the darkness concealed many extended prospects from his eyes, and wish for the sun to draw away the veil: but how ridiculous would it be to reject with scorn and disdain the guidance and direction which that lesser light might afford him, because it was not the sun itself! If the make and constitution of man, the circumstances he is placed in, or the reason of things affords the least hint or intimation, that virtue is the law he is born under: scepticism itself should lead him to the most strict and inviolable practice of it; that he may not make the dreadful experiment, of leaving the course of life marked out for him by nature, whatever that nature be, and entering paths of his own, of which he can know neither the dangers nor the end. For though no danger be seen, yet darkness, ignorance, and blindness are no manner of security.

Secondly, Our ignorance is the proper answer to many things, which are called objections against religion; particularly, to those which arise from the appearances of evil and irregularity in the constitution of nature and the government of the world. In all other cases it is thought necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with the whole of a scheme, even one of so narrow a compass as those which are formed by men, in order to judge of the goodness or badness of it: and the most slight and superficial view of any human contrivance comes abundantly nearer to a thorough knowledge of it, than that part, which we know of the government of the world, does to the general scheme and system of it; to the whole set of laws by which it is governed. From our ignorance of the constitution of things, and the scheme of Providence in the government of the world; from the reference the several parts have to each other, and to the whole; and from our not being able to see the end and the whole; it follows, that however perfect things are, they must even necessarily appear to us otherwise less perfect than they are.[*]

Thirdly, Since the constitution of nature, and the methods and designs of Providence in the government of the world, are above our comprehension, we should acquiesce in, and rest satisfied with, our ignorance, turn our thoughts from that which is above and beyond us, and apply ourselves to that which is level to our capacities, and which is our real business and concern. Knowledge is not our proper happiness. Whoever will in the least attend to the thing will see, that it is the gaining, not the having of it, which is the entertainment of the mind. Indeed, if the proper happiness of man consisted in knowledge considered as a possession or treasure, men who are possessed of the largest share would have a very ill time of it; as they would be infinitely more sensible than others of their poverty in this respect. Thus "he who increases knowledge would *eminently* increase sorrow." Men of deep research and curious inquiry should just be put in mind, not to mistake what they are doing. If their discoveries serve the cause of virtue and religion, in the way of proof, motive to practice, or assistance in it; or if they tend to render life less unhappy, and promote its satisfactions; then they are most usefully employed: but bringing things to light, alone and of itself, is of no manner of use, any otherwise than as entertainment or diversion. Neither is this at all amiss, if it does not take up the time which should be employed in better work. But it is evident that there is another mark set up for us to aim at; another end appointed us to direct our lives to: another end, which the most knowing may fail of, and the most ignorant arrive at. "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law. Which reflection of Moses, put in general terms, is, that the only knowledge, which is of any avail to us, is that which teaches us our duty, or assists us in the discharge of it. The economy of the universe, the course of nature, almighty power exerted in the creation and government of the world, is out of our reach. What would be the consequence, if we could really get an insight into these things, is very uncertain; whether it would assist us in, or divert us from, what we have to do in this present state. If then there be a sphere of knowledge, of contemplation and employment, level to our capacities, and of the utmost importance to us; we ought surely to apply ourselves with all diligence to this our proper business, and esteem every thing else nothing, nothing as to us, in comparison of it. Thus Job, discoursing of natural knowledge, how much it is above us, and of wisdom in general, says, "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof. And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding. Other orders of creatures may perhaps be let into the secret counsels of heaven; and have the designs and methods of Providence, in the creation and government of the world, communicated to them: but this does not belong to our rank or condition. "The fear of the Lord, and to depart from evil," is the only wisdom which man should aspire after, as his work and business. The same is said, and with the same connexion and context, in the conclusion of the book of Ecclesiastes. Our ignorance, and the little we can know of other things, affords a reason why we should not perplex ourselves about them; but no way invalidates that which is the conclusion of the whole matter, "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole concern of man." So that Socrates was not the first who endeavoured to draw men off from labouring after, and laying stress upon other knowledge, in comparison of that which related to morals. Our province is virtue and religion, life and manners; the science of improving the temper, and making the heart better. This is the field assigned us to cultivate: how much it has lain neglected is indeed astonishing. Virtue is demonstrably the happiness of man: it consists in good actions, proceeding from a good principle, temper, or heart. Overt-acts are entirely in our power. What remains is, that we learn to *keep our heart;* to govern and regulate our passions, mind, affections: that so we may be free from the impotencies of fear, envy, malice, covetousness, ambition; that we may be clear of these, considered as vices seated in the heart, considered as constituting a general wrong temper; from which general wrong frame of mind, all the mistaken pursuits, and far the greatest part of the unhappiness of life, proceed. He, who should find out one rule to assist us in this work, would deserve infinitely better of mankind, than all the improvers of other knowledge put together.

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[*] Suppose some very *complicated piece of work*, some *system* or *constitution*, formed for some *general end*, to which each of the *parts* had a *reference*. The perfection or justness of this work or constitution would consist in the reference and respect, which the several parts have to the general design. This reference of parts to the general design may be infinitely various, both in degree and kind. Thus one part may only contribute and be subservient to another: this to a third; and so on through a long series, the last part of which alone may contribute immediately and directly to the general design. Or a part may have this distant reference to the general design, and may also contribute immediately to it. For instance: if the general design or end, for which the complicated frame of nature was brought into being, is happiness; whatever affords present satisfaction, and likewise tends to carry on the course of things, hath this double respect to the general design. Now suppose a spectator of that work or constitution was in a great measure ignorant of such various reference to the general end, whatever that end be; and that, upon a very slight and partial view which he had of the work, several things appeared to his eye disproportionate and wrong; others, just and beautiful; what would he gather from these appearances? He would immediately conclude there was a probability, if he could see the whole reference of the parts appearing wrong to the general design, that this would destroy the appearance of wrongness and disproportion: but there is no probability, that the reference would destroy the particular right appearances, though that reference might show the things already appearing just, to be so likewise in a higher degree or another manner. There is a probability, that the right appearances were intended: there is no probability, that the wrong appearances were. We cannot suspect irregularity and disorder to be designed. The pillars of a building appear beautiful; but their being likewise its support does not destroy that beauty: there still remains a reason to believe that the architect intended the beautiful appearance, after we have found out the reference, support. It would be reasonable for a man of himself to think thus, upon the first piece of architecture he ever saw.

Lastly, Let us adore that infinite wisdom and power, and goodness, which is above our comprehension. "To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? Or who hath known her wise counsels? There is one wise and greatly to be feared; the Lord sitting upon his throne. He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works." If it be thought a considerable thing to be acquainted with a few, a very few, of the effects of infinite power and wisdom; the situation, bigness, and revolution of some of the heavenly bodies; what sentiments should our minds be filled with concerning Him, who appointed to each its place and measure and sphere of motion, all which are kept with the most uniform constancy! "Who stretched out the heavens, and telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names. Who laid the foundations of the earth, who comprehendeth the dust of it in a measure, and weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance." And, when we have recounted all the appearances which come within our view, we must add, "Lo, these are part of his ways: but how little a portion is heard of him! Canst thou by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?"

The conclusion is, that in all lowliness of mind we set lightly by ourselves: that we form our temper to an implicit submission to the divine Majesty; beget within ourselves an absolute resignation to all the methods of his providence, in his dealings with the children of men: that, in the deepest humility of our souls, we prostrate ourselves before him, and join in that celestial song; "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty! just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints! Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?"

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

DR. BUTLER AND DR. CLARKE.

THE FIRST LETTER.

Reverened Sir,—I suppose you will wonder at the present trouble from one who is a perfect stranger to you, though you are not so to him; but I hope the occasion will excuse my boldness. I have made it, Sir, my business, ever since I thought myself capable of such sort of reasoning, to prove to myself the being and attributes of God. And being sensible that it is a matter of the last consequence, I endeavoured after a demonstrative proof; not only more fully to satisfy my own mind, but also in order to defend the great truths of natural religion, and those of the Christian revelation which follow from them, against all opposers: but must own with concern, that hitherto I have been unsuccessful; and though I have got very probable arguments, yet I can go but a very little way with demonstration in the proof of those things. When first your book on those subjects (which by all, whom I have discoursed with, is so justly esteemed) was recommended to me, I was in great hopes of having all my inquiries answered. But since in some places, either through my not understanding your meaning, or what else I know not, even that has failed me, I almost despair of ever arriving to such a satisfaction as I aim at, unless by the method I now use. You cannot but know, sir, that of two different expressions of the same thing, though equally clear to some persons, yet to others one of them is sometimes very obscure, though the other be perfectly intelligible. Perhaps this may be my case here; and could I see those of your arguments, of which I doubt, differently proposed, possibly I might yield a ready assent to them. This, sir, I cannot but think a sufficient excuse for the present trouble; it being such a one as I hope may prevail for an answer, with one who seems to aim at nothing more than that good work of instructing others.

In your Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, Prop. VI. [edit. 2d. p. 69, 70.] you propose to prove the infinity or omnipresence of the self-existent Being. The former part of the proof seems highly probable; but the latter part, which seems to aim at demonstration, is not to me convincing. The latter part of the paragraph is, if I mistake not, an entire argument of itself, which runs thus: "To suppose a finite being to be self-existent, is to say that it is a contradiction for that being not to exist, the absence of which may yet be conceived without a contradiction; which is the greatest absurdity in the world." The sense of these words ("the absence of which") seems plainly to be determined by the following sentence, to mean its absence from any particular place. Which sentence is to prove it to be an absurdity; and is this: "For if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place, it may, without a contradiction, be absent from another place, and from all places." Now supposing this to be a consequence, all that it proves is, that if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place at one time, it may, without a contradiction, be absent from another place, and so from all places, at different times; (for I cannot see, that if a being can be absent from one place at one time, therefore it may, without a contradiction, be absent from all places at the same time, *i. e.* may cease to exist.) Now, if it proves no more than this, I cannot see that it reduces the supposition to any absurdity. Suppose I could demonstrate, that any particular man should live a thousand years; this man might, without a contradiction, be absent from one and from all places at different times; but it would not from thence follow, that he might be absent from all places at the same time, *i. e.* that he might cease to exist. No; this would be a contradiction, because I am supposed to have demonstrated that he should live a thousand years. It would be exactly the same, if, instead of a thousand years, I should say, for ever; and the proof seems the same, whether it be applied to a self-existent or a dependent being.

What else I have to offer is in relation to your proof, that the self-existent being must of necessity be but one. Which proof is as follows, in Prop. VII. (edit. 2d. p. 74.) "To suppose two or more different natures existing of themselves, necessarily, and independent from each other, implies this plain contradiction; that, each of them being independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist alone; so that it will be no contradiction to imagine the other not to exist, and consequently neither of them will be necessarily existing." The supposition indeed implies, that since each of these beings is independent from the other, they may either of them exist alone, *i. e.* without any relation to, or dependence on, the other: but where is the third idea, to connect this proposition and the following one, viz. "so that it will be no contradiction to imagine the other not to exist?" Were this a consequence of the former proposition, I allow it would be demonstration, by the first corollary of Prop. III. (2d edit. p. 26.) but since these two propositions, ("they may either of them be supposed to exist alone,") and, ("so that it will be no contradiction to imagine the other not to exist,") are very widely different; since likewise it is no immediate consequence, that because either may be supposed to exist independent from the other, therefore the other may be supposed not to exist at all; how is what was proposed, proved? That the propositions are different, I think is plain; and whether there be an immediate connexion, every body that reads your book must judge for themselves. I must say, for my own part, the absurdity does not appear at first sight, any more than the absurdity of saying that the angels below the base in an isosceles triangle are unequal; which though it is absolutely false, yet I suppose no one will lay down the contrary for an axiom; because, though it is true, yet there is need of a proof to make it appear so.

Perhaps it may be answered, that I have not rightly explained the words, "to exist alone;" and that they do not mean only, to exist independent from the other; but that "existing alone" means that nothing exists with it. Whether this or the other was meant, I cannot determine: but, which ever it was, what I have said will hold. For if this last be the sense of those words, ("they either of them may be supposed to exist alone;") it indeed implies that it will be no contradiction to suppose the other not to exist: but then I ask, how come these two propositions to be connected; that, to suppose two different natures existing of themselves necessarily and independent from each other, implies that each of them may be supposed to exist alone in this sense? Which is exactly the same as I said before, only applied to different sentences. So that if "existing alone" be understood as I first took it, I allow it is implied in the supposition; but cannot see that the consequence is, that it will be no contradiction to suppose the other not to exist. But if the words, "existing alone," are meant in the latter sense, I grant, that if either of them be supposed thus to exist alone, it will be no contradiction to suppose the other not to exist: but then I cannot see, that to suppose two different natures existing, of themselves, necessarily and independent from each other, implies that either of them may be supposed to exist alone in this sense of the words; but only, that either of them may be supposed to exist without having any relation to the other, and that there will be no need of the existence of the one in order to the existence of the other. But though upon this account, were there no other principle of its existence, it might cease to exist; yet on the account of the necessity of its own nature, which is quite distinct from the other, it is an absolute absurdity to suppose it not to exist.

Thus, sir, I have proposed my doubts, with the reasons of them. In which if I have wrested your words to another sense than you designed them, or in any respect argued unfairly, I assure you it was without design. So I hope you will impute it to mistake. And, if it will not be too great a trouble, let me once more beg the favour of a line from you, by which you will lay me under a particular obligation to be, what, with the rest of the world, I now am,

Reverend Sir, your most obliged servant, &c.

Nov. 4, 1713.

THE ANSWER TO THE FIRST LETTER.

Sir,—Did men who publish controversial papers accustom themselves to write with that candour and ingenuity, with which you propose your difficulties, I am persuaded almost all disputes might be very amicably terminated, either by men's coming at last to agree in opinion, or at least finding reason to suffer each other friendly to differ.

Your two objections are very ingenious, and urged with great strength and acuteness. Yet I am not without hopes of being able to give you satisfaction in both of them. To your first, therefore, I answer: Whatever may, without a contradiction, be absent from any one place, at any one time, may also, without a contradiction, be absent from all places at all times. For, whatever is absolutely necessary at all, is absolutely necessary in every part of space, and in every point of duration. Whatever can at any time be conceived possible to be absent from any one part of space, may for the same reason (viz. the implying no contradiction in the nature of things) be conceived possible to be absent from every other part of space at the same time; either by ceasing to be, or by supposing it never to have begun to be. Your instance about demonstrating a man to live a thousand years, is what, I think, led you into the mistake; and is a good instance to lead you out of it again. You may suppose a man shall live a thousand years, or God may reveal and promise he shall live a thousand years; and upon that supposition, it shall not be possible for the man to be absent from all places in any part of that time. Very true: but why shall it not be possible? only because it is contrary to the supposition, or to the promise of God; but not contrary to the absolute nature of things; which would be the case, if the man existed necessarily, as every part of space does. In supposing you could demonstrate, a man should live a thousand years, or one year; you make an impossible and contradictory supposition. For though you may know certainly (by revelation suppose) that he will live so long; yet this is only the certainty of a thing true in fact, not in itself necessary: and demonstration is applicable to nothing but what is necessary in itself, necessary in all places and at all times equally.

To your second difficulty, I answer: What exists necessarily, not only must so exist alone, as to be independent of any thing else; but (being self-sufficient) may also so exist alone, as that every thing else may possibly (or without any contradiction in the nature of things) be supposed not to exist at all: and consequently (since that which may possibly be supposed not to exist at all, is not necessarily existent), no other thing can be necessarily existent. Whatever is necessarily existing, there is need of its existence in order to the supposal of the existence of any other thing; so that nothing can possibly be supposed to exist, without presupposing and including antecedently the existence of that which is necessary. For instance; the supposal of the existence of any thing whatever includes necessarily a presupposition of the existence of space and time; and if any thing could exist without space or time, it would follow that space and time were not necessarily existing. Therefore, the supposing any thing possibly to exist alone, so as not necessarily to include the presupposal of some other thing, proves demonstrably that that other thing is not necessarily existing; because, whatever has necessity of existence cannot possibly, in any conception whatsoever, be supposed away. There cannot possibly be any notion of the existence of any thing, there cannot possibly be any notion of existence at all, but what shall necessarily preinclude the notion of that which has necessary existence. And consequently the two propositions, which you judged independent, are really necessarily connected. These sorts of things are indeed very difficult to express, and not easy to be conceived but by very attentive minds: but to such as can and will attend, nothing, I think, is more demonstrably convictive.

If any thing still sticks with you in this or any other part of my books, I shall be very willing to be informed of it; who am, sir, your assured friend and servant, S. C.

Nov. 10, 1713.

P. S. Many readers, I observe, have misunderstood my second general proposition; as if the words ["some one unchangeable and independent being,"] meant [one only—being;] whereas the true meaning, and all that the argument there requires, is, [some one at least.] That there can be but one, is the thing proved afterwards in the seventh proposition.

THE SECOND LETTER.

Reverend Sir,—I have often thought that the chief occasions of men's differing so much in their opinions, were, either their not understanding each other; or else, that, instead of ingeniously searching after truth, they have made it their business to find out arguments for the proof of what they have once asserted. However, it is certain there may be other reasons for persons not agreeing in their opinions: and where it is so, I cannot but think with you, that they will find reason to suffer each other to differ friendly; every man having a way of thinking, in some respects, peculiarly his own.

I am sorry I must tell you, your answers to my objections are not satisfactory. The reasons why I think them not so are as follow:

You say, "Whatever is absolutely necessary at all is absolutely necessary in every part of space, and in every point of duration." Were this evident, it would certainly prove what you bring it for; viz. that "whatever may, without a contradiction, be absent from one place at one time, may also be absent from all places at all times." But I do not conceive, that the idea of ubiquity is contained in the idea of self-existence, or directly follows from it; any otherwise than as, whatever exists must exist somewhere. You add, "Whatever can at any time be conceived possible to be absent from any one part of space, may for the same reason [viz. the implying no contradiction in the nature of things] be conceived possible to be absent from every other part of space, at the same time." Now I cannot see, that I can make these two suppositions for the same reason, or upon the same account. The reason why I conceive this being may be absent from one place, is because it doth not contradict the former proof [drawn from the nature of things], in which I proved only that it must necessarily exist. But the other supposition, viz. that I can conceive it possible to be absent from every part of space at one and the same time, directly contradicts the proof that it must exist somewhere; and so is an express contradiction. Unless it be said, that as, when we have proved the three angles of a triangle equal to two right ones, that relation of the equality of its angles to two right ones will be wherever a triangle exists; so, when we have proved the necessary existence of a being, this being must exist every where. But there is a great difference between these two things: the one being the proof of a certain relation, upon supposition of such a being's existence with such particular properties; and consequently, wherever this being and these properties exist, this relation must exist too: but from the proof of the necessary existence of a being, it is no evident consequence that it exists every where. My using the word *demonstration*, instead of *proof which leaves no room for doubt*, was through negligence, for I never heard of strict demonstration of matter of fact.

In your answer to my second difficulty, you say, "Whatsoever is necessarily existing, there is need of its existence, in order to the supposal of the existence of any other thing." All the consequences you draw from this proposition, I see proved demonstrably; and consequently, that the two propositions I thought independent are closely connected. But how, or upon what account, is there need of the existence of whatever is necessarily existing, in order to the existence of any other thing? Is it as there is need of space and duration, in order to the existence of any thing; or is it needful only as the cause of the existence of all other things? If the former be said, as your instance seems to intimate: I answer; space and duration are very abstruse in their natures, and, I think, cannot properly be called things, but are considered rather as affections which belong, and in the order of our thoughts are antecedently necessary, to the existence of all things. And I can no more conceive how a necessarily existent being can, on the same account, or in the same manner as space and duration are, be needful in order to the existence of any other being, than I can conceive extension attributed to a thought; that idea no more belonging to a thing existing, than extension belongs to thought. But if the latter be said, that there is need of the existence of whatever is a necessary being, in order to the existence of any other thing; only as this necessary being must be the cause of the existence of all other things: I think this is plainly begging the question; for it supposes that there is no other being exists, but what is casual, and so not necessary. And on what other account, or in what other manner than one of these two, there can be need of the existence of a necessary being in order to the existence of any thing else, I cannot conceive.

Thus, sir, you see I entirely agree with you in all the consequences you have drawn from your suppositions, but cannot see the truth of the suppositions themselves.

I have aimed at nothing in my style, but only to be intelligible; being sensible that it is very difficult (as you observe), to express one's self on these sort of subjects, especially for one who is altogether unaccustomed to write upon them.

I have nothing at present more to add, but my sincerest thanks for your trouble in answering my letter, and for your professed readiness to be acquainted with any other difficulty that I may meet with in any of your writings. I am willing to interpret this, as somewhat like a promise of an answer to what I have now written, if there be any thing in it which deserves one. I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant.

Nov. 23, 1713.

THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND LETTER.

Sir,—It seems to me, that the reason why you do not apprehend ubiquity to be necessarily connected with self-existence, is because, in the order of your ideas, you first conceive a being (a finite being, suppose), and then conceive self-existence to be a property of that being; as the angles are properties of a triangle, when a triangle exists: whereas, on the contrary, necessity of existence, not being a property consequent upon the supposition of the things existing, but antecedently the cause or ground of that existence; it is evident this necessity, being not limited to any antecedent subject, as angles are to a triangle; but being itself original, absolute, and (in order of nature), antecedent to all existence; cannot but be every where, for the same reason that it is any where. By applying this reasoning to the instance of space, you will find, that by consequence it belongs truly to that substance, whereof space is a *property, as duration also is. What you say about a necessary being existing somewhere, supposes it to be finite; and being finite, supposes some cause which determined that such a certain quantity of that being should exist, neither more nor less: and that cause must either be a voluntary cause; or else such a necessary cause, the quantity of whose power must be determined and limited by some other cause. But in original absolute necessity, antecedent (in order of nature), to the existence of any thing, nothing of all this can have place; but the necessity is necessarily every where alike.

Concerning the second difficulty, I answer: That which exists necessarily, is needful to the existence of any other thing; not considered now as a cause (for that indeed is begging the question), but as a *sine qua non;* in the sense as space is necessary to every thing, and nothing can possibly be conceived to exist, without thereby presupposing space: which therefore I apprehend to be a property or mode of the self-existent substance; and that, by being evidently necessary itself, it proves that the substance, of which it is a property, must also be necessary; necessary both in itself, and needful to the existence of any thing else whatsoever. Extension indeed does not belong to thought, because thought is not a being; but there is need of extension to the existence of every being, to a being which has or has not thought, or any other quality whatsoever. I am, Sir,

Your real friend and servant.

London, Nov. 28, 1713.

THE THIRD LETTER.

Reverend Sir,—I do not very well understand your meaning, when you say you think, "in the order of my ideas I first conceive a being (finite suppose), to exist, and then conceive self-existence to be a property of that being." If you mean that I first suppose a finite being to exist I know not why;

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* Or, mode of existence.

affirming necessity of existence to be only a consequent of its existence; and that, when I have supposed it finite, I very safely conclude it is not infinite; I am utterly at a loss, upon what expressions in my letter this conjecture can be founded. But if you mean, that I first of all prove a being to exist from eternity, and then, from the reasons of things, prove that such a being must be eternally necessary; I freely own it. Neither do I conceive it to be irregular or absurd; for there is a great difference between the order in which things exist, and the order in which I prove to myself that they exist. Neither do I think my saying a necessary being exists somewhere, supposes it to be finite; it only supposes that this being exists in space, without determining whether here, or there, or every where.

To my second objection, you say, "That which exists necessarily, is needful to the existence of any other thing, as a *sine qua non;* in the sense space is necessary to every thing: which is proved (you say) by this consideration, that space is a property of the self-existent substance; and, being both necessary in itself, and needful to the existence of every thing else; consequently the substance, of which it is a property, must be so too." Space, I own, is in one sense a property of the self-existent substance; but, in the same sense, it is also a property of all other substances. The only difference is in respect to the quantity. And since every part of space, as well as the whole, is necessary; every substance consequently must be self-existent, because it hath this self-existent property. Which since you will not admit for true; if it directly follows from your arguments, they cannot be conclusive.

What you say under the first head proves, I think, to a very great probability, though not to me with the evidence of demonstration: but your arguments under the second I am not able to see the force of.

I am so far from being pleased that I can form objections to your arguments, that, besides the satisfaction it would have given me in my own mind, I should have thought it an honour to have entered into your reasonings, and seen the force of them. I cannot desire to trespass any more upon your better employed time: so shall only add my hearty thanks for your trouble on my account, and that I am with the greatest respect, Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant.

Dec. 5, 1713.

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THE ANSWER TO THE THIRD LETTER.

Sir,—Though, when I turn my thoughts every way, I fully persuade myself there is no defect in the argument itself; yet in my manner of expression I am satisfied there must be some want of clearness, when there remains any difficulty to a person of your abilities and sagacity. I did not mean that your saying a necessary being exists somewhere, does necessarily suppose it to be finite; but that the manner of expression is apt to excite in the mind an idea of a finite being, at the same time that you are thinking of a necessary being, without accurately attending to the nature of that necessity by which it exists. Necessity absolute, and antecedent (in order of nature) to the existence of any subject, has nothing to limit it; but, if it operates at all (as it must needs do), it must operate (if I may so speak) every where and at all times alike. Determination of a particular quantity, or particular time or place of existence of any thing, cannot arise but from somewhat external to the thing itself. For example: why there should exist just such a small determinate quantity of matter, neither more nor less, interspersed in the immense vacuities of space, no reason can be given. Nor can there be any thing in nature, which could have determined a thing so indifferent in itself, as is the measure of that quantity; but only the will of an intelligent and free agent. To suppose matter, or any other substance, necessarily existing in a finite determinate quantity; in an inch-cube, for instance; or in any certain number of cube-inches, and no more; is exactly the same absurdity, as supposing it to exist necessarily, and yet for a finite duration only; which every one sees to be a plain contradiction. The argument is likewise the same, in the question about the original of motion. Motion cannot be necessarily existing; because, it being evident that all determinations of motion are equally possible in themselves, the original determination of the motion of any particular body this way rather than the contrary way, could not be necessarily in itself, but was either caused by the will of an intelligent and free agent, or else was an effect produced and determined without any cause at all; which is an express contradiction: as I have shown in my *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.* [Page 14, edit. 4th and 5th; page 12, edit. 6th and 7th.]

To the second head of argument, I answer: Space is a property [or mode] of the self-existent substance; but not of any other substances. All other substances are in space, and are penetrated by it; but the self-existent substance is not in space, nor penetrated by it, but is itself (if I may so speak) the substratum of space, the ground of the existence of space and duration itself. Which [space and duration] being evidently necessary, and yet themselves not substances, but properties or modes, show evidently that the substance, without which these properties could not subsist, is itself much more (if that were possible) necessary. And as space and duration are needful (*i. e. sine qua non*) to the existence of every thing else; so consequently is the substance, to which these properties belong in that peculiar manner which I before mentioned.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

Dec. 10, 1713.

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THE FOURTH LETTER.

Reverend Sir,—Whatever is the occasion of my not seeing the force of your reasonings, I cannot impute it to [what you do] the want of clearness in your expression. I am too well acquainted with myself, to think my not understanding an argument, a sufficient reason to conclude that it is either improperly expressed, or not conclusive; unless I can clearly show the defect of it. It is with the greatest satisfaction I must tell you, that the more I reflect on your first argument, the more I am convinced of the truth of it: and it now seems to me altogether unreasonable to suppose absolute necessity can have any relation to one part of space more than to another; and if so, an absolutely necessary being must exist every where.

I wish I was as well satisfied in respect to the other. You say, "All substances, except the self-existent one, are in space, and are penetrated by it." All substances doubtless, whether body or spirit, exist in space; but when I say that a spirit exists in space, were I put upon telling my meaning, I know not how I could do it any other way than by saying, such a particular quantity of space terminates the capacity of acting in finite spirits at one and the same time; so that they cannot act beyond that determined quantity. Not but that I think there is somewhat in the manner of existence of spirits in respect of space, that more directly answers to the manner of the existence of body; but what that is, or of the manner of their existence, I cannot possibly form an idea. And it seems (if possible) much more difficult to determine what relation the self-existent Being hath to space. To say he exists in space, after the same manner that other substances do (somewhat like which I too rashly asserted in my last), perhaps would be placing the Creator too much on a level with the creature; or however, it is not plainly and evidently true: and to say the self-existent substance is the substratum of space, in the common sense of the word, is scarce intelligible, or at least is not evident. Now though there may be a hundred relations distinct from either of these; yet how we should come by ideas of them, I cannot conceive. We may indeed have ideas to the words, and not altogether depart from the common sense of them, when we say the self-existent substance is the substratum of space, or the ground of its existence: but I see no reason to think it true, because space seems to me to be as absolutely self-existent, as it is possible any thing can be: so that, make what other supposition you please, yet we cannot help supposing immense space; because there must be either an infinity of being, or (if you will allow the expression) an infinite vacuity of being. Perhaps it may be objected to this, that though space is really necessary, yet the reason of its being necessary is its being a property of the self-existent substance; and that it being so evidently necessary, and its dependence on the self-existent substance not so evident, we are ready to conclude it absolutely self-existent, as well as necessary; and that this is the reason why the idea of space forces itself on our minds, antecedent to, and exclusive of (as to the ground of its existence) all other things. Now this, though it is really an objection, yet is no direct answer to what I have said: because it supposes the only thing to be proved, viz: that the reason why space is necessary is its being a property of a self-existent substance. And supposing it not to be evident, that space is absolutely self-existent; yet, while it is doubtful, we cannot argue as though the contrary were certain, and we were sure that space was only a property of the self-existent substance. But now, if space be not absolutely independent, I do not see what we can conclude is so: for it is manifestly necessary itself, as well as antecedently needful to the existence of all other things, not excepting (as I think) even the self-existent substance.

All your consequences, I see, follow demonstrably from your supposition; and, were that evident, I believe it would serve to prove several other things as well as what you bring it for. Upon which account, I should be extremely pleased to see it proved by any one. For, as I design the search after truth as the business of my life, I shall not be ashamed to learn from any person; though, at the same time, I cannot but be sensible, that instruction from some men is like the gift of a prince, it reflects an honour on the person on whom it lays an obligation. I am, Reverend Sir,

Your obliged servant.

Dec. 16, 1713.

THE ANSWER TO THE FOURTH LETTER.

Sir,—My being out of town most part of the month of January, and some other accidental avocations, hindered me from answering your letter sooner. The sum of the difficulties it contains is, I think, this: that "it is difficult to determine what relation the self-existent substance has to space:" that "to say it is the substratum of space, in the common sense of the word, is scarce intelligible, or, at least, is not evident:" that "space seems to be as absolutely self-existent, as it is possible any thing can be:" and that "its being a property of the self-existent substance is supposing the thing that was to be proved." This is entering indeed into the very bottom of the matter; and I will endeavour to give you as brief and clear an answer as I can.

That the self-existent substance is the substratum of space, or space a property of the self-existent substance, are not perhaps very proper expressions; nor is it easy to find such. But what I mean is this: The idea of space (as also of time or duration) is an abstract or partial idea; an idea of a certain quality or relation, which we evidently see to be necessarily existing; and yet which (not being itself a substance) at the same time necessarily presupposes a substance, without which it could not exist; which substance consequently must be itself (much more, if possible) necessarily existing. I know not how to explain this so well as by the following similitude. A blind man, when he tries to frame to himself the idea of body, his idea is nothing but that of hardness. A man that had eyes, but no power of motion, or sense of feeling at all; when he tried to frame to himself the idea of body, his idea would be nothing but that of colour. Now as, in these cases, hardness is not body, and colour is not body; but yet as the understanding of these persons, those properties necessarily infer the being of a substance, of which substance itself the persons have no idea: so space to us is not itself substance, but it necessarily infers the being of a substance, which affects none of our present senses; and, being itself necessary, it follows, that the substance, which it infers, is (much more) necessary. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

Jan. 29, 1713.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

Reverend Sir,—You have very comprehensively expressed, in six or seven lines, all the difficulties of my letter; which I should have endeavoured to have made shorter, had I not been afraid an improper expression might possibly occasion a mistake of my meaning. I am very glad the debate is come into so narrow a compass; for I think now it entirely turns upon this, whether our ideas of space and duration are partial, so as to presuppose the existence of some other thing. Your similitude of the blind man is very apt, to explain your meaning (which I think I fully understand), but does not seem to come entirely up to the matter. For what is the reason that the blind man concludes there must be somewhat external, to give him that idea of hardness? It is because he supposes it impossible for him to be thus affected, unless there were some cause of it; which cause, should it be removed, the effect would immediately cease too; and he would no more have the idea of hardness, but by remembrance. Now to apply this to the instance of space and duration: Since a man from his having these ideas, very justly concludes there must be somewhat external, which is the cause of them; consequently, should this cause (whatever it is) be taken away, his ideas would be so too: therefore, if what is supposed to be the cause be removed, and yet the idea remains, that supposed cause cannot be the real one. Now, granting the self-existent substance to be the subtratum of these ideas, could we make the supposition of its ceasing to be, yet space and duration would still remain unaltered; which seems to show, that the self-existent substance is not the subtratum of space and duration. Nor would it be an answer to the difficulty, to say that every property of the self-existent substance is as necessary as the substance itself; since that will only hold, while the substance itself exists: for there is implied, in the idea of a property, an impossibility of subsisting without its substratum. I grant, the supposition is absurd: but how otherwise can we know whether any thing be a property of such a substance, but by examining whether it should cease to be, if its supposed substance should do so? Notwithstanding what I have now said, I cannot say that I believe your argument not conclusive; for I must own my ignorance, that I am really at a loss about the nature of space and duration. But did it plainly appear that they were properties of a substance, we should have an easy way with the atheists: for it would at once prove demonstrably an eternal, necessary, self-existent Being; that there is but one such; and that he is needful in order to the existence of all other things. Which makes me think, that though it may be true, yet it is not obvious to every capacity: otherwise it would have been generally used, as a fundamental argument to prove the being of God.

I must add one thing more: that your argument for the omnipresence of God seemed always to me very probable. But being very desirous to have it appear demonstrably conclusive, I was sometimes forced to say what was not altogether my opinion: not that I did this for the sake of disputing, (for, besides the particular disagreeableness of this to my own temper, I should surely have chosen another person to have trifled with;) but I did it to set off the objection to advantage, that it might be more fully answered. I heartily wish you as fair treatment from your opponents in print, as I have had from you; though, I must own, I cannot see, in those that I have read, that unprejudiced search after truth, which I would not have hoped for.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most humble servant.

Feb. 3, 1713.

THE ANSWER TO THE FIFTH LETTER.

Sir,—In a multitude of business, I mislaid your last letter; and could not answer it, till it came again to my hands by chance. We seem to have pushed the matter in question between us as far as it will go; and, upon the whole, I cannot but take notice, I have very seldom met with persons so reasonable and unprejudiced as yourself, in such debates as these.

I think all I need say, in answer to the reasoning in your letter, is, that your granting the absurdity of the supposition you were endeavouring to make, is consequently granting the necessary truth of my argument. If* space and duration necessarily remain, even after they were supposed to be taken away; and be not (as it is plain they are not) themselves substances; that the† substance, on whose existence they depend, will necessarily remain likewise, even after it is supposed to be taken away: which shows that supposition to be impossible and contradictory.

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* Ut partium temporis ordo est immutabilis, sic etiam ordo partium spatii. Moveantur hæ de locis suis, et movebuntur (ut ita dicam) de seipsis. *Newton. Princip. Mathemat. schol. ad definit.* 8.

† Deus non est æternitas vel infinitas, sed æternus et infinitus; non est duratio vel spatium, sed durat et adest. Durat semper, et adest ubique; et existendo semper et ubique, durationem et spatium, æternitatem et infinitatem, constituit. Cum unaquæque spatii parti-

As to your observation at the end of your letter; that the argument I have insisted on, if it were obvious to every capacity, should have more frequently been used as a fundamental argument for a proof of the being of God: the true cause why it has been seldom urged, is, I think, this; that the universal prevalency of Cartes's absurd notions (teaching that[*] matter is necessarily infinite and necessarily eternal, and ascribing all things to mere mechanic laws of motion, exclusive of final causes, and of all will and intelligence and divine Providence from the government of the world) hath incredibly blinded the eyes of common reason, and prevented men from discerning *him in whom they live, and move, and have their being.* The like has happened in some other instances. How universally have men for many ages believed, that eternity is no duration at all, and infinity no amplitude! Something of the like kind has happened in the matter of transubstantiation, and, I think, in the scholastic notion of the Trinity, &c. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

April 8, 1713.

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cula sit semper; et unumquodque durationis indivisibile momentum ubique; certe rerum omnium Fabricator ac Dominus non erit nunquam nusquam. Omnipræsens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam, per substantiam: nam virtus sine substantia subsistere non potest. In ipso continentur et moventur universa, &c. *Newton. Princip. Mathemat. Schol. general. sub. finem.*

[*] Puto implicare contradictionem, ut mundus [meaning the material world] sit finitus. *Cartes. Epist.* 69. *Partis primæ.*

SERMONS

BY

THE LATE REV. ROBERT HALL, A.M.

OF KELSO.

[The following discourses are from a volume recently issued from the Edinburgh press, prefaced by a biographical sketch of the author; from which we learn that he was born near Glasgow, studied theology under Brown of Haddington, was for forty-six years the pastor of a seceding church in Kelso, and died in 1831, aged 74. He appears to have possessed an uncommonly vigorous mind.—*Ed. Ch. Lib.*]

SERMON I.*

The Gospel a light to the Gentiles, and a salvation unto the end of the earth.

I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.—*Isaiah*, xlix. 6.

The chapter now before us, like many other chapters to be found in Isaiah, contains an illustrious prophecy respecting the future advent of the Messiah, and respecting the great benefits which shall be made to result from the dissemination of Christianity. For, whereas the Jews, throughout a long series of ages, had been in the exclusive enjoyment of Divine Revelation, it is the subject of prophecy, in the chapter now before us, that the enjoyment of this privilege should not be confined to the Jews, but hereafter should be universally extended. "It is a light thing," says the Father to the Son, according to the language of our text "that thou shouldest be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

In the material creation there are not any objects more opposite to each other than light and darkness; and in consequence, among all nations these objects have been employed as figures of speech, and as figures of speech to represent conditions the fartherest removed and the most contrary—darkness being expressive of every thing frightful, wretched, melancholy—light being expressive of every thing agreeable, and beneficial, and happy. Now, by bringing these contrary objects into approximation, the conditions represented under these figures will appear the more affecting through contrast; and, consequently, these figures will enable us to form a juster conception of the state of the Gentiles, as made known under the image of darkness, and of the magnitude of the blessing to be conferred upon the Gentiles, when the Gospel shall be communicated as a light. "I will also give thee," says the Father to the Son, according to the language of our text, "for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

In order that we may comprehend, and that we may appreciate, the benefits contained in our text, it must lie with us to take a view of the Gentile nations as in a state of darkness—to illustrate this prophecy, that the Gospel shall be given to the Gentiles as a light—and to bring forward a body of evidence in favour of the certainty of this universal Christian illumination.

When taking a view of these nations as involved in moral darkness, we shall find the Gentiles under the darkness of ignorance and error. For even among such of these nations as have arrived at the highest eminence and improvement, and whose minds have been the most enlightened by civilization and by science—among the inhabitants of the great ancient commonwealths, who were so famous for their knowledge and their wisdom, and whose vast superiority in all the walks of learning threw such a lustre over their names, such a brilliancy over their manners, such a grandeur and celebrity over their achievements, that wherever we turn our eyes, we meet with sagacious politicians, heroic patriots, respected citizens, brave soldiers, eloquent historians, searching and sublime philosophers,—even among the most eminent of the Gentile nations, what ridiculous fancies were entertained, and were spread abroad respecting the Diety, respecting human obligation towards the Diety, respecting the nature of Spirit, and respecting an eternity beyond the grave! How wrapt up in shade was any knowledge of the responsibility of man! And, not having a mind to be like God, they made God like unto themselves; nay, lower than themselves was he made, when, invisible and incorruptible, having no connection with matter, except that he brought it into being, and having no connection with material forms, except that he upholds them in the being which at first he inspired, he was impiously transformed into the shape of callous and unreasoning animals, of weak fluttering birds, and of reptiles that creep upon the ground. Instead of the one only living and true God, among the most eminent of the Gentile nations, there were gods many, and there were goddesses many; at Rome, there were not fewer than thirty thousand objects of religious worship; and the greatest of the Greek philosophers,—we mean Socrates,—though he had taught the unity of God, was so uncertain and wavering, or was so insincere as to his belief in this unity, that he gave sanction to Pagan idolatry in his last moments, when, a little before his decease he issued orders for the offering up of a sacrifice to one of these imaginary deities. And under what moral darkness, under what ignorance and error, shall we find such countries to be lying, as are immersed in savage habits—among whose inhabitants civilization has not appeared, nor the rays of science beamed! For, not to condescend upon specific places, or upon such of the European countries as are under the darkness of popery, shall we not universally find, that over the continents of Asia, of Africa, and of America, and over the countless islands within the Southern and Eastern Oceans, there is not any knowledge of the Supreme Being—there is not any knowledge of religious worship—there is religious adoration to stocks and stones, to the sun and the starry firmament, to fountains, to rivers, to groves, and even to cats and crocodiles —there is not a mere ignorance with regard to God, and with regard to the religious worship which they ought to give, and which He will agree to receive, but likewise ignorance with respect to the best ground of consolation amid trouble, with respect to a Saviour, and to redemption through his atonement, with respect to moral duty, and with respect to a future existence beyond the grave—there is an immense forest of nations, but without a single verdant leaf, and without a gleam of sunshine on the branches?

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* A Missionary Sermon, preached in July, 1789.

When taking a view of these nations as involved in moral darkness, we shall find the Gentile nations under the darkness of guilt and depravity. For, if guilt works so powerfully, and depravity not seldom bursts forth into forms so hideous, and if there is atheism the most audacious, and intemperance the most loathsome, and bloodshed the most unmerciful, among nations which have the Gospel shining upon them, and which are regulated by means of wise and salutary laws,—how gross shall be that darkness where the nations are ignorant and superstitious, and where fallen guilty human nature is hurled along by its passions without check or control! View them in religious worship, and you shall have to witness human sacrifices, with intoxication, and revelling, and outrage, and obscenity; view them coming home from battle, and they shall be seen feasting upon the flesh of captives, and exulting with savage triumph over the blood of the slain; view them as individuals, and ambition, relentless fury, and revenge, shall be observed as bearing the character of virtues, while with unrestrained indulgence they give themselves up to impurity, the men and women living together promiscuously in whole communities, and the infants being murdered without remorse. And, at the same time, as there is no conviction of sin, so there is no feeling of shame; guilt has no sting, and turpitude is not infamous: whence you shall have to witness among them, not merely as general habits, but as general habits which wise men have recommended and lawgivers authorized, theft, exposure of new-born infants, and that sin which brought down the Almighty upon Sodom and Gomorrah in overwhelming torrents of flame. This representation is sad, but it is true—this picture frightful, but drawn from the life—these colours gloomy and wild, but not overcharged.

When taking a view of these nations as involved in moral darkness, we shall find the Gentiles under the darkness of sorrow and of misery. For what though they roam amid the fairest scenes of nature—though the rocks be rich with gems, the mountains stored with costly mines, the hills covered with frankincense, and the valleys teem with luxuriant blossoms and fruit—what though the rivers roll on with golden sand, and the woods breathe fragrance and sweet odours,—what avails this wondrous wealth, and what avails this gorgeous profusion of terrestrial bliss? A man may be in want of liberty, and yet he may have happiness like Joseph—a man may be in want of peace, and yet he may have the comforts of David—a man may be in want of health, and yet be finally strengthened like the once afflicted Job—a man may be in want of food and refreshment, and yet at length he may be fed, and may be refreshed by the ravens of Elisha—a man may lose life itself, and yet Jesus Christ, who cheered the proto-martyr Stephen, may shed consolation upon his departing soul: but in want of the Gospel, he is want of a Saviour; and in want of a Saviour, his condition must be truly sorrowful and miserable,—no blessing upon him while in life, no consolation for him when he comes to die, and no happiness when he enters into eternity. For whatever be the tender mercies of God—and we know that they are infinite, and that they are inexhaustible—yet it stands within the Holy Scriptures as matter of revelation, that "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved," than the name of Jesus Christ; and till another revelation be granted from on high, we must continue to rest with the belief, that they who are in want of the Gospel are in want of the means of salvation—that the people who sit in darkness abide in the region of the shadow of death. Jesus Christ is called the living bread and the living water; but wanting a Saviour, they must languish in spiritual hunger, and in spiritual thirst—Jesus Christ is called the redemption of the soul; but wanting a Saviour, they must be prisoners without release, captives without ransom, sinners without hope—Jesus Christ is called the wisdom of God; but wanting a Saviour, as they have been trained amid folly, they must be cast away into the condemnation of fools—Jesus Christ is the way; but in want of a Saviour, the people must go wrong—Jesus Christ is the truth; but in want of a Saviour, the people must be tossed to and fro with each breath of imposture and of falsehood—Jesus Christ is the life; but in want of a Saviour, the people must be dead in trespasses, and through eternity shall die the death which immortals endure—Jesus Christ is the light; but in want of a Saviour, the people are under midnight moral darkness, and know not whither they walk. Great was that darkness which brooded over Egypt, when the Lord thus addressed himself unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt." But, oh! it was a darkness upon the body, and it was a darkness wherein men lived; while the Gentile nations are under a darkness which closes upon every faculty of the soul, and overspreads the inhabitants with sorrow and with misery.

When taking a view of these nations as involved in moral darkness, we shall find the Gentiles under the darkness of ignorance and error—under the darkness of guilt and depravity—under the darkness of sorrow and of misery. But if we turn our eyes from contemplating the present dark state of the Gentiles, we may reap comfort from the anticipation of a blessed era soon to be with us, when the language of our text shall be accomplished, "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

The language of our text conveys to us this important prophecy,—that Jesus Christ shall be given unto the end of the earth as a salvation from ignorance and error: and that a great and blessed era is fast approaching, when the sacred sentiments of Christianity, taking possession of the mind with the light of truth, shall chase away the gloom of superstition and the thick clouds of falsehood—when there shall not be any more ignorance of God, whether in his nature, or in his character, or in his administration—when the ruin which has been incurred by sin, and the remedy which has been furnished by a Saviour, and that most useful and most interesting knowledge which relates to human beings under the twofold capacity of mortal and of immortal, shall be laid open to the view—when the one God and the one Mediator shall be clearly unfolded, and idolatry cease, and Christian service arise beautiful upon the Gentiles—when tongues, however rude, shall confess, and the stiffest knees worship, and the hardest hearts adore, and people of all customs and of all complexions joyfully embrace, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. No longer shall Confucius be the boast of haughty China; the roving Tartars no longer halt at the banks of the Volga, and worship the Grand Lama with slave-crouching fear; no longer the sable Hindoos seek for holiness within the consecrated waters of the Ganges, or fall prostrate before Vishnu's unshapely and monstrous image; no longer the copper-coloured Peruvians make the valleys of the Andes to resound, through its wild caverns, with songs of thanksgiving to the beams of the sun; no longer the South Sea Islanders redden the altars with blood, and uplift the savage yell of exultation above the screams of the victim: but, brought unto the knowledge of Christ, and brought under the authority of Christ, and melted with the love of Christ, what a change there shall be upon the Gentile nations,—ignorance changed into heavenly wisdom, error into sound reasoning, idolatry into spiritual worship, and horrid cruelty into meekness and brotherly kindness!

The language of our text conveys to us this important prophecy,—that Jesus Christ shall be given unto the end of the earth as a salvation from guilt and depravity; and that a great and blessed era is fast approaching, when the sacred sentiments of Christianity, taking possession of the mind with the light of holiness, shall irradiate the benighted Gentile nations by a view of that atonement for which they have long sighed, and for which they have long sighed in vain—by a view of that Saviour who bore our sins in his own body upon the cursed tree—by a view of that remission of guilt, and that freedom from iniquity, through which the wickedness within us may be removed, the conscience be unburdened of guilty feelings, the soul restored unto tranquillity, the heart encouraged, and through which the whole man may rejoice in God and our Lord Jesus Christ—and by a view of this gracious atonement, not as a sluggish and a stagnant mass of merit, but as the source of active holiness, and of moral uprightness and truth. How unusual and how marvellous would it seem, were you walking in the meadow, and upon a sudden to behold the low and prickly thorn shoot into a stately fir, and the rough briar flourish like the smooth green myrtle! or were you traversing the forest, and upon a sudden to behold the leopard shed his spots, and the ferocious tiger become harmless like the lamb! and how unusual and marvellous, were you to behold an Ethiopian instantaneously whiten, and some black countenance, upon an Indian wilderness, be instantaneously suffused with a crimson blush! But how much more marvellous shall be the transformation made by the Gospel upon the once benighted Gentiles, when ferocious tempers shall become mild, barbarous feelings humane, revengeful spirits compassionate, the robber honest, the hypocrite sincere, and the savage a cultivated citizen; and when Christian ministers shall look around upon the once benighted Gentiles as now in a state of light—upon Gentile countries as now turning from the service of idols to serve the living God—upon Gentile congregations as now sanctifying the Sabbath—upon Gentile families as now raising the morning and evening voice of supplication, thankfulness, and praise; and shall find abundant reason to address these new sprung churches in the words of the Apostle Paul to the once idolatrous Corinthians, "Such"—even so vile, and filthy, and stubborn, and apparently hopeless—"were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God!"

The language of our text conveys to us this important prophecy,—that Jesus Christ shall be given unto the end of the earth, as a salvation from sorrow and from misery; and that a great and blessed era is fast approaching, when the sacred sentiments of Christianity, taking possession of the mind with the light of spiritual joy, shall soothe and allay the miseries of the Gentile nations, whether it be the afflictions of savage and malignant nature, or the bewildering terrors of going into the grave without any hope of happiness beyond it—by its gracious influence on the heart, shall sweeten the temper and soften the manners—by uniting man to man, and the whole human race unto the Father of Mercies, shall quicken into exercise those kindly feelings and endearments, which make private life contented and public life useful—while order, and truth, and justice, and benevolence, shall water the barren soil, and hang the blossoms of spring around the former habitations of cruelty. The political misunderstandings which may take place shall be abjusted by wise and solemn arbitration, and not by soldiers set in battle array to build the thrones of tyrants on the fallen carcasses of brave men. For it was the song of the inspired Prophet, and, in hopes of soon beholding the event, that song let us sing,—"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The sword which was wont to pierce the heart, shall open the furrows of the field, and cover the valleys with corn; the murdering spear which has often thinned whole ranks of heroes, shall be used to top the branches of the fruit-bearing vine; the treacherous shall not lie in wait for blood, nor the dagger assassinate, but the hand of friendship shall be stretched towards the widow and the orphan, that the orphan be relieved, and the solitary widow rejoice. But besides, while there is universal peace among the nations, and universal love among men, there shall at the same time be a universal spiritual joy within the breast: for hope shall enter into that within the veil, and faith be the evidence and assurance of things not seen—fear shall be quieted, uncertainty subside, and the darkness of sorrow and of misery pass away. And, oh! but man's faith and man's hope, however weak this vessel may seem when amid the floods of death, shall at last go triumphantly into the landing-place of bliss, whatever be the storms that are roaring on the waters, and though the waves of temptation may sometimes break in upon the soul!

When taking a view of these nations as in a state of darkness, we find that the Gentiles are under the moral darkness of ignorance and error, of guilt and depravity, of sorrow and of misery. But when illustrating this prophecy, that the Gospel shall be given unto the Gentiles as a light, we find that Jesus Christ shall be given unto the end of the earth as a salvation from ignorance and error, from guilt and depravity, from sorrow and from misery; and that the sacred sentiments of the Gospel shall take possession of the mind with the light of truth, of holiness, and of spiritual joy.

What a spectacle do we behold, through the glass of prophecy, in the distance of future ages,—no more uncertainty, no more fears, no more guile, no more discord, no more darkness—hostile natures feeling mutual tenderness, and the worst passions reformed and tamed—the wolf with the lamb, and the leopard with the little kid, lying on the same pasture—the lion and the ox feeding at the same stall. On yonder shores, where the temples of idolatry stood, and where stocks and stones were the objects of religious worship, we behold a new temple over the ruins of the old, and these stones are converted into pillars of that temple, and these stocks into beams. From yonder isles of the sea, where a blind and criminal superstition reigned absolute—where silly and shameful ceremonies usurped the throne of God and of the Lamb—where the boisterous clamours of outrage and excess resounded, and blood ran like water,—we must listen to the still small voice of rational and spiritual worship, to the joyful melody of devotion, to the raptures of enlightened, purified, and sublimed hearts. It is just as if we had been with Moses upon the mount of Nebo, and, far beyond the rocky boundaries of the waste howling wilderness, surveyed the land of Canaan, with its green fields and forests, and its mellow grapes, and its flowing and sweet streams; nay, just as if we had been with Christ upon the Mount of Transfiguration, and, instead of his lowly attire, surveyed snow-white and shining garments around his person, and the fulness of the Godhead over each limb and each feature, which hitherto were void of comely form. For there shall no more be any darkness, or any groping and stumbling, when the language of our text has it fulfilment,—"I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

And if it should here be inquired, what is our evidence in support of this universal Christian illumination, and how are we to be satisfied and assured, that the Gospel shall be given unto the Gentiles as a light and a salvation? it is competent for us to occupy a very large field of matter highly useful and important, and to bring forward arguments from the superlative excellence of the Gospel itself, and its infinite superiority over every other moral and religious system; from its being calculated to work well, not within a certain circumscribed and limited sphere of operation, but among people of all nations and conditions; from the decree of Heaven, which has been notified in the sacred Scriptures, respecting its universal spread, taken into connection with the prophecies already unsealed, and with the success already visible; from the aspect of the times, and the counsels and intentions of Providence, as gradually unfolding; from the intercession of Jesus Christ, at the right hand of the Majesty on high, for inheritance unto the uttermost parts of the earth, which is always and is altogether efficacious; from his unlimited and irresistible control of men, of societies, of events, of kings and subjects, of war and peace, of calamity and prosperity; and from his injunction upon the first ministers of the New Testament, and which still is, and shall continue to be, binding with regard unto each successive ministry till the end of all things, to carry the Gospel to the remotest countries of the globe, and to instruct the various individuals composing the whole human race. We make it for our remark, that, on topics such as these, we might expatiate with much pleasure to ourselves, and, it is trusted, with no small advantage to you; but it is only permitted us to crave the farther indulgence of your attention unto the evidence from what the Gospel has already done, and from what the Gospel can do, and from what the Gospel will do.

When Christianity was first made known, such were its external circumstances and appearance, that there was no probability of its surviving beyond its original ministers and friends. Its temper and genius were opposite to the most favourite maxims, and to the most general customs among men; its original ministers were men whose natural talents, whose country and extraction, whose character, and whose occupations, were the objects of scorn and contempt, and not of respect or of reverence; the opposition with which it met was universal, and was unrelenting; for the great and the vulgar, the mighty and ignoble, Jewish doctors and Greek sages, circumcision and uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, though impelled by different motives, were filled with one and the same spirit of rancorous envy, some against the creed which it contained, others against the morals which it imposed, and others rather against its members and followers than against the belief which it enjoined; while, at the same time, it was not in alliance with any one single kingdom or commonwealth, but was unsheltered, unprotected, and exposed on every side to hatred and persecution. An infidel, during the first century, might have found abundant matter for ridicule in the idea of the continuance and success, and the future unbounded spread, of a sect, at whose head stood twelve illiterate fishermen. It would just have been as if you had told him, that grapes should be gathered from these thorns, and figs from these thistles—that a bush should be burning, and yet not be consumed—that these withered and dry bones should live. But as we have now the advantage of reasoning upon the matter of fact itself, which no argument can invalidate, nor ridicule weaken, so from the matter of fact we shall find, that Christian principles and the Christian ministry have surmounted opposition, conquered the combined force of malice and sophistry, and, without the help of power, or guile, or gold—nay, with the weight of all these in the opposite scale—have constrained men and nations to lay aside unbelief and prejudice, and yield obedience to the triumphs of the Cross. Now, we are not to be charged with the weakness of credulity, or with the mere fondness of party and of system, when we infer from the matter of fact now before us, that the same Almighty strength which fixed Christianity within the heart of unwilling and unbelieving nations, and fixed it in spite of captious philosophy, and armies of soldiers, both can and will fix it in nations equally unwilling and equally unbelieving, and furnish it with stability, till time shall be no more. And when we give ourselves to reflect, how unpromising were the circumstances under which it was at first introduced—how gradually, and yet how constantly and steadily, it has been going forward—how closely it is interwoven with the civil and political institutions of various great countries, and that to overturn religion would, in these countries, be tantamount to the doing away with the very form of government itself,—we may with confidence assert, that its march will be more rapid and more glorious than ever, its enemies fewer and feebler, its victories more numerous and more splendid. For that it shall yet reach farther, is neither so wonderful nor improbable, as it once was that it should reach so far.

But there is not merely evidence from what the Gospel has already done,—there is evidence from what the Gospel is able to do; for its ability and influence are not impaired by the lapse of time, nor by the accidents of fortune: and however it may alter somewhat in its outward form and figure—though it may shift its place of residence—though it may set as to one country, that it may rise upon another—though its beams may be sometimes bright, and sometimes obscure,—yet in itself it is, like its great author and finisher, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. For enlightening the most benighted, for sanctifying the most depraved, for civilizing the most savage, it has always been successful, and successful it has the ability to be; and the same Gospel which has been the means of converting men of all nations, languages, and complexions, is able to work these moral miracles still.

But look at the volume of the book, and search the oracles of prophecy; for there we find laid before us what the Gospel will assuredly do—what the Gospel we hope and trust, is just upon the point of doing. It is written in the Psalms, "I shall give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." It is written in the Prophets, "I will say to the north, give up, and to the south, keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." It is written in the Revelation, "The seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." Vast continents and fruitful islands shall bring tribute to his glory—empires shall be his footstool, and the mightiest monarchs prepare the way for his kingdom—opposing powers and potentates shall melt at his glance—and before the grand drama be finished, the whole earth shall be one resplendent blaze of moral noontide, when the language of our text has its fulfilment, "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

If we should cast our eyes towards the foregoing remarks, we shall be much encouraged while carrying on with our efforts under the character of a Missionary Society. "I will also give thee," says the Father to the Son, according to the language of our text, "for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." And from predictions recorded, from promises bestowed, from what the Gospel has done, from what it can do, from what it will do, oh! what may we not expect?

Though the subject upon which we address you, my Christian friends, cannot now be said to be new, yet it has lost nothing of its importance by its having been so frequently urged upon your minds; and, whatever be its want of novelty, we would endeavour, on the present occasion, to rouse your better principles and your sympathies in behalf of that immense multitude of our fellow-creatures, who are involved in the moral darkness of ignorance and error, of guilt and depravity, of sorrow and of misery.

According to what has been the observance of that last and that solemn charge from our Saviour unto his apostles, that they should go and preach the Gospel to every creature,—according to the manner in which that command has been executed, in the same proportion have the Gentile nations been enlightened, and in the same proportion have ignorance and error, guilt and depravity, sorrow and misery, vanished away. The Gospel has never failed of success, when this command and charge of our Saviour have been observed and performed; for if its advancement has at any time been broken, we must look for the cause of this interruption, not in the Gospel itself, but among Christians who have nothing of that zeal and ardour, and unction, for which the primitive ages were so famous.

With grief and shame we must lament that there has been so much apathy and so much indifference about the state of the Gentiles; that, knowing the wretched condition of our poor fellow-creatures, and being in possession ourselves of the means of salvation, we have continued to keep back these means, and to suffer generation after generation to go into eternity without letting them see how it might be rendered an eternity of happiness; and that, owing to our criminal neglect, myriads are without Christ and without hope, unto whom the Gospel might have been communicated as a light. For so long had the Gentiles been under moral darkness, and so little had been done for them, that it seemed as if Christians were of opinion, that the Gentiles were ignorant, depraved, and miserable, by some fatal necessity—that the matter could not be otherwise—that it as much belonged unto these nations to be in want of the light of the Gospel, as it belongs unto the northern regions, during half of the year, to be in want of the light of the sun.

Viewing ourselves under a national capacity, we have been admirably qualified for this great service,—so wide our conquests, so vast and important our commerce, so boundless and so glorious our fame. But our enterprises and our schemes have not been set on foot with a view towards missionary labour, but they have been set on foot by the avaricious with a view towards money, by the warlike with a view towards celebrity, by the wily statesman with a view towards increased opulence and power; and, instead of making known the Gospel unto the Gentiles, their gold and silver have been seized by the mercenary, their territories impoverished and laid waste by the rapacious, their companions and sweet friends taken captive by men of violence, they themselves made slaves, and the steps of Europeans tracked through their countries and their towns from the footmarks of cruelty and bloodshed; while, when they shall hear about missionaries coming out of Europe, they must feel inclined to say, along with Nathanael in the Scriptures, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

When the once benighted Gentiles shall have beheld the light and glory of the Saviour, may we not suppose that they might thus address us,—Why did you not bring us the Gospel before now? You tell us that, in your favoured island, it has been known for many hundred years—you tell us, that in every age thousands have lived and have died happy with its comforts,—and why were you so negligent, why so inhuman, as to keep it from our sight, while successive generations have been under the midnight darkness of idolatry? We may say, with the brothers of Joseph, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear." We have not bestirred ourselves to put them in possession of the means of salvation.

But a missionary spirit has at length made its appearance. The eighteenth century is coming near to its close; and though it is just going out with a stormy tempest of war and revolution, yet let us fondly hope, that, notwithstanding these tremendous phenomena, the close of the eighteenth century shall be marked, in the annals of future history, as the commencement of a bright and a blessed era, when the language of our text first began to be realized, "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

Blessed is the hand which feeds the hungry, and clothes the naked, and takes care of the helpless, and sets the prisoners free—which erects an asylum for the indigent blind, and with the warm beams of charity refreshes and gladdens the sightless eyeballs: but more blessed still is the hand which lets in the light of the glorious Gospel upon the benighted understanding and upon the bewildered soul!

Such of you as may be in easy or in affluent circumstances, give largely, and without ostentation: such of you as may be poor, and have only a mite to give, give the mite cheerfully, and you shall not want your reward. And along with your prayers and contributions, endeavour to stir up missionaries, who may carry abroad the Gospel for "a light to the Gentiles," and for a "salvation unto the end of the earth." When you meet with any of your acquaintances who shall appear to be eminently Christian, and to be of an apostolic bearing and courage, admonish them to be missionaries; and as many of you as can admit of it, be missionaries yourselves. For if he is not deemed to act a foolish part who forsakes his friends and quiet home, encounters the hair-breadth escapes of the swollen sea, scorches his frame beneath a sultry climate, and wastes more than half his days beside the rude and low-minded natives, in order to hoard a small treasure of the gold which perishes,—oh! what nobler inducements and motives has the missionary to visit foreign lands, when he seeks not for gold, when he works not for wealth, but seeks, and works, and struggles, for the salvation of souls! But supposing for a moment, that the various modes and shapes of human wretchedness by which life may be afflicted, or even cut off, were brought together, at one and the same instant, before your sight—that upon your one hand there was lean and hunger-bitten famine, while upon your other there was naked and cold beggary—that you could behold numerous families turned adrift, without so much as another morsel of bread, by the flames of wasting conflagration—that you could behold one poor shipwrecked sailor, after every fellow-passenger was in the watery grave, still grasping some thin, unsteady plank, but yet apparently exhausted, and just about to sink beneath the waves,—such a heart-rending spectacle, in which there would be one universal and sad assemblage of the worst forms of human wretchedness, would only be a faint shadow of that scene of moral wretchedness and darkness on which the missionary must turn his eye, and which must continue to implore your compassion, and help, and strenuous efforts, till the language of our text be accomplished, "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." A great light shall in due time find its way among the Gentiles, which, being again reflected back on the European nations, shall more and more increase, till every dark corner be enlightened, and the whole earth be filled with Jehovah's glory: and then shall the language of our text be prophecy no more; but, in real and sober fact, the Gospel shall be given "for a light to the Gentiles," and Jesus Christ for "salvation unto the end of the earth."

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A MINISTER STATED.

A Charge to the Rev. Mr. M'Laurin, upon his ordination at Coldingham.

Allow me to congratulate and to sympathize with you, my reverend brother, in that, through the grace of God, you have been set apart as a minister and as a ruler in the Church of Christ.

The office to which you have been ordained, the employment to which you have devoted all your future life, is arduous, and is important, and is sacred. We have witnessed your having received this trust; we have attended to the solemn vows under which you have come, to do all your ministerial duties without exception, and to go forward in your ministerial course, with zeal, with integrity, and with fortitude; and anxious to remove from you the fears and the embarrassments which may be upon your mind, and to interest in your behalf the great Shepherd who has committed the flock into your hands—the great Bishop who superintends and supports the Christian ministry,—to Him who bestows every good gift, we have offered up our united supplications, that the grace of faithfulness may be yours, with soundness of understanding, and gladness of heart, and approbation hereafter from your Lord and your Judge.

Bear with me for a little in concluding these services, by addressing to you an exhortation and charge suitable to the work on which you have entered—entered, as we believe, with an honest mind, and, as we all know, with the voice and the consent of the congregation,—a charge with regard to your own religion, with regard to your deportment in the world, and with regard to your ministerial duties.

And first, with regard to your own religion, let me exhort you to look upon godliness as the leading object of your life, and as that which ought to be your constant occupation; and in representing the redemption which has been accomplished by Christ, to make the representation from your own experimental knowledge of his character and of his blessings, and from your own union with him in mysterious membership, and in spiritual contemplation. For if we find, in one of the Epistles, that the minister is condemned who shall speak of Christ in a language unknown to his hearers, we conceive that it is much more useless, and much more criminal, for a minister to speak of Christ in a language unknown to himself. And, therefore, let your religion be active, be energetic, be ardent. Make it your aim and object to live in the exercise of godliness, in the belief of the doctrines of the Gospel, and in the remembrance of its encouragements—and in building upon its moral code a fair fabric of justice, and truth, and uprightness, and charity—not contented with your existing attainment in holiness, but aspiring after that finished holiness which waits upon genuine and undefiled religion. And in order to this, unceasingly converse with God and with yourself in the attitude of devotion, attending to supplication and abounding in thankfulness—since secret devotion is the very language of godliness, and is an essential means of confirming its growth, and its influence, and its force. To be much with God, refines our nature, and guards us from wrath, and from malice, and from every wild impulse and unhallowed affection; and by your being much with God, you will instruct with authority, and you will rouse every faculty within you, under the overwhelming sense of your responsibility for souls.

But, secondly, with regard to your deportment in the world, let me exhort you to incorporate with your every action "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." And especially, let unimpeachable honesty, let undaunted zeal, let prudence, benevolence, and condescending humility, adorn, and support, and exalt your character.

As honesty is the foundation of character—the character that has it arising upon the rock with unshaken firmness, and the character that has it not tottering upon the sand, and never approached but with apprehension and with dismay—let me exhort you, in all your commerce with man, to be rigidly honest, and to be careful that your honesty should be seen, so that your character may have stability and strength, may advance in honour as you advance in years, and may be surrounded with veneration and with confidence, wherever it is known.

To unimpeachable honesty, let me exhort you to add undaunted zeal in managing your office, and that for the vindication of the truth, for the counteracting of heresy, for the reproving of them that do evil, and for the casting out of them that reject reproof—a zeal which is according to knowledge, which is tempered by love towards God and towards man, which is measured by the case that calls it forth, and which is regulated and guided by discretion—firm, but not boisterous—kindled into ardour, but not consumed with intemperance—and excited by opposition, but not rendering evil for evil.

That you may occasion none offence, nor throw a stumbling-block before the ignorant and the weak, let me exhort you to use prudence—not that low and selfish craftiness which goes current for prudence, which skulks beneath every subterfuge, and only works by machinations, and by stratagems—but that avoidance of wicked and even of careless companions, that abstinence from slander and evil-speaking, that uniform decorum of manners, that keeping up of an unblemished fame, and all that system of honourable ways and means by which the Christian faith is carried forward in credit and estimation—using that prudence which Paul adopted, when he became all things to all men that he might gain some, and which our Saviour recommended, when he counselled his disciples to be wise as serpents, no less than harmless as doves.

To the cultivation of benevolence let me exhort you to give earnest heed, in conformity to the example of your Master, who went about doing good—thus attesting your love for Christ by your generosity towards all mankind, and by your unconfined benevolence, in relieving want, in helping unobtrusive indigence, in comforting the mourner, and in lifting up your voice against oppression wherever it may appear.

Let me exhort you to be clothed with humility and with a meek and quiet temper—not elated beyond measure with whatsoever talents you may have, or with whatsoever honours you may enjoy, and neither excited to anger, nor thrown into gloom, by the vexations, the indignities, and the haughty, senseless scorn, with which at times it may be your lot to meet, and always enduring injuries from man with mildness, and chastisements from God with resignation.

With regard to your deportment towards your fellow-ministers, at least towards those of them whose own deportment and bearing are exemplary, let me exhort you to be respectful in conversation, compliant in business, cordial in your manners, and open and ingenuous in the communication of your opinions and of your feelings. In your dealings with your brethren, let there be no selfishness, nor meanness, nor artifice. Never be it said, that you have traduced their reputation, or that you have taken from their usefulness, by the circulating of invidious reports. If they should be old, then treat them with reverence—if, like yourself, in the meridian of life, then treat them with fraternal regard. And whatever may be their habits and tempers, and even their failings, excuse there can be none for your attempting to cover them with ridicule, to rise on their ruins, and to shine in their eclipse.

With regard to your deportment, let me exhort you to do nothing that is beneath your office, and nothing that opposes it. As it is written, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," be an example to your friends and to the world, in word and in conversation, in faith and in virtue, in charity and in spirituality of mind.

But, thirdly, with regard to your ministerial duties, let me exhort you, notwithstanding the numerous assaults against our most holy faith, and notwithstanding the reproach that is sometimes heaped upon it, not to be ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is built upon the Prophets and upon the Apostles, while Jesus Christ himself is the chief corner stone. It is built upon the Prophets, who foretold the appearance of the Messiah so clearly and so minutely, and what would be his condition and his achievements, and what the benefits resulting from his advent, that any impostor laying claim to the title should be foiled in the attempt, and the true Messiah have his vouchers and credentials sent before him. It is built upon the Apostles, who exhibited the fulfilment of the prophecies which concerned the Messiah in the actions of Christ, who embodied into their speeches and their letters the words of eternal life which the Messiah had uttered, who spread over the then known habitable globe the joyful sound which the Messiah had committed to their care, and whose miracles and whose sufferings for Christ evinced their having had their commission from above, and manifested beyond contradiction their sincere and firm belief in the Messiah whom they declared. By Jesus Christ himself, who is the corner stone, it is fastened and consolidated, maintained in unity and supplied with strength; and, unshapely as it may seem unto the carnal mind, yet, through Christ, it shall be the house for all nations, the temple for all worshippers, the salvation of all ends of the earth, and falsehood and superstition shall be made to cease.

With regard to your ministerial duties, let me exhort you to be deeply, to be overwhelmingly, impressed with the necessity and the advantageousness of a constant believing meditation upon the Scriptures, which have been fashioned by inspiration, that the man of God might be thoroughly furnished for his work. Diligently search, carefully examine, correctly apprehend, and then faithfully and boldly explain, the sentiments of this Sacred Book. Let it be your constant companion—let it be your library of knowledge. Go to it for guidance, refer to it for authority, and carry your appeals to no other tribunal. Value it as a treasure, defend it as a trust, and study it as a magazine of vitally important and eternally interesting facts. Standing on the firm basis of revelation, shun not to make known the whole counsel of God—to advance every doctrine, however unpalatable, and to enforce every duty, however harsh—to censure the very appearance of evil, and to rebuke the transgressor, let him be the noblest in the land. Standing on the firm basis of revelation, invest every truth with its due weight, assign to every truth its distinguishing station in the Christian creed, inculcate every truth at the requisite season, and lay open every truth in its connexion with the person and with the atonement of Christ.

With regard to your ministerial duties, let me exhort you, in conducting the services of the Sanctuary, to be deliberate, to be solemn, to be full of your subject, and sedulously to abstain, like Paul of old, from the "enticing words of man's wisdom." And while solid learning, judicious argument, and a thinking and philosophical spirit, accompanied with discreet and manful eloquence, may do much to illustrate Christianity, and to ennoble its outward form, it must also be added, that luxuriant language, needless reasonings, vague and fanciful speculations, long researches in history, and indulgence in criticism, without either solidity or object, do much to obscure Christianity, and to lay its honours in the dust. If your religion be experimental, your eloquence will emanate from the Bible; and, glowing with love to God, and with martyr-like devotedness to his cause, your whole soul will come forth into your discourses with a simplicity and a greatness which art cannot borrow, which nature did not give, which the Lord whom you serve can alone bestow.

With regard to your ministerial duties,—since you are bound to excite and to cherish among your congregation a sense of their being lost and helpless, along with a conviction of the all-sufficiency of Christ, by his righteousness and by his Spirit, to save them unto the uttermost—since it is beyond the strength of the most zealous minister, beyond the graces of composition, beyond the charms of eloquence, to awaken this sense and this conviction—and since it only is the influence of God that can emancipate a heart enslaved to sin, that can ransom it from bondage, and endue it with the "liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,"—let me exhort you to sustain and to feed your ministry with the oil of fervent supplication; and let your soul be ever upon the wing to Heaven, for a blessing upon your labours, so that your congregation may grow up around you in holy living, and so that you and your congregation may offer up your accounts to the Almighty Judge with joy, and not with grief; and rest assured, that your supplications shall not fall to the ground. In being a minister of Christ, you have not an Egyptian taskmaster, demanding bricks, and yet not furnishing straw. Unto him who has the honour to be a minister of the Word—the high, the ineffable honour, for of our office we will boast—unto him it is said, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness." Sufficient it has been in the ages that are gone, when his servants were in the waters of affliction, in the rivers of temptation and of abounding iniquity, in the fires of suffering, and in the flames of martyrdom—and sufficient it shall be, in this age of comparative tranquillity, when we sit beneath our vine, and watch our flocks, without any one to make us afraid.

With regard to your ministerial duties, let me exhort you to be resolute and to be consistent, to be unceasing in your labours, and instant in season and out of season, for the salvation of souls. With the salvation of every soul under your ministry, your own salvation is essentially connected; and if, among the souls before you, even one soul should go to ruin through your indifference or your neglect—life for life, and soul for soul, we are not warranted to consider you as safe. For it was said to Ezekiel, and it is said to you and to us all, "Son of Man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel, therefore hear the word at my mouth, and give them warning from me. When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand."

And finally, my reverend brother, this charge is delivered to you in the sight of God, who at this very moment is gazing on your heart, and who hereafter will judge you according to your deeds; it is delivered to you before Christ, whose commandment it is, that you consecrate to his service your time and your abilities; and it is delivered to you in the hearing of this assembly, who are enjoined to be witnesses that we have laid before you an exhortation concerning your own individual godliness, concerning your deportment in the world, and concerning your ministerial duties, and that if you fail in your avocations, we are guiltless of your blood. And in order that you should not come short in your ministerial avocations, oh! may the blessing of Almighty God, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon you; and may the operations of the Holy Spirit encourage you to unremitting labours, and hold you up amid toils and amid trials! And if your work should be done, and your warfare be ended, when the trumpet shall sound, shall it not sound in your ears as the signal of victory? and when the dead shall be raised, shall not your body be raised incorruptible, and forthwith be associated with a soul that is immortal; while you, my reverend brother, in body and in soul, receive the blessed sentence, "Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord?"

And in fine, the words which were addressed to Joshua at his ordination, I address to you at yours, and these are the words: "This book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein, for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success."

And in addressing myself to you, the members of this congregation, now that the relation between your minister and you is firmly settled, give me leave to observe, that you have knowingly consented to this relation, and that you have knowingly undertaken the responsibility of cementing that relation, by continued attachment to your minister, and by continued concord among yourselves. And let me exhort you—seeing you shall be called to an account for your conduct towards your minister and towards one another, and seeing, as we hope and trust, that your minister has come among you in answer to your intercessions at the throne of grace—to receive him with gladness in the Lord, to love, to reverence, and to esteem him. Assist him, and strengthen his hands, by educating all who are under your care in the exercises of religion. Let devotion in your closets be observed—let worship with your families be regularly and conscientiously kept up—be unfailing in your attendance upon the ordinances of the church—remember the Sabbath, and curb every tendency towards the violating of its hallowed rest: and thus, in surrounding your households with the light and with the beauties of holiness, you will be fellow-workers with your pastor on earth, and, what is still more, fellow-workers with your Pastor, your Priest, your Saviour who is in Heaven.

And let it weigh upon your minds, that in being stationed as your minister, he is entitled to an unlimited freedom in admonishing and in rebuking you, and in standing boldly forward to expose the sins that beset you, the hypocrisy or the carnality with which you may be tainted. And considering that your own welfare may hinge on his unshrinking and faithful management, and considering that if he does not act faithfully, or if he suffers any sin to lie upon you unexposed, it may cost him his soul, let me exhort you to put your commission into his hands, authorizing him to speak to you whatever the Lord may command; and do not weaken and do not grieve his spirit by your negligence and carelessness under his ministry, but by your faith unshaken, your love unfeigned, and your blameless, harmonious demeanour, be his epistles of commendation unto the church of Christ.

May our reverend brother never have reason to regret, on account of your inattention or your unkindness, that he has chosen this congregation in preference to several others, which would have been glad to have received him. May you animate and urge him on by your constant attendance on his ministrations, and by your improvement under them; and God grant that you may never afflict his soul by ruining your own! And to conclude with an apostolic benediction, "May the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever!"

SERMON II.

*The security of the Church in its relation to God.**

God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved.—*Psalm* xlvi. 5.

The preceding verses of this Psalm express the language of exaltation and of triumph. The Church declares her full and firm confidence of protection and safety amid all the tumults and confusions of the earth, the raging of nations, the fall of empires, and the dissolution of the world: "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea, though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." But what is the *ground* on which the Church erects her towering confidence? It is on the ground of her relation to God: she is the city of the Most High—the residence of the Eternal, who is engaged to be, and in the time of need will appear as, her protector and avenger. "God is in the midst of her," says our text: "she shall not be moved: God shall keep her, and that right early."

A meditation on this interesting and reviving topic, which cannot be deemed improper at any period for the consideration of the Church's guides when they are assembled in their judicial character, receives, in my opinion, a vast accession of weight and importance from the incidental circumstances of the *present time:* it seems, methinks, peculiarly seasonable for us, at this critical juncture, when looking back on what has been suffered by our people in common with their fellow subjects, and forwards to what we may be supposed to fear. When we behold, on the one hand, the miseries produced by a calamitous war, and on the other the probable prolongation of its horrors, or, if these should cease by the terminating of hostilities, the probable springing up of the seeds of national discontent, originating in real or in imaginary grievances—when turning our attention to what we see and feel, we may dread that every wind which blows, that every post which arrives, is freighted to us with tidings of local insurrections and of universal disaster, schemes overturned, property lost, territories invaded, friends massacred, brave hearts falling in the battles of Europe—when it occurs to our minds that the great principles of honesty, honour, and holiness, have lost their influence and credit—and when vices of the utmost magnitude and of extensive spread call aloud for vengeance,—it seems, we say, peculiarly seasonable to recollect, that the counsels of princes, the animosities of kingdoms, the tumults of the people, the combinations of fleets and armies, and all the infernal fiends of devastation are still under His control who regards the best interests of his Church with infinite tenderness—who, under the sorest and saddest calamities, furnishes an *asylum* for believers in the consolatory doctrine which our text and similar Scriptures bring to view,—"God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved," intimating, that the presence of Jehovah in the midst of Zion is ground of confidence to her citizens in the prospect or at the approach of the most shaken times.

We shall, very briefly, advert to some of those many characters of excellences which are ascribed in Sacred Scripture to that illustrious person who is here said to be resident in the Church; secondly, we shall speak of his presence; and thirdly, we shall demonstrate how his presence in the Church is ground of confidence and joy to her members in the prospect or at the approach of the most shaken times.

Of the many characters of excellence which are ascribed in Sacred Scripture to that illustrious person who is here said to be resident in the Church, let us only enumerate his unity, his holiness, his greatness, and his grace.

He is one. In this perfection he glories, as distinguishing him from, and exalting him above, every being. Both the Old and the New Testament abound with expressions of it. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." And again, "There be gods many and lords many, but to us"—Christians no less than Jews—"there is but one God." But though a unity or oneness of *essence* is expressed in these and similar passages, yet the plurality of *persons* is necessarily implied. These two are consistent, and are alike clearly revealed: the unity and simplicity of essence does not destroy the trinity of persons, nor does the plurality of persons infer the multiplicity or division of the essence; for we find it stated in a verse which several critics reject, but which we have not heard reasons enough to discredit, "There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost—and these three are one." the *unity* of the Godhead, in opposition to the multiplicity of gods among the Gentiles, was a principal part of orthodox testimony respecting the Divine nature before the coming of Jesus Christ; and, since that event, a principal part of orthodox testimony respecting the Divine nature is a *trinity* of persons in this one Godhead, in opposition to the Jews and the followers of Socinus, who league together in denying this fundamental article of belief.

Holiness is joined, in many passages of Scripture, with the unity and simplicity of his essence, and belongs to each of the persons—all of them are necessarily and are unchangeably *holy.* Angels celebrate and believing men give thanks at the remembrance of the holiness of each: it is the glory, the happiness, the life, of each of them; and from them all created holiness is immediately derived. "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool, for he is holy." "Be ye holy, for I am holy." And if his power and Godhead are seen in the things which he hath made, so let the immaculate purity of his nature be seen in your temper and conduct.

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* Preached at the opening of the Synod in Edinburgh, 1795.

His greatness is expressive of the excellence and majesty of the Deity, and we observe, in Scripture, the minds of good men seized, surprised, and overwhelmed with it. "The *great*, the mighty God," says Jeremiah, "the Lord of Hosts is his name." "The Lord your God," says Moses, "is God of gods and Lord of lords, a *great* God, a mighty, and a terrible." If you desire farther conceptions of his greatness, for helping your faith and for supporting your hope, look to his name,—"Behold! I have sworn by my *great* name, saith the Lord;" and look to his counsels which were of old from everlasting,—"The Lord of Hosts is his name, *great* in counsel;" and look to his faithfulness,—"*Great* is thy faithfulness;" and look to his goodness,—"Oh! how *great* is thy goodness;" and look to his power,—"Great is our Lord, and of *great* power;" and look to his works,—"O Lord! how *great* are thy works;" and look to his precious thoughts, and his mercy towards miserable men,—"How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God! how *great* is the sum of them." And his greatness demands from us great fear, great love, great honour, great praise, great subjection.

With regard to his grace exhibited in relation to the Church, he bears the amiable character of the God of Jacob—the God of Israel. In the last mentioned character he delights with ineffable complacency, because it strongly delineates his relation to the Church, and signally displays his *grace* in constituting that relation. Israel was the name given to Jacob on the morning after he had wrestled with the Angel,—"Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." And God having chosen the seed of Jacob to be his heritage, this name, the God of Israel, denotes, that all who believe in his coeternal Son, are and shall be the objects of his delight, and the heirs of his promises; while the same eye which shadowed over Jacob shall be fixed on them for good, and the arm which defended him shall be their defence, and the hand which supplied his wants shall be the magazine of their supply.

We come to speak of his presence in the Church. It is embodied in the language of our text with uncommon emphasis and energy,—"God is in the *midst* of her"—the one, the holy, the great, the gracious God, is in the midst of the Church.

The divine presence may be distinguished in respect of his being, and in respect of his working.

In respect of being, he is wholly, equally, and continually every where—excluded from, and included in, no place. This presence has been denominated his Immensity; and, with a view to it we find some striking and silencing questions put to us by a prophet, in his name,—"Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him, saith the Lord? Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord?"

In respect of working, he may be considered as present with all his creatures by upholding them in existence and in the capacity for action—as present with his enemies by punishing, in various ways and in different degrees, their rebellious conduct—as present with the Church by special favour, by sacred institutions, by spiritual operations, by communicating to every member knowledge, and purity, and consolation,—the first of these being his presence providential, the second his presence vindictive, the third his presence gracious. And from what has been said you perceive, that they are nothing more than different manifestations of one and the same presence exerting its power differently according to the different relations in which his creatures are estimated by him,—as the objects of his care, or of his displeasure, or of his love.

When God, therefore, is represented to be in the *midst* of the Church, the meaning is this: He is and ever will be *present* with the society of the faithful by his word and ordinances, by his favour and affection, by his grace and by the efficacy of his Spirit, and by his irrevocable engagement to bend every perfection of his character towards the accomplishment of their real good; and to dwell with them, to animate and to actuate them, forms his choice and his crowning delight; while it is their safety and defence, their glory and beauty, their comfort and joy.

But, thirdly, in demonstrating how his gracious presence in the midst of the Church is ground of confidence to her members, in the prospect or at the approach of the most sad and shaken times, let us figure the saddest times imaginable,—her members labouring under heavy spiritual decays—mercenary, unfaithful pastors obtruded upon her congregations—impediments reared against reformation, whether civil or ecclesiastical—few of the nobles and great men owning her cause, but conspiring to crush her advancement, or to mock at her doctrines—the heart and the hand for building up her walls or for repairing her breaches taken away—her citadels attacked by intestine commotions—her watchmen and garrison consumed amid the flames of persecution—the world convulsed, and anarchy triumphant throughout the earth,—disasterous and shaken times indeed! yet, during such times as these, the members of the Church may remain *unshaken*—may rejoice and exult, for "God is in the midst of her," says our text; "she shall not be moved."

The presence of God with the Church is ground of confidence and joy, because He who is in the midst of her is almighty in strength. In our notions of the Supreme Being, this is among the first that we form; and it is this which invests him, amid the most turbulent, desolating commotions, with the awful sovereignty of the world. He spake, and it was done—it stood fast when he commanded—the deep heard his voice—the abyss of nothing teemed with myriads of sparkling stars, and blazing suns, and rolling orbs: "Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number; he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power—not one faileth." Rulers may forge the galling yoke for their subjects, and subjects may tremble for their liberties; but kings and the people are in *his* hand—it is his to stint the undue extension of prerogative, to suppress the clamor of faction, and to make public calamities eventually public benefits to the Church. "God is in the midst of her," says our text; "she shall not be moved."

The presence of God with the Church is ground of confidence and joy, because he who is in the midst of her is infinite in wisdom. Power without *wisdom* can be no object of reverence to the weak and the dependent; but in regard to Him who is in the midst of the Church, the Scriptures pronounce his understanding infinite; he is acquainted with the wants and the dangers of her members, and can be at no loss to contrive the means of conferring what is wanted, and of warding off what is dangerous. He is every where, to crown the righteous with his blessing, and to smite the wicked with his curse. Nothing too great or too small for his attention, he looks upon the whole system of human affairs, not as an idle and indifferent spectator, but as one deeply and alike concerned in them all; and the members of the Church may rest assured, that, in the arrangements of his providence, he keeps always in view an end worthy of himself and conducive to their advantage—that he will never forget their interest in one of his numerous appointments. The wheels of his administration are in harmony with his benevolent designs for the welfare of the Church,—"God is in the midst of her," says our text; "she shall not be moved."

The presence of God with the Church is ground of confidence and joy, because He who is in the midst of her is unchangeable in faithfulness. He who is almighty in strength and infinite in wisdom, is inviolable in truth. It were easier for us to convert fire into water, to annihilate the elements, to unhinge the system of nature, than to unhinge or to annihilate the purpose of the Lord. Can *time* impair the mind which inhabits eternity, or *creatures* unsettle the decrees of their Maker, or *contingencies* perplex the arrangements of the Father of lights, before whom all possible occurrences are manifest, and from whom no possible accidents are hid? His faithfulness imparts to the Church unlimited confidence in all branches of his administration; and is the pledge of victory over her foes, of the sanctified use of every trying dispensation which he ordains, of the full accomplishment of every gracious promise which he makes. For while faithfulness is the girdle of his reins, and truth is inseparable from his being, her members may dismiss every fear, and bid defiance to every danger,—"God is in the midst of her," says our text; "she shall not be moved."

The presence of God with the Church is ground of confidence and joy, because He who is in the midst of her is unbounded in goodness. The *goodness* of God to the Church in all his works is visible—in her redemption through Jesus Christ it is refulgent. It warms us in the morning beam, and cools us in the evening breeze, glitters in the midnight firmament, waves luxuriant in the flowers of the field; but in the restoration of the Church to perfection and felicity, it shines overwhelming and dazzling, with the splendour of a meridian sun: "God is in the midst of her," says our text; "she shall not be moved."

With such a foundation to rest upon, what have the members of the Church to apprehend from the passions of men, from the vicissitudes of time, from the dissolution of things—there being still one at the head of matters, superior to all change, and boundless in love, in whom our chief good is eternally secure? Let the hemisphere darken and the tempests rage—let thunders rend the concave and earthquakes desolate the lands—let property pass to other owners, kingdoms to other lords, continents to other heroes—let famine, let pestilence, let war, these direful scourges of mankind occasioned by our guilt and inflicted by celestial justice, empoison the fountains of each earthly comfort,—still the Church is encircled in the arms of God, and, conscious of her security, may with exultation sing, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble, therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea, though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof; there is a river the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High; God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved."

We invite the hearers of the Gospel to become members of that society, to which the gracious and protecting presence of God is secured. By nature, to the family of Satan you belong; the state of wicked men is your state; the enemies of Heaven's love, the objects of Heaven's wrath, are your friends and companions. A dreadful situation! but it may soon and may completely be reversed: your state and your temper, your name and connexions, may all be transformed. Hover not about Sinai, in blind attachment to the broken covenant of works; tarry not in the Sodom of a natural state; linger not in the Babylon of temporal vanities and of carnal impurities; leave the family of him who worketh in the children of disobedience, for the family and the fellowship of Him who is in the midst of the Church. And let the citizens of Zion be joyful in their king; let them pray for the peace of Zion; let them be zealous for the interests of Zion; let them speak the language, and wear the dress of Zion; let them comfort and assist their brethren when dejected or helpless, and dwell together in unity.

And suffer me, with all dutiful respect, my reverend fathers and brethren, to remind you of the high office with which you are invested, and the important duties which your office calls upon you to discharge. Ye are watchmen of Zion, ye are the ministers of the Church; and by your instructions, by your fervent prayers, by your example, may our Zion be defended and our Church animated,—by your instructions in holding forth the simple truth—by your prayers for the spread of religion, for the growth of grace, for comfort amid labours, for the joys of final triumph—by your example fraught with holy boldness, with unwearied activity, with self-denial, with sincerity!

If your duties are great, and the discharge of them difficult, yet for your encouragement consider, should you be instrumental in plucking but one brand from the burning—in delivering but one unhappy sinner from the error of his ways, it is more than worth a whole long life of diligence and of toil.

If your duties are great, and the discharge of them difficult, yet for your encouragement consider, with the Master of the Church, ye are fellow-workers,—his Gospel ye declare—his ordinances ye dispense—his kingdom ye advance—his rewards ye shall receive—your life be full of usefulness, and your heart of consolation, and your death of assurance, and your eternity of bliss. And then shall come to pass, in its loftiest meaning, the language of our text, "God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved."

SERMON III.

CHRIST, OUR HIGH PRIEST.*

We have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.—*Hebrews*, iv. 15.

It has been the universal opinion, that personal experience of suffering has a tendency to impart fellow-feeling to the heart. In the law of Moses, when the Israelites are commanded not to grieve or oppress the stranger, the following reason is alleged: "The stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." To those who have been companions in affliction, the afflicted have recourse, and among them find consolation and comfort.

It consisted with Divine wisdom, that the Saviour of our fallen race should be made in all things like unto the individuals he came to save; and that, living as a man among men, he might be qualified for giving instruction, according to the necessities and exigencies of the case. To his instructions he added his own example, accommodating that example to the most trying circumstances; while, by suffering a painful death, he taught us how to suffer, and how to die; and, in that nature which had offended, he offered up a great and a solemn expiation for its guilt.

Besides these purposes, so worthy of the Divine mind, which were accomplished by the incarnation of Christ, another purpose of high importance is suggested in the language of our text,—"We have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." For this life, to the godly, as well as to others, is a state of infirmities and affliction, and to hold up the hearts of the godly with comforts and with encouragements, was one grand purpose in the incarnation of Christ. With a view to encourage them, he assumed the office of High Priest, or Mediator, between God and them; and the comfort and encouragement to be derived from a consideration of this office, shall just be in proportion to the belief which they may entertain respecting the greatness of his power and the extent of his fellow-feeling.

The greatness of his power is unfolded in the verse going before our text, and upon the circumstance of that power, the proper inference, or argument, is founded: "Seeing, then, that we have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession." But though it be much comfort and much encouragement to be assured that we really have a great High Priest, that he is nothing less than Jesus the Son of God, and that he is passed into the heavens; yet these facts, without something farther, are not quite enough to render him the object of supreme and of unwavering confidence; for, as it is afterward argued, it was essential to the character of a High Priest, that he should be taken from among men—and why? that he might "have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way, for that he himself was compassed with infirmities."

In order, then, to convince the godly, that he has qualities of mercy and compassion, as well as the quality of unbounded irresistible power, we are told, in the language of our text, that "We have not an High Priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

If we take cognizance of the words of our text, we shall have to observe a certain character and office ascribed to the Son of God,—he is an High Priest; we shall have to observe the interest of the Church in this Mediator,—he is our High Priest; we shall have to observe the afflicted situation in which our High Priest was placed,—he was in all points tempted like as we are; we shall have to observe what has been the result of these afflictions,—he is deeply touched with the feeling of our infirmities; and we shall have to notice, as the conclusion of the whole matter, in what manner the compassion of our great High Priest is to be the means of comfort and of hope unto the godly, during the performance of duty, and amid the trials of life, "We have not," says our text, "an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

If we take cognizance of the words of our text, we shall have to observe a certain character and office ascribed to the Son of God,—he is an High Priest.

The Son of God has the character of a High Priest, because he has been ordained to offer sacrifice. It is the statement of Scripture, that "every High Priest, taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." Gifts and sacrifices, indeed, as they were of celestial institution, so they were of ancient origin; but in the vicarious atonement of the Son of God, we behold the grand antitype of ceremonial oblations. For, just as, with the finger, each of them pointed towards Christ, and seemed to speak the same language with his harbinger, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world,"—taketh it away by one grand efficacious atonement, in which the sacrifice was his human nature, while his divinity was the altar that sanctified the gift. And this sacrifice was according to eternal appointment,—a sacrifice by one who was consecrated a Priest forever, and whose Priesthood it is neither possible to transfer, nor possible to supersede. And, by the consuming fire of Almighty wrath, this atoning sacrifice was burned to ashes, while the sweet savour breathed up on high, more grateful and of more avail, than the numerous and costly victims which had smoked within the tabernacle, and the clouds of incense which had fumed from the golden censer.

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* A Sacramental Sermon, preached in 1800.

The Son of God has the character of a High Priest, because he has been authorized to act as intercessor. As a type of the intercession of the Son of God, it belonged to the office of High Priest, upon the day of anniversary atonement, to enter into the holy of holies, after the expiatory sacrifice had been offered up, and to besprinkle the mercy-seat with the blood of the slaughtered victim; hence, in allusion to this typical intercession of the High Priest, we find it elsewhere said in the epistle before us, that "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." The intercession of Christ just lies in his making appearance before God on our behalf, openly and avowedly; and in his making urgent request, that all who have been given him may continue to be his, may be brought effectually and lastingly within the covenant of grace, may be pardoned, may be sanctified, may obtain victory over death, may be taken up into glory.

The Son of God has the character of a High Priest, because he has been appointed to bless the people. That blessing the people was an act of the High Priest, we may gather from the following passage to be found in Numbers, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, on this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them, The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." In this act of worship, there was at once an ardent prayer for, and an impressive benediction over, the assembled people; and it was done in the name of the Lord, for we find it subjoined. "They shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them." And whatever there may be in the opinion of certain commentators, that this three-fold repetition of the name of the Lord refers to the Trinity—the Lord the Father bless thee, the Lord the Son bless thee, the Lord the Holy Ghost bless thee; yet of one thing we may rest assured, that Christ is the High Priest who has been appointed to bless the people, and to bless them liberally, and to bless them constantly and sufficiently, and to bless them with forgiveness of sin, and with newness of life.

The Son of God has the character of a High Priest, because he has been intrusted with the management of the Christian Church. He is a minister of the sanctuary—he is Head of the Church. By his wisdom he administers its affairs; by his converting influence he widens its borders and multiplies its conquests: and by the gifts and graces of his Holy Spirit, its members are strengthened for action and consoled under affliction. It belongs to him, with the strong hand of regenerating grace, to bring aliens and foreigners into its bounds and immunities—it belongs to him, from the fulness of divinity, treasured within himself, to confirm and establish the citizens of that commonwealth by heavenly blessings, shed abroad, not according to merit in them, but according to the plentiful measure that is in him—it is a weighty branch of his office, to welcome these citizens, one by one, into what is emphatically styled, "the General Assembly and Church of the First-born"—and it is committed to him in charge, to summon, at the Day of Judgment, the whole Christian Church before his tribunal, and to receive its individual members into glory with himself. Yes! inglorious as they appear, into glory shall they go; and every sense be as quick and sharp, as now it is obscured—and every faculty as intelligent and vivid, as now it is confused—and every affection as earnestly panting after God, as now it is lukewarm and careless. For though we can see nothing of "the first-born," when departed, beyond his lifeless and clay-cold body; and though it is no more competent for us to know how the soul mounts from earth, and takes wing to the regions above, than it is competent for us to know the way of an eagle in the air, or the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; yet still it is matter of revelation, that, absent from the body, he is present with the Lord; and that, what time the Son of God, as universal Judge and Ruler, shall rear his throne upon the bright clouds, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, "Unto them that look for him shall he appear, the second time, without sin unto salvation."

But if we take cognizance of the words of our text, we shall have to observe the interest of the Church in this Mediator,—he is our High Priest.

We are said to have the Son of God for our High Priest, on account of his appointment to the office, and his own voluntary acceptance and undertaking of it. For "no man," according to apostolic language, "taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron; so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee." That is, Christ, the appointed Saviour and Mediator, did not violently usurp the office and honour of the glorious priesthood, any more than Aaron did violently usurp the priesthood to which he was advanced; but, from eternity, by God he was set apart, and, in the fulness of time, by none except God himself he was called and ordained over so momentous and so glorious an office. And to this it is added, "As he saith also in another place, thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec." That is, we have another clear and express testimony, in this quotation from the Psalms, confirming the truth of his appointment to the priestly office; for, in the above quotation, we must understand him as being thus addressed,—Thou art and shalt be an eternal Priest, not after the order of Aaron, whose priesthood ran in a continued and exclusive line confined to his own family, but after the more lofty order of Melchisedec, to whom was neither official father nor mother, to whom was neither predecessor nor successor, with whom there was neither associate nor assistant, who filled the priestly office without rival or substitute, and who in these respects was an eminent and lively type of thy priesthood, which shall remain with thee undivided and everlasting. And this appointment he cheerfully accepted, undertook, embraced,—"Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required; then said I, Lo! I come."

We are said to have the Son of God for our High Priest, on account of his relation to us as bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh; and as having our nature, though not our condition—our form, without its frailties. We have it upon Scriptural authority, that "he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him," or, as it might be translated, he laid hold upon, "the seed of Abraham:" he laid hold upon it actually, for he was a man, and not a phantom; he laid hold upon it completely, both body and soul; he laid hold upon it, yet was not polluted by it, for he was a man, yet not a sinner; he laid hold upon it, yet did not mix with it, for his power and Godhead, and other great essential attributes, were unchanged; he laid hold upon it, as a manager lays hold of an agent, or as a mechanic of an instrument; and by laying hold upon it, he has brought our nature into a relation and into a consistence with himself, which neither things present nor things to come shall be able to break.

We are said to have the Son of God for our High Priest, on account of his having been set apart to, and solemnly invested with, the office of the priesthood. The High Priest, under the Mosaic order of things, was invested with his office by ceremonial anointing. By the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the humanity of Christ, he was perfectly qualified for, and he was solemnly invested with, his great official character; and the influence of the Spirit upon his humanity, was not by little and little, or now and then, or sometimes granted and sometimes withheld, but it came at once, and unboundedly, and constantly. "Such an High Priest became us," exclaims an inspired apostle, "who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners:"—What was it that became us? We are guilty, and eternal misery became us—we are sinful, and the accusations of an evil conscience became us—we are obstinate, and mercy would be lost upon us,—nay, but "such an High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners."

But if we take cognizance of the words of our text, we shall have to observe the afflicted situation in which our High Priest was placed,—he was in all points tempted like as we are.

To be tempted, according to Scriptural phraseology, means to undergo such trials of grace and virtue as are accompanied with difficulty and with conflict,—trials from Providence itself—from the world in its example, in its maxims, in its favours, in its frowns—from the snares and temptations of Satan—from our own bad inclinations and desires within.

And it is in a sense equally extensive as this, we apprehend, that the term must be understood in the paragraph now before us,—our High Priest was "in all points tempted like as we are." And though he was not liable to temptation from sinfulness of nature, because, in the words of our text, he was "without sin," yet he was continually in situations the most adverse to the growth and to the influence of piety—to the growth of holy thoughts and of holy actions; he was tempted in all points like as we are—he underwent the same troubles, and shared the same afflictions—the same bitter cup he drank, and the same thorny path he trod.

Believers are tempted in point of poverty and want; sometimes, like Lazarus, they are extremely indigent—sometimes, like Job, a sudden sad reverse takes every comfort away, with every prospect that is good, and every hope of being better; and, while the black cloud hangs over them, there may be nothing but the cold hand of reluctant charity to lead them through the gloom. In this point our High Priest was tempted like onrselves; for the same poverty which marked his birth, went along with him in the succeeding stages of life, insomuch that, even at the moment when his public ministry was most followed and most applauded, while the foxes had holes and the birds of the air had nests, he himself had not where to lay his head.

Believers are tempted in point of persecution; and ecclesiastical history, from Genesis to Revelation, and from Revelation till recent times, is one great mass of evidence, that they must carry the Cross when they are going after Christ: for in Genesis, we find the Church to be a pilgrim—in Exodus, a bond-slave—in Judges, a mournful prisoner—in Kings and Chronicles, an oppressed captive—in Ezra and Nehemiah, an insulted mendicant—in the Song of Solomon, a lily among thorns—in the Prophets, a widow afflicted and not consoled; in Revelation, a feeble and a timorous woman, chased by a dragon into the bleak and barren wilderness; and not long since, within our native country, there were large armies, skilful generals, and instruments of keenest torture, kept for no other purpose than finally to break Christian liberty and unrelentingly to spill Christian blood. In this point, our High Priest was tempted like ourselves: for he was no sooner born than he was persecuted by Herod—he no sooner entered upon his ministry than he was persecuted by the Jews—he was persecuted by Caiaphas, who adjudged him to death on false testimony—he was persecuted by the soldiers, who scourged him and who mocked him—he was persecuted by the Roman governor, who, though unwilling, confirmed the malicious, unjust, and cruel sentence—amid the tortures of the last agony, we may see it recorded, "they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself:" persecution raged, till our High Priest was no more.

Are believers tempted in point of prosperity? are they in possession of honour, or of power, or of affluence? and does honour tempt to pride, power to oppression, affluence to licentiousness? In this point, our High Priest was tempted like ourselves; for by the solicitations, almost by the force, of the rash and ignorant multitude, he was tempted to become an earthly king: but when they cried Hosanna, he was not overjoyed—when they cried Crucify him, he was not dejected.

Are believers tempted with a sense of fear and terror, when alarming trials seem to approach? In this point, our High Priest was tempted like ourselves; for when the grand business of redemption reached a crisis, he was filled with anxiety and with apprehension, and was heard to pray, "Oh! my Father! if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt,"—there being an awful conflict, fear and terror on the one hand, and a quick and strong feeling of duty on the other; an awful struggle with the weakness and the daintiness of nature, and a great victory, and a firm resolved mind to suffer and to die.

Are believers tempted by Satan? In this point, our High Priest was tempted like ourselves; and it shall be found, that with those very temptations which he commonly wields against believers, our High Priest himself was assaulted: "Oh!" says one, "I am under temptation to doubt whether or not I may be a child of God;" yes, and so with our High Priest, for it was the language of Satan, "If thou be the Son of God." "Oh!" says another, "I am under temptation to use unlawful means for bringing myself out of trouble and perplexity:" yes, and so with our High Priest, for it was the language of Satan, "Command that these stones be made bread." "Oh!" says another, "I am under heart-rending temptation to lay violent hands upon my own life;" yes, and so with our High Priest, for it is said, "The devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down." "Oh!" says another, "I am under temptation to think such horrid blasphemy as I dare not for a world name;" yes, and so with our High Priest, for it was the language of Satan, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Are believers overwhelmed with desertion, and with apprehensions of wrath as to be inflicted upon sin? In this point, our High Priest was tempted like ourselves; for when suspended on the accursed tree, the Sun of Righteousness was dimmed by an awful eclipse, he had to grope his way for a while beneath midnight gloom, and he was ultimately forced to cry—not, O Judas! why hast thou betrayed me? not, O Peter! why hast thou denied me? not, O my disciples! why have ye fled from me?—but, "My God! My God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

Do believers feel the stroke of death, and must they be consigned to the darksome grave? That stroke our High Priest felt; within the grave our High Priest lay; and be it constantly in our minds, that death came to our High Priest, not in the natural course of things, not by a gradual and slow pace, not with a soft couch or tender weeping friends—but death came to him under the grim aspect of crucifixion, agony, mockery, soul-beclouding sadness, soul-vexing temptations.

And if our High Priest was tempted in all points like as we are, should we not readily, and should we not cheerfully conclude, along with our text, that "we have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities?"

But as two negatives are equivalent to the strongest affirmative, so when our text gives information that "we have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," it means to impress upon us, that we have a High Priest who is deeply and keenly touched with such a feeling—and thus deeply and keenly touched, on account of his knowledge and experience of these infirmities; and showing himself to be so touched by the manifestations of his compassion and sympathy.

Our High Priest is touched with a feeling of our infirmities, on account of his knowledge and experience. For while in the world, there are few distressful situations in which he was not placed,—he became familiar with a wide compass of woes, with hunger and thirst, with fasting and privation, with toil and weariness, with evil returned for good, with reproach and calumny from men's wicked tongues, with contradiction and opposition from men's wicked hearts, with mournfulness at men's wicked conduct, with agony of his bodily frame, with mental anguish—and, according to the words of Isaiah, "He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows."

And our High Priest shows himself to be touched with a feeling of our infirmities by the manifestations of his compassion and sympathy. For while in the world, he felt as a man himself, and could feel in unison with men; and, beholding the distressful situations in which others were placed, sometimes he was troubled in spirit, and sometimes he groaned, and sometimes he wept. And though, Elijah-like, he dropped the mantle of infirmity which he had assumed, and left weakness and suffering in the grave; yet he carried his sympathetic feelings to the throne, and we are still entitled "the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." But can the body be sick, or the flesh be torn, or the bones be broken, and will the head not feel the smart? Can believers be tried and tempted with poverty, with persecution, with prosperity, with alarms and cares, with doubts and apprehensions, and with bondage to the fear of death—and will the glorious head of believers not deeply and keenly feel? He will continue to feel, as he felt for the Israelites in the days of old, "In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them."

Though we are not able sufficiently to comprehend or clearly to explain, in what manner our High Priest is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, yet, with respect to his compassion and sympathy towards believers, we may soberly entertain the following conceptions: that his compassion lies in a distinct remembrance of what he himself experienced by temptation and suffering from without, and by sorrow from within—in a correct knowledge of what believers must and do suffer, a knowledge not merely arising from his omniscience, but from a full and realizing sense of what were his own infirmities—in a tender, lively, throbbing concern over the component members of his body mystical—and in the grand exertion of his wisdom and grace to collect the members of his body triumphantly into heaven, where the shackles of infirmity and of temptation fall off, and where perfection and blessedness are enjoyed for ever more.

But if we take cognizance of the words of our text, we shall have to notice, as the conclusion of the whole matter, in what manner the compassion of our High Priest is to be the means of comfort and of hope unto the godly, during the performance of duty, and amid the trials of life,—"We have not," says our text, "an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

Is our High Priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities? Then may we not suppose, that a line of mercy shall be drawn between our weakness and our wickedness—between the shortcomings of infirmity and the shortcomings of wilful criminality? The being whom we worship, knows our frame and our capacity, and remembers that we are dust; the Mediator through whom we worship, is not an High Priest which cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities; and it is rational to suppose, that what time we worship, there shall be a distinction between that which is done feebly and that which is done amiss.

Is our High Priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities? Then may we not suppose, that we shall not be overloaded with troubles and temptations: and that, though in the course of his administration, our High Priest may judge a certain intermixture of adversity to be conducive towards the welfare of our souls, yet these infirmities shall be so apportioned by his wisdom and goodness, as not to harden, as not to spoil—as to soften, and cleanse, and refine—our affections and desires? And when he apportions adversity, he shall not inflict it with rigour—he shall measure it with the tenderness of one who is aware, from experience, how deeply the heart is wounded by such a stroke, and how apt faith is to shake beneath such a trial. For affliction comes not from the dust, nor does trouble spring from the unconscious ground; they come, they spring, at the fiat of our High Priest, who lays upon us that load of trouble which will serve to mortify sin, and no more—that load of affliction which will serve to quicken heavenly thoughts, and no more—and so much infirmity as will serve to impress us with the needfulness of faith, yet not so much as might have a tendency to stagger or to subvert it.

Is our High Priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities? Then may we not suppose, that he will vouchsafe to us support amid temptation and distress; and that, as he is completely qualified and illustriously adorned for doing so—as he himself, from experience, remembers how insufficient mere nature is to bear up under the sufferings, and to overcome the hostile circumstances, with which it is enclosed—so he will not forget to throw around us that almighty strength, without which the hardihood of animal courage, and the loftiest lessons of philosophy, would be a paper shield against the miseries of life? For if, in the sad season of his own distress, an angel was sent to minister to him, we may rest assured, that he will not be regardless of our situation, when infirmities are gathering thick, and might soon be overwhelming. It is the song of Isaiah, and that song let us sing,—"When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." It is the sentiment of Paul, and that sentiment let us declare,—"In that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted."

Is our High Priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities? Then may we not suppose, that in his own good time he shall take us to himself—far away from the accidents and evils of time—where infirmity and temptation are sounds unknown—where happiness is complete, glory overflowing, and every thing eternal? "Many," says the Psalmist, "are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all."

Lift up your heads, my Christian friends! for the day of you redemption draweth nigh. Soon will your compassionate and sympathizing High Priest give the word, These my followers have been long enough traversing the wilderness, long enough sorrowful and tempted; let them be with me, let them see my glory, and with my glory be arrayed. And no sooner has our High Priest thus pled, than upon body and upon soul does the hand of mortality lay hold—and the body goes safely to the grave—and the spirit goes victoriously to heaven—and then!—then farewell sin and sinners; farewell poverty, affliction, and distress; farewell contumely, calamity, and temptation: welcome the cherubim and seraphim around the throne; welcome immortality of bliss; welcome God in Christ, and Christ in us, and the whole household of faith built and compacted together by the one eternal spirit of grace and consolation!

But does the believer complain, that, during the solemn exercises of religion, his spirit is untuned by cares and sorrows, and his eye of knowledge dim, and his hand of faith feeble, and in his thoughts no composure, and in his affections no elevation; and that, after his utmost efforts, he finds himself at a loss to fix his attention steadily upon God, or to urge his prayers with becoming warmth and fulness of soul; and that such infirmity, such a wandering careless mind, should be imputed to some uncommon degree of unpardoned guilt, and is a melancholy symptom and evidence how hardened is his heart! Well, these complaints of infirmity, in a great measure, go to refute themselves; for if you were hardened and wicked, you would be insensible as to your hardness and wickedness, whereas your complaints of infirmity bear witness to the sincerity and contrition of your souls. And your High Priest, instead of condemning, sympathizes with your infirmities—while at the same time, acquainted with the inmost recesses of your soul, he perceives the reality of your grace, the strength of your desires, the eagerness and the uprightness of your intentions; and he will be far from rejecting your attempts to serve him in consequence of the infirmities which you lament—he will hear the voice of those secret aspirations which you are unable to express—he will see the temptations and the malice against which you must contend—he will see your griefs and tears, and your unuttered supplications, on account of the indwelling corruption which continues to come in between your faith and those spiritual objects which your faith would fain survey—and come good or evil, come life or death, he shall demonstrate, by the history of believers to the last, what is laid before us in the language of our text, "We have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

SERMON IV.

THE ADVENT OF CHRIST.*

I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.—*John* iv. 38.

Jesus Christ, our Lord, is the great ordinance of Heaven for retrieving the lost condition of mankind, and reducing all things to that order which has been proposed in the Eternal Mind. This is styled the mystery of God. Now, it is brought to its final issue by a threefold coming of this illustrious person—in the flesh, in the spirit, and in the clouds of heaven. His coming in the spirit is always present, both under the Old and under the New Testament dispensation; his coming in the flesh was future under the Old, and is past under the New Testament; his coming in the clouds is future both to the Old and the New Testament churches. His coming in the flesh, is like laying the foundation; his coming in the spirit like erecting the superstructure; and his coming in the clouds like placing the copestone on the beautiful work of redemption.

It is the first coming of Christ, and the momentous objects connected with it, to which the text and the solemnities of this day direct our attention. From this event, the most illustrious that ever happened, the counsels of the Most High derive their chief fulfilment, the history of our world its principal importance, and the scheme of Providence its brightest lustre. To this memorable season, the ancient bards and prophets bore witness, and from it borrowed all that illumination and splendour by which they enlightened and adorned the earliest ages of the world. In this season, the anxious hopes and longing expectations of the wise and good in the land of Judea, happily terminated. To this season and its magnificent occurrences, ancient sacraments and services looked forward; and to this season and its magnificent occurrences, New Testament sacraments and services look back. In short, with this season are connected all our hopes as dying creatures, and from it alone we must derive our truest felicity.

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* A Sacramental Sermon, preached in 1810.

A more joyful intimation was never made to our guilty world, a more delightful subject of meditation can never be presented to the human mind, than what is contained in our text—"I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." If thou art a saint, it will be music in thine ears and honey in thy mouth—if thou art a sinner, there is nothing which thou hast ever heard that concerns thee more. From this passage, three very important topics of discourse rise to view, and to each of them we shall attend in due order,—the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ into the world, "I came down from heaven"—the object which he had in view in coming into the world, "not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me"—and the manner in which he came to do the will of God, suggested by the whole verse, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me."

Our Redeemer, considered as God, to speak with propriety, neither comes nor goes,—in all places of his dominion he is equally and ever present. His coming, therefore, announced in the text, is metaphorical language, and means his incarnation, or the manifestation of his presence among men in man's nature. Then he began to execute, in a visible and public manner, that mediatorial office with which he had been invested from eternity, and which he had continued to discharge more obscurely, by revelations, sacrifices, and ceremonial institutions from the fall of Adam downwards through the whole period of the legal economy.

The doctrine of the Incarnation is so essential to the Christian's faith, and so influential on the Christian's happiness—for the union of the two natures in the person of our Lord may be considered as the source of every blessing we enjoy in time, or hope to enjoy in eternity—that we embrace with alacrity the present occasion of stating it to you in as clear a manner as we can. It must be granted, that this point is in some respects an incomprehensible mystery, and in every respect requires a close attention, and an illuminated mind; yet while we consent to lay, again and again, foundation doctrines, you may permit us at times to lead you onwards, as the apostle speaks, to perfection, to a more perfect knowledge of deeper, but highly interesting truths.

In order to convey to your minds Scriptural and suitable conceptions of the Son of God coming into the world, or his assuming our nature, it will be proper to speak of the assumption itself, to consider the union of the divine and human natures, which is the consequence of the assumption; to mention the effects of this union; and to notice those remarkable occurrences which attended the manifestation of the Son of God in our nature, or his coming in this manner to execute his mediatorial work.

With regard to the assumption of humanity by the Son of God, we submit to you the following observations: First, the person who assumed humanity existed before his incarnation, and existed as a divine person. So far from dating the commencement of his being from his conception and birth, from before the foundation of the world he was and is, and was and is what he will ever be,—the true God. At present it would not be agreeable to enter upon the thorny field of controversy: nevertheless, as so much of our comfort depends upon the persuasion we have that the person who came to do the will of his father is truly God, we cannot pass from this particular without requesting you to compare what is written in the first verse of the Bible, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," with the introduction to John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." And if to this you add that obvious conclusion of enlightened reason, "Every house is builded by some man, but he that built all things is God," you will discover at once—even the simplest among you will at once discover—the true and essential dignity of him in whom you are commanded to trust, and see with what strict propriety of language he is styled, God manifest in the flesh, the great God and our Saviour, God over all, blessed for ever. Secondly, that individual human nature which this glorious person assumed, was from eternity chosen, and to this honourable relation, by God the Father, and was actually formed, in the fulness of time, by God the Spirit. It was chosen by God the Father; and by virtue of this election, the man Christ Jesus is called God's chosen; he is to be considered as the prime elect, as standing at the head of the election of grace, the members of his mystical body being by him represented, and in him elected. It was actually formed in the fulness of time by God the Spirit. A soul and body constitute the nature of man: both were prepared for the Mediator—the body from the substance of the Virgin, and the soul created out of nothing by the agency of God the Spirit. Thirdly, in the very moment in which this soul and body were prepared, there was an assumption of this human nature into the person of the Eternal Son, which assumption was an act appropriate to the second person alone. "Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise," not the Father, but the Son, "took part of the same." "God sent forth his Son," not his Spirit, but his Son, "made of a woman, made under the law." As it was neither the Spirit nor the Father who should purchase the redemption of sinners, so the act of assuming that nature in which the purchase should be made, was the act neither of the one nor the other, but of the Son of God alone. Fourthly, By the assumption of the human nature into the person of the Son of God, no alteration passed on the divine nature. There was indeed a human nature assumed, and the two natures united in one and the same person; but the divine nature was neither altered nor debased. It is true, the human nature, by this assumption, is enriched with a fulness of grace, to which, independent of this act, it had no pretensions; but, notwithstanding, the fulness of the divine nature remains undiminished, for that which is infinite can neither be changed nor lessened.

With regard to the union of the divine and human natures in the Son of God, which is the consequence of the assumption, we submit to you the following observations: First, There is a difference between assumption and union, the assumption being the cause, and the union being the effect. The former is just our Lord taking the human nature into his own divine person, to have it abide there for ever; but the latter, the union, is the joint residence of the two natures in that divine person. Previous to the act of assumption, the humanity had no subsistence of its own; but in consequence of being assumed, it was united to, had its subsistence along with, the divine nature in the person of the Son of God. Secondly, It is a personal union, but not a union of persons. The union of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the Trinity, is indeed a union of persons, because in it distinct persons are united in the same individual nature and essence. But the union of divinity and humanity in the Son of God, is not a union of persons, but of natures in one and the same person. A human person is a soul and body united, and subsisting by themselves in that union: but the soul and body, or human nature, which Christ assumed, never subsisted by itself for a single moment of time; and therefore, when he took this nature, he took not a person, but that which constitutes our personality; and this nature was made to subsist in the person of the Son of God. In this marvellous dispensation, mark the brightest display of wisdom and of grace. If his human nature had existed by itself in the union of its constituent parts, soul and body, but for a single moment before it was united to his divine person, it would have been a human person as well as any of us; and consequently all the union that could have taken place would have been a union of persons, because the Son of God was a person from eternity; and, on the supposition now made, the human nature would have been a person too, a finite person, represented by Adam, and guilty in Adam's guilt, and defiled with Adam's defilement. In this situation of things, who does not see that the plan of our redemption would have been frustrated? For how could a person chargeable with guilt himself have atoned for the guilt of others? or how could a finite person have borne infinite wrath, and imparted infinite worth to temporary sufferings? But by virtue of the human nature never subsisting by itself, but in the person of the Son of God, he who came for our redemption was an infinite person; and though he derived from Adam a human nature, he did not derive from him a human person, and could not be represented by him in the covenant of works, for in that covenant, not natures, but persons, were represented, and not being represented, he could not be chargeable with guilt. Thirdly, Though this be not a union of persons, yet it is a union of two natures, infinitely and eternally distinct from one another, in one person. The Divine Nature subsisted in the person of the Son from eternity, but the human nature was the creature of time: we have seen that it was the workmanship of God, prepared for him when the fulness of time was come, and then, and not before, taken into union with himself,—there are two natures in one Christ. Nor let it be forgotten, that these natures are not blended together, but retain, notwithstanding of this union, their essential properties: the humanity is not deified, the divinity is not humanized; the Deity is not changed into flesh, nor the flesh transformed into God: the divine nature is still, according to its essential attributes, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent; the human nature is still, according to its native qualities, attached to one particular place, at one particular time, limited in its knowledge, bounded in its power. Fourthly, This union is indissoluble. The relation of the two natures to the person of the Son of God, and of the two natures to each other, can never be broken. It will run parallel to the life of Jehovah, and be coeval with eternity. It is true, his death dissolved the union between his soul and body; but you will recollect, that his soul and body were but the constituent parts of one of his natures, and the dissolution of the union between them could never affect the union of his two natures in his one person. Nay, it could not in the least invalidate the union between his person and the constituent parts of his humanity, even when separated from each other by death,—though these continued for a while divided from each other, the one in paradise, the other in the tomb, each of them continued in a state of union to his divine person, and by the power of his divine person were again united to each other, and, when re-united, advanced to the throne of God. Thus was he declared to be the Son of God by the exertion of his own power in raising himself from the dead.

My design, by these remarks on this and the preceding branch, has been, to present to your minds, as clearly as possible, the truth respecting the human nature and mediatorial person of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to state it in such a manner as to oppose the enemies of our faith, who in different ways, by infidelity and sophistry, have laboured to expunge and destroy it.

We must not deny the Saviour to be truly God because he became man, nor assert that he was not really man because he was also God; we must not rend Christ asunder, and divide him into two persons, nor confound in his person those natures which must be kept distinguished. These were the capital errors which, in the earlier ages, harassed and distracted the Christian Church on the point of the incarnation; and in opposition to which assembled the famous ancient councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Whatever was by them decreed, in declaration of Christian belief or refutation of heresy, may all be comprised, as a judicious divine has well observed, in four words,—truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly—truly God, perfectly man, indivisibly one person, distinctly two natures. As in us the reasonable soul and the flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ. As the soul is not turned into, nor compounded with the body, yet they two, though distinct in nature, form one man; so the divine and human natures, infinitely distinct from one another in respect of properties, but infinitely near in point of residence, make up the one person of the one Mediator. The natures are preserved without confusion; the person is entire without division.

With regard to the effects of this union, we submit to you the following observations:—The effects of it may be viewed, either as they respect the human nature itself, or as they regard the person of the Mediator. As they respect the human nature, First, unspeakable dignity is conferred upon the human nature, greater indeed than is conferred on any creature, the highest angel not excepted. He has been "made so much better than the angels as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they; for unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee?" He was honourable by his mother's side, descended from the ancient Kings of Israel; but much more honourable by his father's, who is no less than the blessed God. It was highly honourable for the human nature to be produced in a manner so extraordinary; but much more honourable for that nature to be united to the person of the Son of God. On this account it is styled, the beginning of the creation of God, the top of his achievements, the flower of his splendid operations. Secondly, an absolute impossibility of sinning. Its union with the second person of the Trinity ensures this, for hereby the fulness of the Godhead is communicated to it in such a manner as no creature can conceive. As by the extraordinary mode of its formation by the Spirit, it was preserved from every taint of original corruption, so by the grace of union to the Son of God, it is secured and fortified against the possibility of transgression. Hence, by way of eminence and discrimination, it is emphatically denominated, That holy thing. Thirdly, an immeasurable fulness of grace, both in its habits and in its acts. Said the prophet, "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." In his life and death, and administration, love to God and love to man, trust in the Lord, zeal for the glory of his Father, and patient subjection to his will, even when expressed by frowns and indignation, shone forth with undiminished and with unqualified splendour. Never did any creature, never could any creature, exercise such heroic virtue as the human nature of Christ, for in consequence of its union with the divine, it received the Spirit not by measure. When grace is bestowed upon us, it is bestowed as it were in drops; but to Christ it comes in a top flood. No vessel but his had an extent or capacity for such overflowing abundance. Fourthly, The highest blessedness and glory. In the scale of blessedness the humanity of Christ rises to a high degree, and ranks, in point of felicity, next to the Eternal God. His human soul and body are inconceivably closer to the divine nature than any intelligence besides; and the stricter the union, the more intimate must be the fellowship with, and the more superabundant must be the communications of joy and happiness from, that nature which is the fountain head of all being and of all blessedness. "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." As these effects regard the person of the Mediator, First, what is called a communication, or an ascription, of the properties of each nature to his whole person, is one effect. Thus, though it was the peculiar property of the divine nature to be in heaven, while the human nature tabernacled on earth, yet the Son of Man is even then said to have been in heaven. Thus, too, it is peculiar to the human nature to suffer, yet the Lord of Glory is said to have been crucified. And again, though it was only the human nature which ascended to heaven, yet, by reason of the personal union between his two natures, God is said to have gone up with a shout. Secondly, The exercise of mediatorial power and authority in both natures. Says an apostle, "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men,—the man Christ Jesus." Here the exercise of the mediatorial office is said to belong to the human nature, though not to the exclusion of the divine, in which last nature he exercised it during all the period which had elapsed from the apostacy. Thirdly, The combined influence of both natures in the work of man's redemption. He is described as having, "through the eternal spirit, offered himself to God;" where you will observe, that the sacrifice was his humanity, the altar which imparted value to the sacrifice was his divinity, here called the Eternal Spirit; and the offerer was himself, who laid the sacrifice upon the altar in his incarnation, and continued through the whole course of his ministry to offer it unto God through the Eternal Spirit, or by the power and with the prevailing efficaciousness of his divine nature. In consequence of the union, both natures operated, according to their respective attributes and capacities, in accomplishing the work of redemption. The human nature suffers, the divine satisfies; in the human nature all blessings are purchased, and by the divine, infinite worth is communicated to the price. Fourthly, The person of Christ, as God man, becomes the object of religious worship. We cannot say that the human nature of Christ is by itself the object of religious worship; yet we can and will say, that the person of Christ, as God man, is the object of adoration. In support of this doctrine we have the authority of the church militant and the church triumphant; we have the authority of God himself: "When he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him."

With regard to some of the concomitant circumstances which marked his coming into the world, to execute his mediatorial work, we submit to you the following observations: First, the departure of the sceptre from Judah, or the annihilation of the Jewish sovereignty. For many years the regal glory of the house of David had been on the wane; but at the period in which the Shiloh came, when Judea became a tributary province, and was governed in matters of life and death by a Roman delegate, it departed and vanished away.—Secondly, The return of the Spirit of Prophecy in the Jewish church. It is admitted that the cessation of prophetic influence, and the withdrawment of express revelations, continued from the days of Malachi till the coming of Christ. The first instance of its return occurs in the case of Zacharias

—next in the case of the Virgin Mary—then of Elizabeth—after that of Simeon and Anna—and after that of Joseph, who was commanded to flee into Egypt. These instances showed that the Lord was returning gracious to his church, and his pouring out his Spirit in this remarkable manner upon sinful men, and his renewing an amicable correspondence with them, testified that he was well pleased with that illustrious person who should come to atone divine justice for their iniquities.—Thirdly, The remarkable notice that was taken of this event both in heaven and on earth. The era of his nativity, so interesting to the children of men, was not announced by any of those fulsome forms of ostentatious splendour which signalize the birth of the worldly great. His kingdom was not of this world, and he deigned not to borrow its rites: but the Ruler of the nations was preparing the world for his approach, the celestial armies were seen to mustur forth at his coming, and his insignia were stamped in the sky. Though Bethlehem prepared not to receive her divine guest, the Almighty himself had, during four thousand years, set the wheels of providence forward in preparing the earth into a proper theatre on which he might appear: if kingdoms rose, if empires fell, if war desolated the world, or peace blessed mankind, all was designed to prepare the way for the coming of the Son of Man. Though his birth was obscure on earth below, it was celebrated by the halleluias of the heavenly host. At what period the inhabitants of heaven received the first intimation that this even should happen in some future age, we cannot tell, nor need we too solicitously inquire. We are certain, that if this marvellous secret was not communicated to them long before, the angels must have received the knowledge of it by the promulgation of the first promise; from henceforth they became fellow-students with the church, by searching into the prophecies which unfolded so glorious an event; and when the fulness of time arrived, they were ready, on the wings of obedience and of ardent love, to salute the coming of our Lord. In fine, though his lodging was but poor and his attendants mean, yet an extraordinary star, which God ordained for a lamp to his Anointed, conducted to him the most illustrious visitants, from the groves of solitude and of science in a distant land; and with these Gentile sages were associated, in their worship of the incarnate God, many of the wise and the holy in Judea, who waited for consolation and salvation. Fourthly, His personal appearance in the second temple at the ceremony of purification. Haggai had long before predicted, that the glory of the second should surpass that of the former house which Solomon built; yet in respect of outward magnificence, such the inferiority of the second to the first temple, that when the foundation of it was laid, the old man, whose eyes had beheld the unrivalled grandeur of the first, wept with sorrow at the striking and the melancholy contrast. How then should the second surpass that of the first? Because the God of the temple came in person into his own house: then, and afterwards when he disputed with the doctors, he filled the house with his glory; then also he made intimation, that his office and his design consisted in setting every thing to rights in the church which is the house of God; a signal instance and figurative representation of which he exhibited, when, with a whip of cords, he drove from the temple the buyers and sellers, who had converted the sanctuary into an exchange, and the House of God into a den of thieves.

Such is the doctrine of the Incarnation. With regard to the assumption of humanity, we submitted to you the following observations: The person who assumed humanity existed before his incarnation, and existed as a divine person; that individual human nature which he assumed, was from eternity chosen, and to this honourable relation, by God the Father, and was actually formed in the fulness of time by God the Spirit; in the very moment in which this human nature was prepared, took place an assumption of it into the person of the Eternal Son, which assumption formed an act appropriate to the second person alone; by the assumption of the human nature into the person of the Son of God, no alteration passed on the divine nature. With regard to the union of the divine and human natures, we submitted to you the following observations: There is a difference between assumption and union, assumption being the cause, and union being the effect; it is a personal union, but not a union of persons; it is a union of two natures, infinitely and eternally distinct from one another, in one person; this union is indissoluble. With regard to the effects of this union, we submitted to you the following observations:—Unspeakable dignity, absolute impossibility of sinning, immeasurable fulness of grace, the highest blessedness and glory, are conferred on his human nature; and in reference to his mediatorial person, there result from it a communication or ascription of the properties of each nature to his whole person, the exercise of mediatorial power and authority in both natures, the combined influence of both natures in the work of man's redemption, and the constitution of his person into the object of religious worship. With regard to the concomitant circumstances which marked his coming into the world, we enumerated the annihilation of the Jewish sovereignty, the return of the spirit of prophecy, the remarkable notice that was taken of this event both in heaven and on earth, and his personal appearance in the second temple typifying his appearance and his presence, and his blessing to rest upon the Christian Church.

Finding it impossible, just now, to overtake the remaining body of matter—namely, the view which Christ had in coming, and the manner in which he came—we shall reserve it for subsequent consideration, and observe, that his coming is a subject of joy and rejoicing to mankind.

Is the birth of a prince celebrated, by loyal subjects, with tokens of joy? Rejoice, O daughter of Zion! shout, O daughter of Jerusalem! behold thy King, the Prince of Peace cometh unto thee; he is just and righteous, and carries salvation in his train. Is it subject of rejoicing to the poor man and the indigent, that he hath a sister married to some worthy and generous potentate, from whom he may expect valuable assistance? Behold, in the Son of God, humanity espoused to divinity; and he cometh forth a bridegroom from his chambers in heaven, arrayed in the wedding garment of man's flesh to assist men's souls, and to advance them near his throne. Is victory over numerous, formidable, and cruel foes, a subject of rejoicing? Lo, the Captain of our Salvation hath marched into the field, he conquers and he shall conquer; he shall vanquish sin, overthrow Satan, abolish death, subdue all things to himself; and the voice from the upper temple shall sound, It is done, the destructive blow has been given, and his enemies are fleeing for shelter—vain effort! fleeing for covert to the mountains and the rocks. Is the rising of the sun, after a night of blackness, and darkness, and tempest, a subject of rejoicing to the bewildered traveller? See, in the coming of Christ, how the day spring from on high hath visited us, dispelling the forlorn midnight of error, and vice, and wretchedness, and diffusing the beams of truth, and purity, and salvation. In consequence of his coming to do the will of God, we derive from him the revelations of a prophet, the intercessions of a priest, and the protection of a king, and the affection of a brother, and the fidelity of a friend. In consequence of his coming to do the will of God, we shall derive from him the white stone, the hidden manna, the morning star, the robe of righteousness, the tree of life, and thrones and crowns everlasting. And, oh! let our hearts be open to every feeling of gratitude, which the remembrance of his love awakens; and the choirs of heaven shall catch our aspirations as they mount up, and mingle our sighs with their songs!

Glory to God in the highest, that he sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved! Glory to Christ in the highest, that he came from heaven to do the will of him that sent him; in raising, and cleansing, and exalting our race! Sing, O ye heavens! for the Lord hath done it; shout, O ye lower parts of the earth! for Christ hath declared, It is finished. This is the day which the Lord hath made, and let us rejoice. Hosanna to the Son of David, who indeed is the Son of God, who indeed is God ineffable—adorable!

And if ye reject him, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin—miserable sinners! for you nothing more remains. Yes, something more does remain—a fearful looking for of judgment and a fiery indignation. Turn to him—fix the eye of faith upon him: On this one stone, saith Scripture, are seven eyes,—the Father, the Holy Spirit, prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, devils, eye and watch him—and do ye, intended communicants, for peace and pardon here, for happiness hereafter, fasten your eyes upon him likewise. He came to do the will of God in point of suffering, that ye might do the will of God in point of believing. "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. And he adds, "this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life."

SERMON V.

THE OBEDIENCE OF CHRIST.

I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.—*John*, vi. 38.

And is it not a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ came into the world to save sinners by doing the will of his Father that sent him? This is that event which engaged the counsels of God from eternity; prefigured by types, predicted by prophets, longed for by saints, announced by angels, and celebrated by songs of joy. To contemplate its glory, and to feel its influence on the heart and conduct, should be the business of our every Sabbath—the grand distinguishing aim of our future lives. Let us consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession; let us consider him in the natural dignity and voluntary abasement of his person; let us, with attention, admiration, and rapture, hear himself announcing so joyful an event in the words of our text, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me."

From this passage three very important topics of discourse rise to view: First, The coming of Christ into the world: "I came down from heaven;" Secondly, The object which he had in view in coming: "Not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me;" Thirdly, The manner of his coming into the world to do the will of God, suggested by the whole verse: "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." We shall not, on the present occasion, enter so wide and deep a topic as that of the coming or incarnation of Christ; but confine our discourse to the object and to the manner of his coming.

Says Christ in our text, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." Now, what was the will of God which he came to accomplish? It was the Father's will that he should glorify the divine perfections; that he should magnify the violated law, and make it honourable; that he should finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness; that he should destroy the works of the devil, abolish death, and save his people with an everlasting salvation. Such the will of his purpose—"God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ;" such the will of his commandment: "Therefore doth my father love me, because I lay down my life that I might take it again; no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself; I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again: this commandment have I received of my Father."

Says Christ in our text, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." Now, by what means did Christ accomplish the will of God? He accomplished the will of God, First, by bearing sin. But his bearing sin supposes sin to have been laid upon him; and who laid it upon him? "The Lord," we are informed by a prophet, "hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." But how did he lay iniquity on him who of himself knew no sin? By imputing it to him. But on what ground did he make the imputation? Because Christ substituted himself in the room of the guilty, and became one with them in point of law reckoning. As Abraham laid the wood on the shoulders of Isaac, and as the Israelites laid their sins on the head of the sacrifice of atonement, so the Father laid our iniquity on Christ. It is guilt, it is guilt alone, which justifies the Saviour's death; had he not been the antitype of the scapegoat to which the iniquities of the Israelitish congregation were transferred, the law could not have fastened its claims upon him, nor would God have driven him forth into the wilderness of desertion and of death. He accomplished the will of God, Secondly, by suffering for sin; between bearing sin and suffering for it, the connection is natural, and necessary, and unavoidable; Christ found it so, and so shall every sinner find it who may be left to bear his own burden of iniquity. And the law, perceiving that Christ bore our sins, entangled him in its net, and made him suffer for sin, the just for the unjust. And what did he suffer? Greatly do they mistake who believe that he suffered only in his body, and in the inferior part of his soul, by the opposition of men, and the rage of satannic malice: "It pleased the Lord"—the Lord—"to bruise him;" for what arm but his could inflict a stroke adequate to the demerits of sin? The fire upon the typical altar consumed the typical sacrifice, and from heaven it descended; so from above descended the fire of wrath, which consumed the true sacrifice offered by our High Priest in his body once for all. This made him sweat great drops of blood; this made his soul exceeding sorrowful even unto death; this made him, under the agonies of expiring nature and under the pangs of desertion, exclaim, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

Thus he bore sin, and suffered for sin; and by suffering for it, he bore it all away. Oh, blessed consummation! It was the will of God, that in order to save men, men's iniquities should be laid upon his own Son; in obedience to his Father's will, and from compassion and affectionate concern for men, he bowed himself to receive the tremendous burden; and we behold him in Gethsemane and on Calvary, sweating, staggering, bleeding, expiring, trampled to the dust of death. But like a man, sinking for moment, under a heavy load, into the ocean, but rising the next moment without it; so we behold Christ sinking for a while in the flood of divine wrath, under the burden of our guilt, but soon rising above the water, disentangled from it, and having cast it into the deeps of the sea. Hence that triumphant exclamation, "It is finished!" Holy Father, thou art glorified; unholy men, ye are saved; the will of him that sent me I have done. And God looked down with pleasure; angels heard it with inexpressible amazement; the earth rejoiced; the powers of darkness fell thunderstruck; in heaven new songs of praise began, which are not ended yet, and never shall, but are still to arise and are still to resound; while fresh companies of the redeemed, entering heaven's gates with the high praises of God in their mouth, add to the melody, and swell the everlasting hymn!

On the topic of his obedience to the will of God, we might say much more: we might narrate the history, and point out the wonders, and detail the causes, and recount the effects, of his obedience and death. But we shall satisfy ourselves with two considerations more: that his obedience and death are a bright display of divine wisdom and goodness; and are a permanent source of support and of consolation to believers.

Wisdom consists in bringing about the best and most important end by the most proper method: now the method taken by God to effectuate the redemption of fallen men, by the substitution and satisfactory death of his own Son, appears the most consummate manifestation of wisdom and goodness, if you consider, that his obedience and death were calculated to illustrate and to reconcile what seem to be the conflicting attributes of the divine nature; calculated to counteract the designs of Satan, and disappoint his wiles; calculated at once to condemn the folly and to remove the penalty of man's disobedience; and calculated to make ample provision for the weakness and for the necessities of believers.

His obedience and death, it has been observed, were calculated to illustrate and to reconcile what seem to be the conflicting attributes of the divine nature. In human administrations, mercy and justice, for the most part, cannot reign except by turns; in the scheme of man's redemption, they shine forth with united splendour and with united efficacy.

It is certain that sin exists; and equally certain that sin must be abominable to the Supreme Being, whose holiness and justice are upon his works with no less clearness impressed, than are his wisdom and power: for the tendency of sin to disarrange that order, and, in proportion to the extent of its influence, to break that harmony, which he has established, appears as evident as the existence of sin itself. But if sin can never be an object of approbation with a holy God, so must it be an object of punishment with a just God; and concerning the Monarch of the Universe we may affirm, that he behoved to vindicate his justice in the punishment of sin. However, he whom we are permitted to call our Father, moved with pity for his offspring, resolved to separate the sinner from the sin; to admit the former on certain conditions into his favour, while, by his expressed detestation of the latter, the holiness and dignity of his government should be asserted. How then could this end be effected? by what method could he reconcile these jarring characters, of the righteous Monarch of the Universe and the gracious Father of men! By no other, as far as we are able to conceive, than by accepting, in place of the offender, the substitution of some being, whose sufferings might declare his abhorrence of sin, and whose merits might plead and intercede for the restoration of the offender to his grace and to his friendship. But when shall we discover a being competent for so mighty a work? The whole race of men had been involved in guilt; the whole race of angels confessed themselves without strength: that entire exemption from sin, which could be obnoxious to no punishment; that infinity of natural and moral power, requisite for quickening men from moral death, and for demonstrating its commission by natural signs and wonders; that degree of independence, which brought along with it the right of self-disposal; that exalted rank, on which the condescension could not be enjoined or enforced, and which, by the importance of its atonement evincing the enormity and the danger of sin, might check the progress of its ravages; such, such the qualifications for an efficient substitution. And in what being could these qualifications be met with, but in the Word who was with God, and the Word who was God, and the Word who was made flesh? Him therefore, with his own consent, the Eternal Father substituted in the room of transgressors; and the atonement which he made in the nature that had offended, while it vindicated the greatness of the divine majesty, operated effectually and powerfully to the preservation of the divine laws and manifestation of the divine love. Mercy and truth meet; righteousness and peace embrace; the rainbow encircles the throne of judgment; and he who sits upon it, shines forth in the attractive glories of his character; the just God and yet the Justifier. This must be the doing of the Lord, a most consummate act of wisdom and of goodness.

His obedience and death, it has been observed, were calculated to counteract the designs of Satan, to disappoint the wiles of that malicious adversary. By the scheme of man's redemption, that subtile spirit is counteracted; by the scheme of man's redemption, that proud spirit is disappointed.

He is counteracted; for what he intended to be the blackest dishonour to the divine majesty, did, in the event, prove its highest glory. He is disappointed, whether you regard the incarnation in which the divine and human natures became united into one person, against which he breathed the most rancorous enmity; or whether you regard the satisfaction, for in the sufferings of Christ he had an active hand, and yet these very sufferings have annihilated his power. Thus hath the wise been taken in his own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward been turned upside down. Of an eminent divine we remember it to be the saying, that those macerations wherewith he is tormented on account of his shameful defeat and disappointment, constitute a great part of that hell which he carries in his bosom.

By his obedience and death, it has been observed, man's disobedience is at once condemned in its folly and remedied in its guilt.

From the pride and ambition of the first Adam did our fall result; our recovery, from the condescension and humiliation of the second. Adam, a servant, aspired to be the Lord; Christ, the Lord, humbled himself to be a servant. Adam, though poor, affected to be rich: Christ, though rich, for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich. Adam, under the law, desired to be above the law's precept, and brought himself and us under its curse: Christ, though not under the law either in its precept or its curse, consented to be made under the law, that we might be redeemed. Adam, being a man, committed robbery in affecting to be equal with God: the Son of God, who thought it no robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, assumed the infirmities of human nature, humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death of the cross. Of more revolting affectation the creature was not capable, nor the Creator of more astonishing condescension.

His obedience and death, it has been observed, were calculated to make ample provision for the wants and for the necessities of believers.

What method more efficient for awakening our sluggish souls to contemplate, and our stubborn hearts to feel, the mystery of godliness, than the coming of Christ into the world to converse with us face to face? what motive more irresistible for exciting our love to him, than such an unparalleled demonstration of love divine? What argument more convincing, for a filial boldness in acts of devotion, than God having come in the person of Christ to reconcile the world to himself. He is a finished pattern of holiness; he is an overflowing fountain for our wants; nothing remains for us to do in the business of our salvation, but just to receive what the Son hath purchased, and the Father who sent him hath bestowed; he is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; and we are complete in him: in him the head over all things for the Church.

But furthermore, let us consider his obedience and death as a permanent source of support, and of consolation to believers. In the sufferings and death of Christ, they contemplate his atonement, his love, and his example; and are animated by a prospect of the victorious issue, when he passed from a state of suffering to a state of glory.

His atonement, apprehended and appropriated by faith, delivers them from guilt and condemnation; and conveys to them peace with offended Deity, and access to him with full assurance and with joy. And being delivered from the power of sin, and having a channel opened for receiving supplies of grace according to their need, and of strength according to their day, they are prepared to carry the cross, and to follow him, and to rejoice in him exceedingly.

His love, in submitting to death for their sakes, attaches to him the love and the confidence of believers. Unspeakable the power of love; it makes hard things easy, and bitter things sweet; it can do, or bear, or forbear any thing, for the person beloved; but this noblest principle of the soul can never pour itself forth in full tide, till fixed upon its proper object. The love of Christ begetting love in believers, has a constraining force: it is stronger than death; it overcomes the world; it lightens the iron yoke of trouble; and makes them bow, with resignation to the hand that chastises.

And again, the reflection that he suffered for them, leaving them an example, emboldens them with the like mind, and creates in them a studious attention to the manner in which he conducted himself during the period of his sufferings. They look to him, and are enlightened; by his cross they are crucified to the world, and the world to them; they neither court its favour, nor feel dismayed for its frown. They know what they must expect, if they will be his servants, from the treatment which himself encountered; and they are content: in their sufferings they perceive the divine purpose, making them conformable to their suffering head; and they rejoice. The recollection, too, of the striking contrast which obtains between his character and theirs, and of the merciful relation which subsists between their sufferings and his, renders them silent, and even happy. Did the Son of God suffer, and if the sons of men suffer, shall it be considered strange? was the Holy One and the Just afflicted, and shall we guilty men complain? was my Creator pierced with nails, and shall I, a contemptible creature, repine for some thorn in the flesh? did the flaming sword fall upon my Saviour, and shall I immoderately grieve when chastened with the rod? did he drain for me the cup of divine wrath, and shall I refuse to taste a cup of tribulation, mingled as it is with medicinal ingredients? such their conformity to the example of Christ; such their fellowship with him in his sufferings and death. And if they suffer with him, they shall also reign with him: he who was victorious over all opposition, can make them conquerors over all their foes: and he whose puissant hand rolled back the ponderous stone from the mouth of the sepulchre, to make way for his own resurrection, can and will burst the barrier of the tomb to make way for their resurrection to glory, honour, immortality.

So much for the object of his coming; and in reference to the manner of it, we have time for nothing more than to mention the particulars which might have been expounded, and which may on some future occasion be resumed.

The words of our text suggest to us—the alacrity with which he came, the fortitude which he displayed in coming, the seasonableness of his coming, the acceptableness of the object for which he came, the solemn attention due to his advent, and the subject matter of joy redounding to believers, from his having come into the world to do the will of God for their salvation. On these particulars we shall not enlarge.

With wonder, with gratitude, then, let us meditate on the honour done to our nature by the Son of God coming into the world, and being made flesh. Our nature is united to divinity; there is a man at the right hand of the majesty on high. The disciples beheld his glory in the days of his humiliation; but eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive the glory with which he has invested the nature of man. And if no man ever hated his own flesh, can God hate the flesh which, being taken into one person with the Eternal Son, is united to deity? can the father hate, or fail to nourish, him whom he hath more than once proclaimed to be his beloved and pleasant Son?—and we are the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.

Wherefore, holy brethren, the advice of the philosopher comes to you with tenfold urgency—reverence yourselves. Consider to whom you are related, who hath begotten you to lively hopes; and degrade not your origin by base and unworthy actions; let your education be suitable to your birth, your conduct answerable to your expectations. Neither let the infirmities and the dishonours which mortality is heir to, raise in you dejection or affliction; be not dismayed at the approach of pain or sickness; be not terrified at the coffin and the shroud. Though all flesh be as grass, and all the goodliness of men as the flower of grass; though the grass withereth and the flower fadeth, admonishing you to prepare for an autumn and a winter, when the spring of your youth and the summer of your strength are no more; yet the word of the Lord endureth for ever; and this is the word of the Lord, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me;" and also, "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself."

SERMON VI.

THE NECESSITY OF CHRISTIAN FRUITFULNESS.

Now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, in hewn down and cast into the fire.—*Matt.* iii. 10.

Remarkable was that dream of Nebuchadnezzar, which is mentioned in the fourth chapter of Daniel. He saw, in his sleep, a large and stately tree rearing its majestic head toward the heavens, adorned with great profusion both of foliage and of fruit; but while surveying it, behold a watcher and an holy one descends from above, and cries aloud, "Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches!" Before the commencement of another year, concerning *you*, and *you*, and *you*, in this vineyard, shall a watcher and an holy one exclaim, "Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches!" Yea, how knowest thou, O vain man! but he may already be poising the axe, and lifting it up for the fatal blow? "Now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

In our text, the parties threatened are the trees which bring not forth good fruit; the doom denounced is, that they shall be hewn down and cast into the fire; and the emphatic manner of the denunciation is obvious from the whole verse, "Now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

In the first place, then, what is meant by the trees; by the fruit of the trees; and by that fruit, particularly, which they ought to bring forth, and without which they cannot escape the doom of being hewn down and cast into the fire?

Trees, being a figurative expression, are used in Scripture to point forth nations, churches, and individuals: Nations—"Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs:" Churches—"Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it." Individuals—the tree mentioned in the fourth chapter of Daniel represented Nebuchadnezzar; and Christ himself is compared to a vine. The fruit of the trees means the conduct of nations, churches, and individuals; and the fruit which they ought to bring forth, here denominated good fruit, is expressive of universal holiness, or such excellent and worthy conduct as honours the divine law, and demonstrates the sincerity of external profession.

The fruit which deserves the name of "good," is good in respect of *quality*. In this point of view, the efficient cause of it must be the Spirit of God, operating on the mind by virtue of the truth believed and improved, and converted into a principle of action and a rule of conduct: its matter must be conformity to the law of God; for when our heart and behaviour are regulated by the law of God, we have our fruit unto holiness, and the praise and the honour of God must be its all-engrossing end. Such fruit is denominated the fruit of the Spirit, and the fruit of righteousness. Such fruit will never fail to be sound at the heart, heavy in the hand, fair to the eye, and sweet unto the taste. Moral virtue, which owes not its formation to the agency of the Holy Spirit, and has no connexion with the obedience and blood of Christ, nor the smallest regard to the divine will as its rule, or to the divine approbation as its object and its joy, no more deserves the title of being good, than the apples of Sodom, which, though beautiful to the view, were inwardly rottenness, and, when touched, did crumble into dust.

The fruit which deserves the name of "good," is good in respect of *quantity*. In this point of view, it should be full, and should be proportionable. It should be full in all its branches; for that cannot be a fruitful tree which has but two or three berries on the top of the uppermost bough, and but two or three berries on the middle and undermost boughs; every branch must bear fruit, and bear it in abundance. Just so, do not consider it enough that you have spiritual gifts and holy meditations alone, or laudable purposes and inclinations alone, or pious words alone, or becoming and unimpeachable characters alone: you should have all these, and have them in abundance; your minds, and hearts, and conduct, should bear fruit, and bear it plentifully. Spiritual knowledge should abound in the mind, spiritual affections should abound in the heart, and out of the abundance of the heart the mouth should speak and the hand should act for God. And the fruit should be proportionable to the means of fruitfulness, and to the length of time we have enjoyed them. If they who have enjoyed the Gospel for many years in much light, and purity, and power, are not more eminent for piety and charity than those who have enjoyed it for a shorter time, and under a less powerful and advantageous ministry, they must be wofully deficient in bringing forth fruit, and will by no means answer the expectation of the husbandman; for where he hath sown bountifully he shall expect to reap bountifully.

The fruit which deserves the name of "good," is good in respect of *continuance*. In this point of view, we must continue to bear fruit, and the fruit which we bear must continue. You should begin well in religion, but you should hold on well too. From the commencement till the close of the year, during the warmth of prosperity and during the rigours of adversity, in the spring of youth and in the winter of old age, see that ye bring forth the fruits of righteousness. And see that the fruit which ye bring forth continues. Juda speaks of some trees whose fruit *withereth*, and immediately after describes them to be trees *without* fruit; so that, fruit which withereth, which continues not nor ripens to perfection, is, in the estimate of the Bible, no better than no fruit, of which withering kind, are those convictions of conscience which are not accompanied by repentance, and conversion, and reformation; those good resolutions which are never executed; those good desires which are never reduced to action nor consecrated by prayer; those tokens and signs of better conduct which are never realized. As when good impressions are made upon the heart by the Word or by Providence; but the sermon is ended or the affliction removed, and the cares of the world, or the deceitfulness of riches, or the pleasures of life, or the influence of bad example, check the seed that might be springing up, and prevent the fruit from swelling and bursting to maturity.

In short, the man who hath the divine seed implanted within him, will bring forth the fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.

Placing God before the eye of his mind, he will aim to discharge the duties of religious worship with sincerity, attention, and devotion. When contemplating the excellencies of God, he will revere him; when enjoying the tokens of his favour, he will delight in him; when chastened by his afflicting hand, he will submit to him; when assaulted by temptation, he will confide in him; when employed by him in any difficult and arduous service, he will rely on his powerful and promised aid.

Integrity, meekness, and benevolence will adorn his deportment. He will be just in his dealings, faithful to his engagements, sincere in his friendships. He will sympathize with the afflicted, and rejoice when he has it in his power to shield from the arrows of calumny the good name of his brother, to smooth the brow of adversity, to shed consolation upon the sorrowful and the oppressed. To mean and base actions he will rise nobly superior; and in acts of generosity and of kindness his heart will exult, his life will be spent.

The comforts of life he will use with temperance and moderation. The wealth and spendour of the world he will have fortitude enough to hold in sovereign contempt, when they dispute the pre-eminence with intellectual and celestial joys. His pride he will endeavour to mortify; his vanity he will endeavour to suppress; his angry passions he will endeavour to restrain and soften; and a spirit of meekness, gentleness, and forbearance he will cultivate to the utmost of his power. The salvation of his soul, being most precious, will form his grand object, and have the preference to every other concern.

And, oh! be persuaded to bring forth abundantly the fruit of faith and love, of zeal for God, of brotherly kindness, condescension, and forbearance. Can ye forget that the Christian religion is the religion of love? Do ye think it becoming or consistent to put off humanity when ye put on Christianity? Nay; but the wisdom that cometh down from above, is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. A *gracious sour spirit* is, we had almost said, a contradiction in terms.

Be persuaded to bring forth good fruit. What but reasonable, that Christ should expect, should seek, should demand fruit? and where but from you? Shall he seek it from the uncultivated trees of the forest, from the wild olives in the wilderness? Or is it more natural to seek it from the pruned and watered trees in his own vineyard? And if ye bring forth good fruit, well,—well for the Lord of the vineyard, which is Christ, well for the vine-dresser, which is your minister, well for the barren fig tree, which is yourself. For against every tree which bringeth not forth the fruit we have been describing, is the awful doom in our text denounced. Not every tree that bringeth forth evil fruit, but, "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit," for that tree is evil which is barren. "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

Christ is the lord of the vineyard. What is the believing soul but the vineyard of Christ? And hence, when alluding to those special communications which he has with the soul of a believer, he calls them visiting his garden; and the satisfaction which he has in those renewed and sanctified tempers that dwell in the heart and spread through the conduct of a believer, he styles eating his pleasant fruit. "I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse; I have gathered my myrrh with my spice; I have eaten my honey-comb with my honey, I have drunk my wine with my milk." Once, and this vineyard lay but a waste howling wilderness, in which Satan held undisputed sway; but the exertions of the great husbandman, and the dews of spiritual influence, have enriched it with the fruitfulness and adorned it with the bloom of Eden: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose:" "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree; and it shall be to the Lord," the keeper of the vineyard, "for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."

But Christ has another vineyard, and of more extent; we refer to the whole visible Church, in which are to be found the tall cedar and lowly shrub, fruitful plants and barren trees. The trees in this garden were primarily the Jews, and afterwards the Gentile nations. The original condition of the Gentiles has been compared to that of a wild olive, not the natural production of the vineyard, but transplanted from the wilderness, and inserted into the better stock by the skill and kindness of the lord of the vineyard; the Jews being the natural root. But the Jews, in the divine sovereignty and in the divine wrath, have been cast over the garden wall, and we are permitted to remain within the vineyard. Yet above our head also do the judgments of the Almighty hang, and shall as assuredly seize upon us for our impenitence and unbelief, as they siezed upon and trampled down the Church of the Jews, of which a most awakening intimation is contained in the text now before us. "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

The doom denounced in our text, that "every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire," does the Supreme Ruler inflict upon sinning *nations* with the axe of public calamities.

Among the chief of such calamities may be reckoned war, and those dread disasters which mark, and which follow the progress of an invading and successful enemy: famine, pestilence, and captivity, confused noise, and garments rolled in blood. The Assyrian monarch, while invading and destroying the nations around him, is entitled the axe and saw of the divine anger, "Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it?" Such an axe against the sinning nation of the Jews was Nebuchadnezzar, and after him Titus Vespasian: with the calamities brought upon them by the severe strokes of the one axe, surrounding him, did Jeremiah utter his Lamentations, and deplore the miseries of his fallen country; with the still heavier calamities to be brought upon them by the other battle-axe, full in his prophetic view, did John forewarn them of the irrevocable, and complete, and final ruin of the state, "Now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." A terrible axe! most dreadful to behold! which levels in undistinguishing ruin the bramble of the wilderness and the oak upon the mountains, cuts off the spirit of princes, and strikes through kings in the day of his anger; while the oil of mercy and patience, by the sinning nation refused and slighted, adds to it incredible sharpness and brightness, and irresistible effect. Consult the page of history, consult the records which yourselves must have made of the dispensations of Providence, and mark how awfully our text has been fulfilled, "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." And, oh! that Britian may profit by such sad examples; and abandon that pride, intemperance, false security, and obstinacy, that irreligion, that atheism, that corruption and fraudulence, that misgovernment, disunion, and disorderliness, and that want of fraternal concord, so calculated to bring upon her swift perdition!

The doom denounced in our text, that "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire," does the Supreme Ruler inflict upon sinning *Churches* with the axe of spiritual plagues and temporal judgments.

With spiritual plagues, when he removes faithful ministers, and sends inefficient and indolent successors; when he excites, among the members, intolerant and arrogant domination over the consciences and liberties of each other, and strife so that they bite and devour each other; when he suffers to prevail among them uncharitableness, malice, envy, slander, and similar passions, which, carried far, he abhors and considers to be equally heinous with the robberies and with the murders which are visited by human justice, and are so revolting to human nature. With temporal judgments, when he involves them in the calamities brought upon sinning nations, of which they constitute part; and when, by these dire calamities, the light of the Gospel is extinguished, the candlestick of Christian ordinances taken out of the place, civil and religious freedom overturned, whatever conveniences and fortunes they possess ruined and scattered; and the blackest curse of Heaven appears to spread its raven wing, and exert its baleful influence, over the very spot of earth, at one time favoured and consecrated from on high, which they had polluted by unbelief, ingratitude, and impiety. "Now will I sing to my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard: my well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill; and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? And now, go to; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down; and I will lay it waste; it shall not be pruned nor digged; but there will come up briers and thorns; I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it."

The doom denounced in our text, that "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire," does the Supreme Ruler inflict upon sinning *persons*, by exposing and blasting them even here, assuredly by punishing and consuming them hereafter.

Just while they shall be carrying upon them the blossoms of profession, and be crowned with all favourable opinions, he lets them uncover themselves, and show what in reality they are, and convince the world that in reality they are twice dead, and only fit to be plucked up and thrown away. For he who is no more than a hypocrite, will not always be suffered to remain a hypocrite; the disguise may soon be torn from his person, and the mask from his face. But whether exposed and blasted here, or not, they cannot fail to be hewn down by the axe of death; death, which indeed hews down the flourishing and fruit-bearing trees also, and spares neither the verdant tree nor the dry, neither hypocrisy nor sincerity, neither wickedness nor holiness; but mark the difference: the trees in the vineyard of Christ are not so much hewn down, as transplanted from the nursery below, to the paradise above, where they flourish under a warmer sun and a milder climate, all beauty and order, all safety and perfection; whereas, the trees that glorify not the divine husbandman by *bearing*, must glorify him by *burning;* and, in the monitory emphatic language of our text, "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

The doom denounced in our text, that "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire," suggests to our mind, that notwithstanding the care and attention bestowed upon the trees, multitudes of them continue barren, or bring not forth good fruit; that no more signal instance of the divine mercy could be exhibited, than withholding, time after time, the fatal blow; that when the season of forbearance terminates, vengeance will hew down the tree; that however near the axe descends to the root of the tree, however prepared the instruments of vengeance, yet mercy still implores and admonishes; and that, all means rejected, all warnings slighted, if the tree be "hewn down and cast into the fire," the blame and the blood of men's *misery* be on men's *impenitency*.

Wherefore, our exhortation to you is, bring forth good fruit—see that ye be rooted in Christ; see that ye be steadfast in the faith, not tossed with every wind of doctrine; see that no worm of predominant sin be at the root; see that ye grow by the rivers of water; see that ye grow near to one another; and, oh! pray to be made fruitful, even though the pruning-knife be employed; for better the pruning-knife of affliction, than the hewing axe of damnation.

SERMON VIII.

THE DESIRE OF LIFE; A NEW YEAR'S DISCOURSE.

Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee.—*Psalm* cxix. 175.

In the words now before us, the psalmist prays for a continuation of his temporal life, that he might have time and opportunity in this world to honour God: "Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee," or, that I may praise thee—Let my life be prolonged, that I may live to thy glory.

I have no doubt, my brethren, that such a wish as this has, at least in part, been formed and expressed by most of you, during the preceding week, the commencement of a new year. When, in the usual style, you wished to yourselves and to your friends, a good new year, long life, and many comfortable returns of the season, you in fact formed the very same wish with David in the text, "Let my soul live." I flatter myself, therefore, with entering into your sentiments, when I make this wish to-day the subject of our discourse.

Only, as we discern in the text both the man and the believer, humanity and piety; and as these two qualities, united in the psalmist, are so often separated in the hearts and lips of the great bulk of mankind; it will be requisite to consider, in two distinct parts, that which, with the psalmist, made but one and the same emotion, or breathing of soul. He wishes for life; behold the affections of the man; he wishes for life, that, in the enjoyment of it, he might glorify God; behold the heaven-born desires of the believer; he wishes for life, and so do we all; but we do not all, like him, wish to employ that life which we desire for the glory of God.

It is our design to examine the first branch of the text, "Let my soul live," as a detached wish, in which all the sons of men will join; and at the same time run over those culpable motives which every day induce the greater part of men to form it; and next, to consider the words as one entire and complete wish, "Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee;" and, in this point of view, present it to you as a model of those reasonable and Christian sentiments which ought to animate you on the beginning of a new year, in desiring for yourselves and others many returns of such a season.

"Let my soul live;" let my life be prolonged; is a wish common to all the sons of men, and it becomes laudable or criminal according to the goodness or badness of the motives which influence us to form it: and we propose, in the first place, to consider this part of the text as a detached wish, set in opposition to the last clause, and originating in those culpable motives which induce too many of the sons of men to desire a prolongation of life.

We should naturally begin the catalogue of those who are influenced to form such a wish from criminal motives, with deists or infidels, who deny the Bible to be a divine revelation, and also, for the most part, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and a future state of existence; a class of men who are deeply interested in wishing, "Let my soul live." If they believe no other doctrine but that of annihilation after death, on leaving the world they cannot expect an adequate recompense for that of which they are deprived. If things which are seen and which are temporal bound their views, it is by no means surprising to behold them attached to the world; for, in the grave, their prospects terminate; beyond the grave, they see nothing but everlasting silence and desolation. That exquisite relish which they display for the enjoyments of time and of sense cannot be so much blamed, as the hot precipitancy which they discover in arriving at conclusions so dismal; in extinguishing hopes the most sublime; in renouncing immortality, and heaven, and happiness. Have they spent that time and paid that attention which are required for settling, even in a speculative way, questions so important and eventful, so big with the eternal destinies of man? Have they not, with unreasonable rashness, and under the impulse of unhallowed appetite, burst the bands of moral and religious feeling, and joined the standard of infidelity, without reflecting upon the substantial loss which they have incurred, and upon the unsubstantial gain which they have acquired? Have they not assumed deism, to indulge in criminal passions without restraint and without control? Have they not fled to infidelity as to a city of refuge, where they might be safe from the torments of conscience—the enemy and the avenger? And yet, should they search matters to the bottom, a thousand moments, and a thousand too, are occurring, in which they will find it impossible, despite of all the assurance and confidence affected by them, to persuade themselves that religion is a cheat, and eternity a baseless dream. And if so, are they not inexcusable in wishing for the prolongation of life, with a view to make no other use of it, but to fulfil the desires of the flesh and of the mind? Ought they not, in a very different spirit, a spirit of humility and inquiry, to form the wish in our text, "Let my soul live?"

But some people we meet with, who do not reject the truths of religion, yet live as if they admitted none of them; and who perceive no other end, no other benefit, in the prolongation of life, than as it furnishes them with an opportunity and with the means of gratifying their depraved inclinations. Shall it offend my audience, if I suppose that some of these baptized infidels are now hearing me? Art not thou one of them, O young man! who, ushered upon the world's stage, and surrounded with scenes of forbidden pleasure, believest no felicity comparable to the noise and hubbub of riot and of extravagance; who shunnest the path of piety; who leavest the acts of devotion to the aged and to the dying; to whom a wise and sober deportment appears the vilest drudgery, and a bar to real happiness? Art not thou one of them, O ambitious man! who, from morn till night unceasing, projectest schemes for aggrandizing thy fortune or thy family; who aspirest after the honour that cometh from man, more than after the honour that cometh from above; who createst imaginary prospects of grandeur awaiting thee, and, by anticipation of future height and affluence, comfortest thyself against the present, which fails to satisfy thy pride; and wouldest rather live no more, than live in obscurity and in shade? Art not thou one of them, O vindictive man! who, since the injury done thee, breathest nought but the ruin of thine enemy; who pursuest him with taunts, affronts, calumnies, contradictions, oppressions, violence; who stirrest up thy neighbourhood into quarrels, or thy nation into the flames of anarchy and of war; and whose life is a continual study, how, and how soon, and how much, to be avenged on thine adversary? Art not thou one of them, O covetous man! who, envying the success of those around thee, strivest, by lawful measures and unlawful tricks, to rise to a similar degree of opulence and splendour; who hast a thief's fingers, and a murderer's heart; who esteemest him the happiest that hoards silver as the dust, and swims in wealth, and rides aloft in pomp and in pre-eminence? Thus, by enumerating the various classes of men, who, having a form of godliness, yet deny the power thereof, it must appear too evident, that multitudes are tied to life by the bonds of criminal passion, and by no other motives; insomuch, that if their desires for the prolongation of it should be reduced into direct prayers, each with its ruling motive annexed, what a scene would be unfolded, how black with impiety, how shocking to the serious mind! Let my soul live, that I may enjoy heaven upon earth; let the Mahomedan paradise descend; and mine be the feast and the dance, mirth and sensual delight: let my soul live, that I may shine in splendour and exalted repute before men; let dignities be conferred upon me from every side, and my fame be wafted on every breeze: let my soul live, that I may inflict vengeance on my foes; brace my sinews, strengthen my hands, that I may sweep from domestic comforts and from public honours, those who have thwarted my pursuits, wounded my vanity, and withheld the homage which I had expected: let my soul live, that I may grasp riches, extort profits, cheat my creditors, and oppress my debtors; pence instead of pardon, the mammon of unrighteousness instead of God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. Is the serious mind confounded and shocked at such a prayer? yes, and so perhaps the sinner too: but what? is not this the very language of the secret desire of your heart? Is not this, however impious, the loud thundering language of your conduct? Is not this the actual, but concealed interpretation, that you affix upon the wish in our text, "Let my soul live?" And oh! what else is your conduct but unjust, ungenerous, and ungrateful, to abuse the divine goodness and the divine gifts, and alienate them from God, to the indulgence of your unhallowed appetites? But why name equity, why speak of generosity, why of gratitude, to you, who are too much drenched in carnal excesses, to be susceptible of such high and such elevated feelings? What spirit of error bewitches you, what blind frenzy hath seized you; desiring life, that you may consume it on your lusts? the goodness of God which ought to inspire you with repentance; you pervert that goodness and patience, and treasure up for yourselves wrath against the day of wrath. "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil."

A third class, much less condemned than any of the preceding, but whose disposition is far removed from the psalmist's, we define to be such as are attached to life, and desire the continuance of it, from an immoderate regard for objects in themselves right and proper. What more common than to find persons, in the enjoyment of external comfort and tranquillity, desirous of building a tabernacle here, and abiding in the midst of so much that is pleasant to the flesh and to the fancy? What more common than to find persons attached to life, from anticipating some distant advantage; or from the remembrance of past toils and fatigues, of which it seems natural and just for them to reap the profit; or from an ardent affection towards relatives and friends, which dreads a separation, and abhors the unsocial tomb? However, in forming such a wish from such motives, you are preferring your own will to the will of God, the gift to the Giver, the creature to the Creator, sentiments little worthy of a rational being, far less of an exalted Christian, who should desire to be with Christ, his master, and not rest too fondly in the fashion of the world or in the delights of society. Let not the pregnant cloud of the divine mercies intercept from our view the divine hand, which has filled that cloud with dew and with fruitfulness.

It still remains for us to animadvert upon a fourth class, whose attachment to life, and whose desire of having it prolonged, appears, as one might think, much more reasonable than do the cases which we have already delineated, and yet, if inspected, must be pronounced unreasonable and disgraceful in the extreme. Lo, there is a man whose head is enlightened in the truths of religion; he knows, in a speculative manner, his privileges and his duty; his conscience is alarmed by the preaching of the word; the spirit, in his common operations, knocks at the door of his heart, or say, Providence lays him on a sick bed, and death and eternity stare him full in the face: he is roused from his former slothfulness: his thoughts turn inwards; reflection and the force of truth illuminate the darkest recesses of his soul; after a serious and careful survey, he discovers with grief bordering on despair, that his eternal interests have been neglected; overwhelmed with terror, convinced how much is to be done, and how much more space he needs for doing it, he prays for a prolongation of his life, "Let my soul live." His prayer is answered: but scarce has he obtained his desire, scarce has he come from the sick bed, till, forgetting the cause and occasion of his desire, he holds on in the self same road of carelessness and iniquity; and arrive death when it may, tenfold more horrible shall be its appearance, tenfold more dreaded its approach. What think ye of such a man? Yet we have not done: the same circumstances recur; again he meditates on his condition; again receives a broad view of death and eternity; again is alarmed, penetrated, frantic; again and again repeats his desire, his promise, his resolution; let his desire be granted, and his promise he neglects, his resolution he breaks; afraid of death, he never makes ready for it, praying for life, yet he never makes a better of it—never lives by the faith of the Son of God, who hath abolished death, and revealed to us a spiritual life and a blissful immortality. We shall do these men justice: they are neither speculative unbelievers, nor hardened sinners; they have seasons in which the spirit moves upon their heart, and religion seems taking fast hold of them, and conscience arises, and higher resolutions arise; seasons in which they condemn their folly, and imbecility, and iniquity; seasons in which they confess themselves unfit to die; and they desire to live, in order to have their state reversed, their souls regenerated: but yet, in spite of terror, and in spite of reflection, and in spite of resolution, they are no more ready to die, than five, or twenty, or forty years since. Do ye require arguments to be convinced, that such conduct is opposed to the honour of God, to right reason, to your own vital interests? Know, that so long as you do not flee for refuge to Christ, the hope set before us, your iniquities are daily increasing, and with them are daily increasing your grounds of terror for that period, when before your Sovereign Judge you shall be cited, and consigned to abodes of penal vengeance, offers of mercy excluded, and no place for repentance, though sought wlth eternal tears and lamentations. And will not your present delay to harken to the voice of mercy, will not your present despite of the great salvation, aggravate your crime, and deepen your doom? Among the various wishes for the prolongation of life, the most unreasonable and most presumptuous we conceive to be, making no improvement of life for the vast and vital concernments of eternity, and yet praying from time to time in the words of our text, "Let my soul live."

We propose, in the *second place*, to consider the words of our text as one entire and complete wish, "Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee;" and, in this point of view, present it to you as a model of those reasonable and Christian sentiments, which ought to animate you on the beginning of a new year, in desiring for yourselves and others many returns of such a season.

Praising God, consists in our acknowledging, admiring, and endeavouring to imitate his excellences, and the beauty of his power and holiness. Praising God, includes in it a suitable knowledge of his being and perfections, a believing trust in his mercy, an ardent love for him, an admiration of his benevolence, and the manifesting of our knowledge, and faith, and love, and admiration, in the tenor of our converse and conduct. And the praising of God which ought to be our motive in forming the wish, "Let my soul live," is, you will be pleased to observe, the praises of the whole man: soul and body, being alike participants of his bounty, and subjects of his redeeming love, must alike be consecrated to his praise. His praise must be celebrated upon the earth; his praise must be celebrated by us on our journey to heaven; his praise ascends amid innumerable dishonours done to him by our apostate obdurate race. We praise God, by securing our own salvation—by showing forth his perfections, and declaring his tender mercies—by promoting the temporal interest, and especially the spiritual advantage of our brethren of mankind. In each of these respects we may pray, according to the words of our text, "Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee."

"Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee," by securing my own salvation. The trembling soul, whom an insight into his native corruption frightens; whom the idea of divine justice crushes; whom the possible or probable nearness of death fills with anguish; who keeps looking to Jesus, desirous of prolonged time in order for the establishing of his faith; let him draw near with the prayer in our text, let him offer it, nothing doubting, and the answer, whatever it be, shall be for his advantage and his happiness. The trembling and infirm believer, anxious and unsettled about his spiritual state; who, though foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, hath not where to lay his head, no pillow to rest upon with certainty, in view of the eternal world; let him draw near, and offer up the prayer in our text, nothing doubting, and the answer, whatever it be, shall be for his advantage and his happiness; and who knows but that, before his departure into the eternal world, the evidences of his state shall be brightened, and he shall be enabled to make his calling and election sure and undeniable?

"Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee," by showing forth thy perfections, and declaring thy tender mercies. Lord, I am not worthy to enter into thy celestial palace; let my soul live, that I may declare how much I am indebted to thy grace, before departing hence and being no more: my life hitherto has been the opposite of praising thee; I have dishonoured thee; I have hardened my fellow sinners against thee; I have drawn aside thy professing people, and instigated them to blaspheme thy name, to mock thine ordinances, to bring discredit on the Christian character: let my soul live, that I may be the instrument of repairing what I have injured, of restoring what I have taken away, of building up what I have destroyed.

"Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee," by promoting the temporal interest, and especially the spiritual advantage, of my brethren of the human race. We are commanded to put on, towards our neighbour, bowels of mercy and compassion: and if the believer deems it in his power to contribute to the edification of his brethren, he should by no means desire to be made perfect without them. What a beautiful exemplification of such disinterested love did the Apostle Paul display, when he said, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better; nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you:" Love to man, love to the church, made him willing that his entrance into heaven should be deferred; out of tenderness for them, he accepted of his ministerial cares and the dreariness of exile from Christ, content to remain among them for the advancement and for the joy of their faith! Let us desire life, not merely for ourselves, but for the interest and advantage of our neighbours. Let us imitate the genorous Uriah, who refused to share the comforts of his house and bed, because his brethren were stretched in the camp, and exposed to the fatigues and to the calamities of war. Let us imitate the courageous Nehemiah, who, though royal cupbearer, mourned and pined, because the city of his God lay in ruins, and his brethren under contumely and distress. And if these be our motives for desiring a prolongation of life, let parents in behalf of their children, let ministers in behalf of their flocks, let rulers in behalf of the country whose interest they do or should promote,—let them offer up with boldness and assurance the prayer in our text, "Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee."

And finally, it being a custom, on the commencement of a new year, for men to present each other with congratulations and friendly wishes, according to the same custom do I present you, my Christian brethren, with my pastoral congratulations. In the scriptural sense of the phrase, I wish you a good new-year. May your souls live, not that you should act upon infidel sentiments, not that you should throw loose the reins to your depraved inclinations, not that you should sink down in doating attachment upon secular pursuits and earthly relatives, not that you should trifle and procrastinate with the affairs of your eternity; but that, with heart and soul, and mind and strength, you should praise God, by securing your own salvation, by showing forth his perfections, and declaring his tender mercies; by promoting the temporal interest, and especially the spiritual advantage, of your brethren of mankind. May this be to you the year of jubilee, of release from Satan's yoke, and of an increasing advancement in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. And if this year you shall die, may it be the year in which you are born into the world of glory, where time is measured out, not by drops, but by a full and ever-flowing flood of happiness and of praise. Let me live, that I may praise thee on earth; let me die, that I may praise thee in heaven: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

REVEREND PETER YOUNG,

LATE MINISTER OF THE FIRST UNITED ASSOCIATE CONGREGATION IN JEDBURGH.

From the conclusion of a sermon, delivered by the Rev. Robert Hall to his own congregation, in Kelso, in 1824.

During the progress of this discourse, your minds will naturally have been turned towards the memory of our dear friend, whose death has led to the present train of meditation.

Praise, I know, availeth not the dead; but when truthfully and judiciously bestowed, may be of service to the living. It is under the influence of this feeling, that I proceed to say something of our dear departed friend.

Among those who knew him, this we believe to be the general feeling, that of living characters, few were to be met with, in whom was to be found less to censure, and more to commend. His mind was early formed to piety. It was in his early years that his thoughts were turned towards the ministry; and during the course of his studies he was remarkable for his modesty and his diligence. In the beginning of 1798, he received licence to preach the Gospel. His services were very acceptable to the religious public, and he soon received a harmonious call from the congregation in Jedburgh, to be successor to the Reverend Alexander Shanks, their then aged and venerable pastor, and was ordained in the August following. When he entered on his ministry, it was with every favourable circumstance. The dawn indicated the approach of an auspicious day. Nor did the indication prove fallacious, for his ministry was eminently distinguished by public usefulness. In discharging all the functions of the sacred office, he continued to be the successful minister unto the end.

In general his judgment was good, his memory strong, his reading extensive, and on men and books his observations were judicious.

In regard to his bodily constitution, it was not robust. He was rather of delicate health; but by a careful attention to himself, previously to the illness which terminated his labours, he was very seldom laid off from his public work by bodily indisposition.

As a man, he had an amiable mind, and was of conciliating dispositions. In his manner there was a patience, a meekness, a softness, accompanied with a visible willingness to oblige, which endeared him to all. Benevolence to men, I may say, was the very element in which his soul lived and moved. His integrity was of the first order; in friendship he was sincere; in counsel prudent; to admonish he was loath, and when he had to do it, it was always done in the tenderness of friendship.

His piety was of the most amiable cast,—it was enlightened, it was mild, it was uniform. In him Christianity appeared lovely and inviting; pouring day over the dark mind, strengthening the weak, consoling the afflicted, gladdening the hearts of the faithful, commanding the respect of the most worthless. It shone, not like the moon when labouring under an eclipse, but like the sun when shinning beauteously in the heavens.

In religious principle, he was the enlightened and steadfast man. Where religious principles were concerned, no earthly authority weighed with him. It was necessary that with his own eyes he should see them to be in the word of the Lord; and when satisfied of their being in the word of the Lord, to them he adhered with a firm and unshaken mind. He was a Presbyterian from principle; and a Presbyterian of the Secession Church from principle. But though a Presbyterian, and of the Secession Church, he could well appreciate the worth of all good men, to whatever denomination they belonged. He kept by the Scripture doctrine, That all who believe on Jesus Christ, and walk in him, are in the sight of God valuable characters, and as such, these he loved; and that, where this is not the case, whatever denomination of Christians a man belongs to, his religion is nothing.

In the discharge of his ministerial duties, in the pulpit and out of it, he was most assiduous. Presiding over a large body of people, and having a constitution not of the strongest kind, he had much to do; but, notwithstanding, in discharging all the offices of the Christian pastor, his labour was unremitting. Besides his attentions to his own congregation, he was ready to give his assistance to every institution, which had for its object the good of man. Every institution, pious and charitable, felt his energies; especially that greatest of all charities, the dissemination of the "word of life" among the various nations of mankind.

His manner of preaching you know much better than I can describe. In the language of Scripture, he was "an able minister of the New Testament." His manner of preaching was eminently suited to a numerous congregation, made up of persons of every capacity. His subjects were the great and interesting doctrines of Christianity. His exposition of the truth was always luminous, and happily adapted to the taste of the renewed soul. In his discourses there was an uncommon zest of *savouriness*, for his heart was transfused into the words which proceeded from his lips. His countenance was mild; his manner grave; his utterance deliberate; his voice full-toned. The truth coming from *him*, was tenderly and strongly impressive; but on the assembly it fell not in lightning, and thunder, and tempest, but as the warm refreshing rain upon the earth. I know my congregation is going along with me in all that I have said.

For twenty-five years he was our regular assistant at the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in looking back on the years that are gone, you have the pleasing recollection, how acceptable and edifying his ministrations were unto you. When he ascended the pulpit, there was a general feeling of satisfaction visible on the face of the congregation, and as he proceeded, the satisfaction visibly increased. What I said of him when living, I may say of him now, when dead,—that he was one of the most useful ministers the generation has produced.

This good and amiable man walked through life, still holding on the placid tenor of his way; increasing in knowledge and in piety, in private worth and public usefulness, beloved and respected by his congregation, beloved and respected by all who knew him. For twenty-five years of his ministry he was in full activity; and during that period, with the truth "his lips fed many." When it pleased God to visit him with the affliction which was to terminate his labours, he was devoutly submissive to the divine will. The Lord was very gracious to him in his affliction. It was indeed of considerable length; but the darkness without was alleviated by the sunshine within. The Lord lifted up the light of his countenance upon him, and all was peace.

Tranquillity of mind he happily enjoyed from the beginning to the close of his affliction. About two weeks before his death, he had something like a little revival; and at that time, to a friend who came in to see him, he said, "I have been within sight of the harbour; but I think I am again blown back a little." Upon Sabbath evening, the evening before he died, when his dear friends were standing around his bed, and sympathizingly inquiring how he was, this was his reply, "You see me here making rapid progress to eternity, and I am marching under the brightest beams, both from the outward kindness of God, and his inward communications to my soul." After which he proceeded, with a mind quite at ease, to give his pious friends many precious directions, among which he said, "Young people are often afraid of trouble, but fear not to enter into the dark cloud, for God will be with you there, and the light of his countenance will brighten the deepest shades of affliction." As the night advanced, nature became more and more exhausted. But still he felt his mind tranquil, both under his affliction, and in looking to the close of it. He desired to be with Christ, and his desire was soon given him. At half-past four on the following morning he was in much weakness, but still in perfect recollection; and during the space of a few minutes, without pain, his breathing gradually subsided, and he yielded up his spirit into the arms of his dear Redeemer. Oh blessed! supremely blessed are those dead, who have died in the Lord!

When the Apostle Paul took his final farewell of the Church of Ephesus, I remember it is recorded in the Acts, that they all wept sore, and fell upon his neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spoke—that they should see his face no more. We are placed in a similar situation. That excellent minister and good man has taken his departure, and in this world we are to see his face no more. Under this painful and depressing dispensation, what are we to do? Let us first give thanks to God for having called him to take part in the Christian ministry, for the grace bestowed upon him, and for the years he did preserve him to be so eminently useful in the service of the Church. Are we to see him no more? Then let us pray to God that the spirit of the departed Elijahs may descend on the young Elishas, and that he may raise up many such good ministers, to be a blessing to the Church, and to the world. Are we to see him no more? Then let us be frequently employed in recollecting the words of truth which we have so often heard from his lips; that, now when dead, to us he may yet be speaking. Are we to see his face no more? Let us remember, that when good men and good ministers die, what earth loses heaven gains. Our dear friend is gone, in regard to this world, for ever gone; but it is to occupy a more elevated station in the kingdom of God. He is gone to the spirits of just men made perfect, with whom he is now serving God day and night, and made blessed for evermore. "And I heard a voice from heaven," says John in the Apocalypse, "saying unto me, write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

Finally, need we be reminded that the time is near at hand when we, too, shall see one another in this world no more? Need we be admonished, that in a little, death shall for ever dissolve our connexion with earth and time? To the ocean of vast eternity are we drawing near, so very near, that now it is opening to our view, and seems to roar within our hearing. Eternity! Oh Eternity! and is this awful eternity, in a little, to receive us? Well, let us prepare for it by instantly betaking ourselves to the Saviour, whom God has provided for us perishing immortals. In the Gospel of the blessed God, Christ is presented to sinners of mankind, as the object of faith. God, in mercy, has laid his command upon us to receive Christ, as his gift unto us, to be our Saviour; and, on our believing in Christ, we shall receive from him the remission of sins, and life everlasting. Thus, in believing on the Son of God, we shall be, happily, prepared for our eternity. All shall be safe. When we die, our dying day will be our birth-day into the world of glory; where all the friends of God at last shall meet, and meet—no more to part; where mortality is swallowed up of life, and the former things have passed away; where, in the beatific presence of God, and of Christ, our blessedness shall be complete, and all will be eternal.

When Mr. Young was ordained, which was on the 15th of August, 1798, he commenced his ministry by preaching on the following Sabbath from Ephes. vi. 19. "And for me also, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the Gospel." And at the close of his ministry, the last sermon he preached was from Acts, xx. 24. "That I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received from the Lord Jesus."

Mr. Shanks, the aged pastor, lived a little more than a year after the appointment of his successor; and when the great and the good man died, on the Sabbath after, our dear friend preached from 2 Kings, ii. 12. "And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father! the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof; and he saw him no more:" It was a most appropriate text, and it afterwards appeared, that a portion of the spirit of the ascending Elijah had fallen on the young Elisha.

In 1802, Mr. Young was appointed to supply, for some time, the congregation of Miles's Lane in London. During his continuance with them he was held in much estimation, and soon after a call for translating him to Miles's Lane was brought forward; but Mr. Young, when desired to express his mind on the subject, was of the judgment that he should be allowed to continue with his congregation in Jedburgh, and the Synod was unanimous in appointing his continuance.

During his affliction, the continuance of which was about twelve months, his brother, Mr. Young, surgeon in Edinburgh, occasionally came to see him; and not long before his death, when his brother was with him, he said, "In the course of my affliction I had been frequently thinking of resigning the charge of my congregation, but it is now some time since I have thought of not doing it, till I shall give it into the hands of the Lord Jesus himself, from whom I received it." When he looked back on all the way by which the Lord had led him through the world, he said "He found he had reason to bless God, and to be very thankful; and were he to travel through life over again, he would not wish to interfere with the will of God in making any alteration; for the doings of the Lord with him were either in themselves agreeable, or his mind was brought to acquiesce in them, and he now found that He had done all things well." He was remarkable for his tranquillity and resignation during his affliction. At a time when his illness was more than ordinarily severe, it was sympathizingly said to him, that he had got little rest: with great serenity, he replied, "I will get rest—a good rest soon." Upon the Friday preceding the Monday morning on which he died, he was able to walk into the drawing-room, but from what he said, it appeared that, even then, he considered the time of his departure to be near at hand. But he looked to it with calmness and serenity of soul, for he had the peace of God which passeth all understanding, keeping his heart and mind through Jesus Christ.

The following extract of a letter from a much respected friend, is worthy to form the conclusion of the present narrative.

"He said much, during the whole time of his trouble, indicative of the happy frame of his mind; indeed, I may say scarce a day passed without some expression that showed his inward comfort, serenity, peace, and even joy. But it was not so much what he said, as the whole tenor of his conduct, during the days of his trouble, that has shed a lustre over his character which I am unable fully to describe. Such uniform resignation, cheerful submission, thankfulness, and contentment with all the dealings of his heavenly Father, could proceed from nothing but the rich grace of his Saviour, that alone made him what he was. Perhaps you may think the partiality of a friend may colour too highly, but I can assure you that no words of mine are adequate to convey to you any idea of the bright exemplification of all the doctrines he loved to teach, that shone forth in his conduct during the period of his affliction.

With regard to the manner of his death I can say little; it took place about half past four o'clock on the Monday morning; he seemed restless and uneasy for some hours before, but was quite recollected, and in the full use of his faculties to the very last; he suffered much at times during the whole course of his trouble, but at the end there was nothing but peace; his pain seemed all over long before, and without the smallest struggle his breath grew more and more gentle, till he yielded up his spirit into the hands of his Redeemer, in whose presence he now rejoices, with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

The following paragraph appeared in the *Kelso Mail*, on the Monday after the funeral.

"Died on the 18th instant, the Rev. Peter Young, one of the ministers of the Secession Church in Jedburgh, in the fiftieth year of his age, and twenty-seventh of his ministry. Among those who knew him, this, perhaps, is the general feeling,—that of living characters few were to be met with, in whom was to be found less to censure, and more to commend. He was a man of amiable and conciliatory dispositions; for piety he was most exemplary; his public services were highly acceptable and edifying to all, and in discharging his other ministerial duties he was most assiduous. In him his congregatien has lost a most valuable and endeared pastor, and his memory will be long and affectionately cherished by a large circle of respectable friends. He bore his lengthened affliction with great tranquillity; and when he died, it was under much serenity of mind, and almost without suffering.

"We understand that, as an expression of public respect for the deceased, the shops were shut during the funeral."

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